THE
# Indian Historical Quarterly

VOL. II, MARCH 1926 No. 1

## A Short History of Ceylon

*(from the 5th century B. C. to the 4th century A. D.)*

### INTRODUCTION: THE SOURCES

The chief sources from which we gather our knowledge of the history of ancient Ceylon are the two Pāli chronicles *Dīpavaṃsa* and *Mahāvaṃsa*[1]. They are supplemented in some details by the younger literature, chiefly by the Mahāvaṃsa-Ṭīkā, and by the Sinhalese books, like Pūjāvali, Nikāya-saṅgraha, Dhātuvaṃsa, Rājaratnākara, Rājāvali. Among all these works the *Dīpavaṃsa*[2] is by far the oldest, and the time of its composition is fairly well to be determined. The last Sinhalese king mentioned in the Dv. is Mahāsena, who died in the first half of the fourth century A. D.; in the introduction of Buddhaghosa's commentary on the Vinaya-Piṭaka the chronicle has been quoted[3]. As Buddhaghosa lived in the first half of the fifth century A. D.[4], we can say, with some confidence, that the Dv. was composed between the years 350 and 400 A. D. The Dv. can hardly be called a

1 W. Geiger, *Dīpavaṃsa* und *Mahāvaṃsa* und *die Geschichtliche Ueberlieferung in Ceylon*, Leipzig, 1905 (=*Dīp* and *Mah.* by W. Geiger, transl. by Ethel M. Coomaraswamy, Colombo, 1908); Winternitz, *Gesch. der Indischen Litteratur*, II, 166ff.

2 *Dīpavaṃsa*, an ancient Buddhist Historical Record, ed. and transl. by H. Oldenberg (1879).

poem. It is rather a clumsy composition which often consists of mere enumeration of proper names or terms, apparently to serve as a support for the memory. Very often the same subject is narrated twice or even three times in a slightly different manner, as if two or three recensions of the chronicle were knit together. This all shows the compiler's want of literary fitness, but it does by no means touch the value of the Dv. as a source of historical information.

As to the contents of the Dv., it starts from the *abhisambodhi* of the Buddha, the legend of his visits to Ceylon, and the lineage of his family. In chs. IV to VIII are related the story of the Buddhist councils and that of the missions sent in king Asoka's time to the various countries to preach the Buddhist doctrine including that of the king's son Mahinda's mission to Ceylon. Now the history of Laṅkā is told from the first Aryan immigration under Vijaya up to Devānampiyatissa, who was a contemporary and friend of king Asoka (chs. IX-XI). Mahinda arrives in Ceylon and preaches the *dhamma*. He is joyfully received by the king and his subjects, and the Mahāmegha-vana garden, the later Mahāvihāra, is dedicated by the king to the fraternity, as well as the *ārāma* on the Cetiya mountain (chs. XII-XIV). The holy relic of the Buddha's right collar-bone is brought from India to Ceylon, and is deposited in a stūpa, erected on the Cetiya hill. In connection with this fact the legend of the three former Buddhas and of their relics is told (ch. xv. 1-73). Saṅghamittā, Mahinda's sister, comes to Laṅkā, to confer there the ordination on queen Anulā and other women who were converted to the Buddha's faith (ch. xv. 74-80). Ariṭṭha is sent to India to fetch a branch of the holy Bodhi-tree; the branch arrives and is planted in the Mahāvihāra. The story of the holy trees of the former Buddhas is related in this connection, and the Bhikkhunīs living in Ceylon are enumerated (ch. xv. 81 xviii. 44). The rest of ch. xviii and the last four chapters are filled with a succint history of the Sinhalese

The character of the *Mahāvaṃsa*[1] differs widely from that of the Dv. although the arrangement of the legendary and historical materials is almost the same in both chronicles and has become typical for all similar compilations of later date. But the Mv. is a real *kāvya*, and its author Mahānāma deserves the poet's title. In the introductory verses of his poem he explicitly refers, I believe, to the Dīpavaṃsa with the words: "That (Mahāvaṃsa) which was compiled by the ancient (sages) was here too long drawn and there too closely knit; and contained many repetitions. Attend ye now to this (Mahāvaṃsa) that is free from such faults, easy to understand and remember, arousing serene joy and emotion and handed down (to us) by tradition". Indeed, the author of the Mv. avoids the faults censured by him, in the older chronicle. Legendary chapters are not wanting, of course, but they are reduced to the right proportion. In the description of Mahinda's arrival in Ceylon and of Devānampiyatissa's conversion to Buddhism, the Mv. generally agrees with the Dv. The reign of king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi is described with great details. Its history occupies in the Mv. altogether eleven chapters (xxii-xxxii), whilst in the Dv. only thirteen verses are devoted to it. We are entitled to speak of the Epic of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi as forming the centre of Mahānāma's poem as the "Epic of Parakkamabāhu"[2] is that of the Cūḷavaṃsa, the later continuation of the Mv.

Concerning the source from which both the Dv. and the Mv. have taken their subject-matter, we are well informed

1 The *Mahāwanso* in Roman characters with the translation subjoined by G. Turnour, 1837 (the translation has been revised and reprinted in the *Mahāwaṇsa* by Wijesinha, 1889).—The *Mahāwaṇsa* from first to thirty-sixth chapter, revised and edited by H. Sumaṅgala and DADS. Batuwantudawa, 1883.—The *Mahāvaṃsa*, edited by Wilh. Geiger, Pali Text Society, 1908.—The *Mahāvaṃsa* or the Great Chronicle of Ceylon, transl. by Wilh. Geiger, assisted by M.H.

of by a later work the Mahāvaṃsaṭīkā[1], which was probably composed in the 12th century A. D. There existed in Ceylon an extensive commentary on the holy Buddhist scriptures, composed in old Sinhalese language and preserved in various recensions in the monasteries of the Island. It was called *Aṭṭhakathā* or *Sīhalaṭṭhakathā* or *Porāṇaṭṭhakathā*. Buddhaghosa went to Ceylon, according to tradition, to study the *aṭṭhakathā* in the Mahāvihāra at Anurādhapura. It seems that a historical introduction of great length belonged to that *aṭṭhakathā* or perhaps even a separate part of historical character, an old chronicle mixed of prose and verses, and it can be taken for certain that on the *aṭṭhakathā* or, more accurately on the legendary and historical part of it, the Dīpavaṃsa[2] is based as well as Buddhaghosa's introduction to his Samantapāsādikā and the Mahāvaṃsa together with its Ṭīkā. The Dv. is merely a dry summary of it or as we may gather from the numerous repetitions, of its various recensions, Buddhaghosa's introduction to the Samantapāsādikā is chiefly based on the Dv. with some details and supplementary additions taken from the Ak. The Mv. contains plenty of new materials, taken also directly from the Ak. and sometimes also, I believe, from popular tradition. The same holds good with regard to the Mv.-Ṭīkā. In the younger Sinhalese literature chiefly the account of the Mv. is repeated and supplied by a few additions of no great significance.

As to the trustworthiness of the Sinhalese chronicles, I think that now the majority of experts will agree, in the main at least, with what I said on this subject in my Mv. transl. (pp. xii ff.) Dv. and Mv. are a mixture of legends and of historical truth, and they must be used, of course, with caution and with criticism. They are by no means infallible.

1 *Mahāwaṃsa Ṭīkā* or Waṃsatthappakāsinī, revised and edited by Pandit Batuwantudawa and M. Ñāṇissara Bhikkhu, Colombo, 1895. Cf.

In the account of the oldest period the legends prevail, but it is not very difficult to isolate them, and the more we approach to the last centuries B. C., the greater is the trustworthiness of the chronicles. Their authors tried at least to tell the truth, and they did never consciously fabricate, I believe, the historical facts. It must be borne in mind that they were no doubt Buddhist monks, and that they wished to write an ecclesiastical rather than a secular history of Ceylon but they were impartial enough to acknowledge even the virtues of a Damiḷa ruler like Eḷāra. Moreover the Ceylonese tradition is supported to a considerable extent by external testimonies. I have collected some of them (l. l. p. xvff) and I may add here that the names of several kings of Ceylon also occur in ancient Sinhalese inscriptions in the same or a very similar form and in the same sequence as in Dv. and Mv[1]. Professor S. Lévi by comparison with the Chinese annals attains to the result that from the 4th century B.C. the Sinhalese chronicles may be called a solid source of historical information[2].

## I. FIRST PERIOD : FROM VIJAYA TO MUṬASIVA

The history of Ceylon begins with the first Aryan immigration into the island. The name of the leader of the immigrants *Vijaya*, is certainly historical, but the details of the event are veiled in legendary darkness. We do not know the exact time when it took place, nor the part of India where Vijaya came from. Tradition tells us[3] that Vijaya arrived just on the day, or at least, as it is said in the Dv. (ix. 21 f.)

1 See below towards the end of this article.

2 Journal des savants, 1905, p. 539.

3 Mv. 6, 47. As to the date of the Buddha's death I refer chiefly to Fleet, Journ. Roy. As. Soc., 1906, pp. 984ff. ; 1909, pp. 1 ff., 323 ff. V. A. Smith accepts 487 or 486 B. C. as the year of the parinirvāṇa

at the time, of the Buddha's death, that would mean in or about the year 455 B.C. according to the Ceylonese chronology, or 483 B.C. according to the results of modern calculation. But this coincidence of the two events is, no doubt, a later combination, and we must confine ourselves to the statement that the arrival of Vijaya and his companions in Ceylon may probably have taken place in the fifth century B. C. It would be of interest to know exactly from which part of India the first Aryan immigrants came. But this question is still open to controversy. According to the Mv. (vii. 1ff.), Vijaya's great-grandmother was a Kaliṅga-princess and was married to the king of Vaṅga (Bengal). Her daughter was carried away by a lion when wandering in Lāḷa on the road from Vaṅga to Magadha, and the lion begot on her a son Sīhabāhu, the father of Vijaya. Afterwards Vijaya, banisheo for his lawless behaviour, came to Suppāraka and from here tp Ceylon. In the Dv. (ix. 1ff.) Vaṅga is mentioned as thy home of Susīmā, Vijaya's great-grandmother, but in the estor of Vijaya himself only the names Lāḷa, Suppāra and Bhārukaccha occur.

It is clear that the author of the Mv. believed Lāḷa to be situated in the NE. of India, although the name is ordinarily used as the designation of a country corresponding approximately to the modern Gujarat. Moreover all the other names point towards the NW. of India as the country from which Vijaya started for Laṅkā. Suppāra is the modern Sopāra, and Bhārukaccha the Barygaza of the Greek geographers, the modern Broach. Both these towns are situated in the Bombay Presidency.

It is not impossible as Dr. L. D. Barnett[1] assumes that the tradition of two different streams of immigration was knit together in the story of Vijaya. One of these streams may have started from Orissa and the southern Bengal, the other from Gujarat. Still more probable seems to be the hypothesis that

the tale in the Dv. represents the older form of the tradition, that of the Mv. the later one which shows the tendency of establishing a connection of Vijaya's story with the home of the Buddhist creed. The members of the clan, to which Vijaya belonged, appear to have been called Sīhalā the "Lion-men". Hence comes the name of the new inhabitants of the island. To explain this name the popular fantasy invented the story of Vijaya's father having been begotten by a lion to a human wife. Similar tales which are, of course, of totemistic origin are spread all over the world.

When the immigrants arrived in Laṅkā, they met in the island inhabitants of a different race and called them *yakkhā* (Sk. *yakṣāḥ*), i.e. demons because they ascribed to them the supernatural faculty of witchcraft. The Mv. (vii. 9 ff.) tells a legend, according to which Vijaya married a Yakkhiṇī named Kuvaṇṇā, with whose help he overcame the Yakkhas. But afterwards he divorced her in order to marry a princess of equal birth, the daughter of the Paṇḍu king in Madhurā. The historical nucleus of this tale may be the fact that from the first times an intense mixture of blood took place between the Aryan immigrants on one side and the aborigines as well as the inhabitants of Southern India on the other side.

Ethnologists generally assume that the Väddas are the remnants of the original inhabitants of Ceylon called *yakkhā* by the Aryan conquerors, and that they are of the same race as the pre-Dravidian population of the Indian continent or as the aborigines of the islands of Farther India. Some hundreds of Väddas are, indeed, still living as hunters in the primeval forests of Eastern Ceylon in a very low stage of civilization[1].

1 I must, however, point out that the derivation of the name from Skr. *vyādha* "hunter" offers serious phonological difficulties. The stem form (and plural also) is *vädi*. This seems to point to a Pāli *vajjita* = Sk. *varjita* meaning "excluded, isolated", as Sinh. *säd*

Another name of pre-historic inhabitants of Ceylon seems to have been Nāga. It occurs in the story of the Buddha's three legendary visits to the islands. Whilst the purpose of the first visit was to frighten the Yakkhas and to transport them to Giridīpa he arrived in Laṅkā, the second time in order to settle a dispute between two Nāga kings, and he had to do with the Nāgas also at his third visit. There can be no doubt that, according to the tradition preserved in Dv. and Mv., the Nāgas were of higher civilization than the Yakkhas. It would, however, be too hazardous to draw from those legendary tales any conclusion as to the ethnic relation between the two groups. The Nāgas never recur in the history of Ceylon as the Yakkhas do. But it is remarkable that even as late as the third century A. D. Nāgadīpa is used as the name of a district or province in Northern Ceylon[1].

According to the Mv. (VII. 39ff.) Vijaya founded in Ceylon the city of Tambapaṇṇī, and by his followers here and there villages were built, called Anurādhagāma, Upatissagāma, Ujjenī, Uruvelā, Vijitapura. All these settlements were situated, I think, in the north-western parts of Ceylon, although we do not exactly know the spot, except that of Anurādhagāma which is, no doubt, the later Anurādhapura built near the Kadamba-river, the modern Malwatu-oya.

Vijaya died having reigned in the city of Tambapaṇṇī thirty-eight years. His successor was, after a short interregnum, his nephew Paṇḍuvāsudeva, the youngest son of his brother Sumitta. In order to obtain the solemn abhiseka which is said to be impossible without a queen, he afterwards married Bhaddakaccānā, a princess born in the Sakya clan. Her brothers followed her to Ceylon and lived in the court of her husband. By all these tales, which in their details bear a legendary character, at least a constant intercourse is

but this is, I believe, not in concordance with the Sinhalese pronunciation.

1 See Mv., xxxvi. 9 and 36.

proved to have existed between Ceylon and India even in those earliest times.

The history of the next kings is also a mixture of truth and legendary fiction. Paṇḍuvāsudeva died after a reign of thirty years and was followed by his eldest son Abhaya who himself reigned for twenty years[1]. Their capital was Upatissagāma. Abhaya's successor was his nephew Paṇḍukābhaya[2]. His father was Dīghagāmaṇi, the son of one of Bhaddakaccānā's brothers, and his mother the sister of Abhaya named Cittā. The story of Dīghagāmaṇi's and Cittā's secret love and of the birth of their son is a romantic one and tales of similar kind occur also elsewhere in popular poetry. With Paṇḍukābhaya's accession to the throne the royal dignity passed over to the maternal line, and this was preceded, it seems, by serious combats. Abhaya was dethroned by his brothers, after a reign of twenty years, because he was inclined to come to an arrangement with his nephew. But in the war Paṇḍukābhaya defeated and killed all his uncles, sparing only the life of Abhaya, to whom he left a fictitious royalty. The new king made Anurādhapura his capital and adorned it with various buildings. From the account of the Mv. (x. 84 ff.) we may perhaps conclude that he had been supported in the war with his uncles by the aboriginal tribes of Ceylon, for he seems to have regarded them as his friends and allies.

According to Mv. and Dv. there was an interregnum of seventeen years between the dethronement of Abhaya and the succession of Paṇḍukābhaya. During this time a brother of Abhaya, Tissa, called Gaṇatissa in the later books[3], was regent. A reign of seventy years is ascribed to Paṇḍukābhaya, and a reign of sixty years to his son and successor Muṭasiva. The

1 According to *Rājāvali* 32 and 22 years. The round numbers given in Mv. (and Dv.) "have in themselves the appearance of a set scheme" (Mv. transl., p. xxi).

2 In the Dv. he is called Paṇḍuka (x. 9) or Pakuṇḍaka (xi. 1, 2, 4).

3 The *Rājāvali* makes Gaṇatissa Paṇḍukābhaya's successor and ascribes to him a reign of 40 years.

ıronology is, of course, pure fiction. Paṇḍukābhaya was ɔrn just when Abhaya ascended the throne. He was ıerefore thirty-seven years old, when he himself became ing, and would have reached an age of 107 years. Moreover ; is impossible that Muṭasiva reigned sixty years, for he was he son of Suvaṇṇapālī, whom his father had married before ıe won the royalty. I still adhere to the opinion that the ıames of the kings from Vijaya up to Muṭasiva may be ɔaken as historical, and that the reigns of the last two kings were lengthened by the chronologists in order to make Vijaya and the Buddha contemporaries.

## II. SECOND PERIOD: DEVĀNAMPIYATISSA AND HIS SUCCESSORS

When dealing with the history of Muṭasiva's son and successor Tissa called Devānampiyatissa we are standing on firmer ground. He was the contemporary of king Asoka, and he assumed his surname Devānampiya, or it was afterwards attributed to him, in imitation of Asoka. In our chronicles great stress is laid upon the fact that the two kings were intimate friends, though they had never seen each other (Dv. XI. 25; Mv. XI. 19). This seems to prove again that there was always some intercourse between India and Laṅkā, and the most important event, during Devānampiyatissa's reign, the conversion to Buddhism of the king and his people is well prepared and motivated by that tradition. The fact of this conversion as well as the personality of Asoka's son Mahinda and of the bhikkhu who converted the king is, no doubt, historical. I even believe that the Missaka-mountain, now called Mihintale[1], which is situated about ten miles east of Anurādhapura, was really the locality, whence the extension of the Buddhist faith over the island started. The whole

1 According to A. Guṇasekara the name is derived from *Mahindatala* and contains, therefore, the name of Asoka's son,

story is confirmed by the local tradition which seems to be very old, as well as by the account of Hiuen-tsang.[1]

The chronicles fully describe the further progress which the young Buddhist community made in Laṅkā under the patronage of Devānampiyatissa. The first monastery, the Mahāvihāra, was dedicated by the king to Mahinda and his followers in Anurādhapura. Here a branch of the Buddha's holy Bodhi-tree was afterwards planted which was brought from India to Ceylon by Mahinda's sister Saṅghamittā. Other vihāras were built and thūpas erected at various places and when Mahinda entered Nirvāṇa. In the eighth year of king Uttiya, the Buddhist church was well established in the island.

Devānampiyatissa died after a reign of forty years about 207 B. C. and was succeeded by his son Uttiya who himself reigned for ten years.

The next two kings Mahāsiva and Sūratissa were younger brothers of Uttiya. But now serious troubles arose in Ceylon caused by the invasions of the Damiḷas. The first two Damiḷa usurpers, Sena and Guttika, reigned twenty-two years. They were followed by a Sinhalese king, Asela[2], but Asela himself was overpowered by Eḷāra who came from the Coḷa country to seize the kingdom of Laṅkā (145-101 B. C.). It is a remarkable proof of the impartiality and trustworthiness of the older chronologists that they acknowledge without restraint the even justice shown by Eḷāra to friend and foe on occasions of disputes at law (Mv. xxi. 14; cf. Dv. xviii. 49-50). In the younger Sinhalese chronicles, however,

1 St. Julien, *Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales, par Hiuen-thsang*, II, p. 140; Beal, *Si-yu-ki, Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II, pp. 246-247. Hiuen-tsang, however, calls Mahinda the younger brother, not the son, of Asoka.

2 Asela is called in Mv. a son of Muṭasiva and the youngest brother of Devānampiyatissa, born of the same mother (Mv. xxi. 12). See also Dv. xviii. 48.

this fact, as far as I know, is suppressed, and the author of the *Rājāvali* even explicitly says that he ruled badly for forty-four years[1].

### III. THIRD PERIOD: FROM DUṬṬHAGĀMAṆI TO VAṬṬAGĀMAṆI

The national restoration started from the south-eastern province of Ceylon called Rohaṇa—a fact that repeatedly occurs in Sinhalese history. Rohaṇa was always the refuge of princes who were at enmity with the ruling king, or of Sinhalese kings who were conquered and dispossessed by external foes. In this province Mahānāga, a brother of Devānampiyatissa who was banished, it seems, from court on account of some offence had founded an independent dynasty which was never overcome by the Damiḷas. His grandson was Kākavaṇṇatissa, the famous founder of the Tissamahāvihāra and many other monasteries in Rohaṇa, and his great-grandson was Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, the national hero of Sinhalese people in the ancient period of their history just as Parakkamabāhu is in medieval times. Marvellous stories are told about his mother and about his birth and his youth which clearly bear the character of popular tradition. He became ruler of Rohaṇa after a war with his own brother Tissa and when he had collected a sufficient quantity of well equipped troops, he opened the campaign against the Damiḷas. This campaign is lucidly described in the Mahāvaṃsa. It ended with the complete defeat of the Damiḷas, and with the death of Eḷāra who was killed by Duṭṭhagāmaṇi in single combat near the southern gate of Anurādhapura[2].

1 *Rājāvaliya*, ed. B. Guṇasekara, p. 219: *adharmmayen sūsāḷis avuruddak rājyaya kaḷeya*. See *Rājaratnākaraya*, ed. Saddhānanda, p. 11; a contribution to the History of Ceylon, transl. from "*Pujāvaliya*" by B. Guṇasekara, p. 15.

2 A cluster of ruins not far from the Mahāvihāra are called in popular tradition the tomb of Eḷāra. Excavations, however, have

Duṭṭhagāmaṇi was clever enough in politics to appreciate the importance and the influence on people's mind of the Buddhist doctrine. Thus after having established his kingdom in Anurādhapura he became a zealous protector of the church. He built in his capital the Maricavaṭṭivihāra and the Lohapāsāda, and the most celebrated monument of Ceylon, the Mahāthūpa, now called Ruwanwäli-Dagoba, was his work. His numerous meritorious acts are highly praised in the historical books. He died in the year 77 B.C. after a reign of twenty-four years.

The influence on politics of the Buddhist church seems to have increased since the time of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, for when after the decease of his immediate successor Saddhātissa (77-59 B.C.) a new king was to be elected, the counsellors consecrated the prince Thūlathana as king "with the consent of the brotherhood"[1]. Thūlathana, however, was soon supplanted by Lañjatissa who himself after a reign of nine years (59-50 B.C.) was succeeded by his brothers Khallāṭa-nāga (50-44 B. C.) and Vaṭṭagāmaṇi.

During Vaṭṭagāmaṇi's reign the Damiḷas renewed their efforts to take possession of Laṅkā. The king was defeated in a battle which seems to have taken place near the northern gate of his capital, and was compelled to hide himself fourteen years in the house of one of his faithful subjects. Afterwards he resumed the war with the invaders. He conquered the Damiḷa usurper Dāṭhika and reigned for twelve years more. Vaṭṭagāmaṇi is the founder of the Abhayagirivihāra in the north of Anurādhapura[2]. The

shown that these ruins never were a tomb, but rather a Vihāra, probably the Dakkhiṇavihāra of Mv. See A. M. Hocart, Memoirs of Arch. Surv. Ceylon, I, 1924, p. 54; Parker, Ancient Ceylon, p. 312.

1 Mv. xxxiii. 18 : *saṃghānuññāya.*

2 As the names of Jetavana and of the Abhayagirithūpa have no doubt been interchanged in modern times, I fully agree with Mr. Hocart that it will be advisable to speak of a Northern Stūpa and of an Eastern Stūpa. The former is the Abhayagiri, the latter the Jetavana.

fraternity of this monastery afterwards seceded from that of the Mahāvihāra, and from it the monks of the Dakkhiṇavihāra separated, thus the Theravāda split up into several groups. The Abhayagiri monks afterwards accepted the doctrine of a teacher of the Mahāsaṃghika school and were called Dhammarucikā after his name[1]. It was at Vaṭṭagāmaṇi's time that the Tipiṭaka and its Aṭṭhakathā, orally handed down in former times, were written down in book-form. (Dv. xx. 20-21 ; Mv. xxxiii. 100-101).

Vaṭṭagāmaṇi died in the year 17 B.C. The chronology of his reign is fairly well established. According to Mv. (xxxiii. 80-81) an interval of 217 years 10 months and 10 days lies between the foundation of the Mahāvihāra and that of the Abhayagiri. As the former event can be fixed on May 18, 246 B.C.[2], we are brought to the end of March, 28 B. C. for the founding of the latter monastery.

### IV. FOURTH PERIOD : FROM MAHĀCŪLĪ MAHĀTISSA TO MAHĀSENA

Vaṭṭagāmaṇi's successor was Mahācūlī Mahātissa, son of his elder brother Khallāṭa-nāga. He was followed by Vaṭṭagāmaṇi's son Coranāga who was killed by his own consort Anulā. This wicked woman murdered also Coranāga's successor Tissa and her four paramours, when she became weary of them. She was herself killed by Mahācūlī's son Kūṭakaṇṇatissa—a bloody picture, indeed of the Sinhalese court at that period. But it is hardly necessary to mention the names of all the kings reigning in Ceylon during the first three centuries A.D. Some of them are highly praised in the chronicles as being devoted patrons of the Buddhist church, thus e.g. Bhātikābhaya (38-66 A.D.), Mahādāṭhikamahānāga (66-78 A.D.), and Vasabha (124-168 A.D.). They founded many monasteries and restored or embellished the ancient

1 *Nikāya Saṅgrahawa*, ed. Wickremasinghe, p. 11 ; A. M. Hocart, Mem. Arch. Surv. of Ceylon, I, pp. 15ff.

2 Fleet, J.R.A.S., 1909, p. 25 ; Geiger, Mv. transl., pp. xxxiv-li.

buildings. Great internal troubles appear to have been caused by the rebellion against king Iḷanāga (95-101 A.D.) of the Lambakaṇṇas (Mv. xxxv. 16ff.) but the rebellion was suppressed with cruelty. The Lambakaṇṇas were one of the most distinguished Sinhalese clans, from which also sprang several kings of Ceylon, e.g., Vasabha, Saṃghatissa, Saṃghabodhi and Goṭhakābhaya. The last three kings reigned from 296 to 315 A.D. Even Lañjatissa was a Lambakaṇṇa, for he is called Lămăni Tissa in later books, and his brother Vaṭṭagāmaṇi therefore was also a descendant of the same clan. The kings mentioned, as I said above, in ancient Sinhalese inscriptions are Vasabha, Vaṅkanāsika Tissa (168-171 A.D.), Gajabāhugāmaṇi (171-193 A. D.), Mahallanāga (193-199 A.D.), and Kaniṭṭha Tissa (223-241 A.D.). They are called in the inscriptions successively Vasaba or Vahaba, Devānapiya Tissa, Gajabāhu Gāmiṇi Abaya, Devānapiya Naka, and Maḷu Tisa[1].

The last king of the so-called "Greater Dynasty" was Mahāsena who may have reigned in the first half of the fourth century A.D. Misled by the wicked thera Saṃghamitta and by the minister Soṇa the king vexed the monks of the Mahāvihāra and compelled them to abandon it so that it was desolate for nine years. Though he afterwards caused it to be restored, he built within its boundaries the Jetavanavihāra, thus again encroaching upon the rights of the older monastery. There was always a rivalry between the two fraternities just as even now the Jetavana Thūpa rivals in grandeur and beauty the Mahāthūpa and the Abhayagiri.

W. GEIGER

1 Edw. Müller, *Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon*, p. 25ff.; H. C. P. Bell, *Arch., Survey of C.*, xiii. 1896, p. 47-48 ; Wickramasinghe, *Epigraphia Zeyla-nica*, I, pp. 58ff., 67, 140ff., 148f., 208ff., 252f. See also above p. 100.

# Stūpa and Tomb

The *Stūpa* is classed in Buddhist literature as *Sārīrika-cetiya* or sepulchral sanctuary enshrining the charred bones or ashes from the funeral pyre of a deceased hero. The Buddhist hero is a Buddha or a Thera, the greatest hero being the Buddha himself. The Sinhalese word denoting this class of sanctuaries is *Dāgaba*, which is a shorter form of *Dhātugarbha*. The *Dhātugarbha* strictly denotes the underground, inner or lower chamber, containing the relic-casket or steatite box, and the *Stūpa* the upper structure or covering mound. Thus as in one case the whole sanctuary is denoted by the name of the upper structure, so in the other the name of the lower or inner structure denotes the whole. The word *Stūpa* is the Buddhist Sanskrit form of the Pāli *Thūpa*. The origin of the form *Thūpa* can be traced back to an Indo-European word like *Tumba*[1], from which the English *Tomb* or the French *Tombe* has been derived. According to this connexion, the *Stūpa* is nothing but a *Tomb* or *tumulus*.

1 The place mentioned in the Sutta-Nipāta, p. 103, as Vana is evidently referred to in some of the Votive Labels of Sanchi Stūpa, I as Tuṃbavana or Tubavana (Bühler's Sanchi Stūpa Inscriptions I. 22, 23, 81, 264, 265 and 330 in Epigraphia Indica, vol. II). The same place came to be known in Buddhaghoṣa's time by two names: Tumbanagara and Vanasāvatthī. See Paramatthajotikā, II, p. 583. The word *tumbā* or *tumba* is in the Chittagong dialect a synonym of *tuṃ*, *tubā*, *tuppā*, *tūā* and *tūp*, meaning 'a piled up heap', e.g., the heap of earth, of straw, of paddy, of cow-dung. *Tumbā* is an East-Bengal and a Marāṭhi form. Cf. Latin *tumba*. In the Jaina Prakrit *tuṃba* and *tuṃbī* mean *alābu* or gourd and *tuṃba* also means the navel of a wheel (Haragovinda Das Seth's Paia-Sadda-Mahaṇṇava). In Pāli *tuṃba* means an *āḷhaka* which is a measure of grain, and *tuṃbī* a gourd (See Childers). But these words occur in this sense in comparatively modern works.

But in spite of this kinship, the *Stūpa* considered as a Buddhist sepulchral sanctuary and the *Tomb* a Christian sepulchral structure represent two different lines on which tumulus or mound has developed. The custom behind the *Stūpa* is cremation and the custom which is bound up with the *Tomb* is burial. The transition from the latter to the former is a long step.

The *Tomb* is essentially a mound covering a grave in which the actual dead body is buried. The body within the grave may be either directly covered by clods of earth, particles of sand or pieces of stone and brick, or put inside a coffin or life-size box or cylinder of wood or stone. The body may be interred as mere body, or it may be washed and embalmed, wrapped up in cloth, dressed up, adorned with jewellery, honoured with flowers and garlands, and provided with personal belongings and necessaries, as a tribute and mark of affection, either out of a pure æsthetic feeling of taste, or owing to a superstitious fear of visits and oppressions from the disembodied spirits, or on account of a human compassion for the helpless condition of the deceased. With the elaboration of protective mechanism, there may be a tomb within a tomb, a grave within a grave, and a coffin within a coffin. Here the desire to protect the body by all possible means from destruction, mutilation, shame and insult is persistent throughout, and the hoarding of jewellery is a side-issue.

The *Stūpa* is essentially a mound covering a *garbha* or chamber in which the bodily remains are deposited. The remains consist of the charred bones and ashes from the funeral pyre where the dead body is burnt. These, as deposited in the chamber, may be covered with the heap of earth, sand, stone or brick, or secured inside a large stone-box along with precious metals and small gold-leaves, or separately in urns. The urn in a Buddhist sanctuary is represented by a vase of crystal or ordinary stone, covered by a lid and inscribed with a label recording whose bodily remains the contents are. Here the hoarding of treasures takes the place

of the preservation of the body[1]. In covering the chamber with a mound, the offerings of flowers, garlands and burning oil-lamps are made in honour of the relics. The implication is that the relics are not only deposited but enshrined. With the elaboration of hoarding and enshrining mechanism, there may be a mound within a mound, a chamber within a chamber, a box within a box, and an urn within an urn. The jewels and coins are deposited with the express purpose of enabling the poorer kings to repair or rebuild the shrine. The fiction of the burial of a warrior-hero continues to play its part. The erection of the sanctuary proceeds on the line of the building of a fort, surrounded by walls and ramparts, and supervised by a military guard. The towers and gateways, as well as the representations of achievements of heroes are external features of the art of fort-building. In passing the custom of burial through the fire of the funeral pyre, the superstitious elements in it are sought to be eliminated and the æsthetic elements separated and cast into brighter forms.

The processes of elimination and sublimation were tried along both the lines, in the one by retaining the earlier custom of burial and preserving the actual body, and in the other by introducing the system of burning and hoarding the remains of the pyre together with other treasures. But the animistic beliefs, the superstitious fears, natural weaknesses and primitive sentiments were persistent among the people at large. The screen of fire of the funeral pyre served only to separate these elements, keeping some on one side to do their works as before, and passing some to the other side to improve the quality of art. The burial aspect of the *Stūpa*

1 The very expression *dhātu-nidhāna* suggests it. Cf. the phrase *nidhiṃ nidheti*, meaning 'hoards the treasure', Nidhikaṇḍa Sutta in Khuddakapāṭha. The other expression *dhātu-ropaṇa* suggests also the allegory of planting the seed, the seed of the tree of art, the tree of faith and culture.

continued to be associated with primitive beliefs, rites and practices. It will be interesting to examine the Indian literary evidence in this connexion.

In a Pāli canonical passage the Buddha is said to have made a statement referring to the bleaching of bones (*aṭṭhi-dhòpana*) as a rite prevalent in southern countries (i. e., in South India). In explaining the rite Buddhaghoṣa says that in some of the countries (i. e., among some of the aboriginal tribes) when a man died, his body was not cremated but buried in a grave. When the body was sufficiently decomposed, the bones were dug out of the grave and left to dry up after being washed and rubbed with aromatic substances. A lucky day was fixed for the celebration of the mourning festival. On the selected site the bones were arranged on one side, and wine and other things on the other. The kinsmen of the deceased person assembled there, drank wine and wept[1]. Here the custom is that of burial, the bones are the objects of preservation, the behaviour is characterised by drunkenness and savagery, and the weeping is a natural expression of sorrow.

Now take a case where cremation is the custom. The Sujāta-Jātaka (No.352) relates that a landowner from the day of his father's death was filled with sorrow, and taking his bones from the place of cremation he erected an earth-mound in his pleasure-garden, and depositing the remains there, he visited the place from time to time, adorned the tope with flowers and studiously lamented, neglecting his daily duties and personal comforts. Though here the custom is one of cremation and the man is a member of the Aryan or cultured community, he is said to have lamented, being subject to natural weakness and subconsciously under the superstitious belief that his weeping might bring back the departed soul, and he was not cured of this malady until his wise son, the Bodhisattva Sujāta, convinced him of the fact that his weeping

1 Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī, I, pp. 84, 85.

was less availing as a means of bringing back into life the deceased whose body was burnt than feeding a dead cow whose body still remained[1].

Then consider a case where the custom is burial. The Rg-Vedic hymn (x. 18) gives a vivid description of the funeral of a warrior. It appears that the dead-body was carried to the funeral ground by one path, the path of death and the party returned by another, the path of life. The wife of the deceased hero followed the dead body, accompanied by other ladies, the ladies who were not widows walking ahead. The earth was dug out to make a grave. The spot was surrounded by an enclosure (*paridhi*), by a stone-rampart *pāṣāṇa*) as Sāyaṇa interprets it[2]. The wife of the hero was urged by the priest to go back, together with other ladies, to the world of mirth and joy and begin her life anew. The circle of stone was set up as a device to separate the world of living ones from that of the dead, the priest's interpretation changing the original motive of guarding the grave and imprisoning the ghost. But this was also put up as a memorial, the kinsmen of the hero being exhorted by the priest to keep alive his tradition and continue his work for their prosperity and glory. The bow was taken off from the hand of the hero for preservation as a source of inspiration to the nation. The body was afterwards gently laid in the grave and covered with the heap of earth marked with a post (*sthūṇa*). The mother-earth was asked to hold her son in her bosom, not allowing the heap or mound above him to press him heavily, and the tomb was intended to serve as a mansion and a monument. Though here the custom is one

1 Scene in Cunningham's Stūpa of Bharhut, pl. XLVII, 3.

2 Mahīdhara, in commenting upon the Yajurveda hymn (XXXV. 15), says that after the burning of the body, the duty of the priest was to raise a bank or lump of earth between the village where the deceased dwelt and the funeral ground, as a rampart against death. See Wilson's Rg-Veda Saṃhitā, vol. VI, p. 47, f.n. 4.

of burial, the rites and prayers, the motives and expressions are of an Aryan or exalted character, breathing as they do, a high moral tone.

It is well observed that the topes were not especially Buddhist monuments, but, in fact, pre-Buddhistic, and indeed only a modification of a world-wide custom[1]. There are clear evidences showing that certain sections of the Aryan community began to make solid brick structures instead of heaps of earth, or of stones covered with earth[2], and that the urn (*asthikumbha*), containing the bones and ashes and covered by a lid, came to be buried after the dead body had been burnt[3]. On being asked how his body should be disposed of, the Buddha said that it should be done in royal manner. The Mahākapi-Jātaka (No. 407) gives an account of the obsequies of a king. The ladies of the royal harem came to the funeral ground, as retinue for the deceased king, with red garments, dishevelled hair and torches in their hands. The ministers made a funeral pile with a hundred waggon loads of wood. On the spot where the body was burnt a shrine was erected and honoured for seven days with offerings of incense and flowers. The burnt skull, inlaid with gold, was put at the king's gate, raised on the spear-like staff serving as royal insignia (*kuntagge*), and was honoured. Then taking it as a relic, another shrine was built and honoured with incense and garlands.

It is well suggested: "The first step was probably merely to build the cairn more carefully than usual with stones, and to cover the outside with fine *cunam* plaster to give it a marble-like surface[4]. The next step was to build the cairn

1 Buddhist India, p. 80. 2 White Yajurveda, xxxv. 15.

3 Āśvalāyana Gṛhya-Sûtra, IV. 5; Sāyaṇa on the Ṛg-Veda hymn (x. 18).

4 Cf. Divyāvadāna, p. 381: *cakre stūpānāṃ śāradābhraprabhānāṃ*, "made the topes that shone forth like autumn-clouds".

of concentric layers of the huge bricks in use at the time, and to surround the whole with a wooden railing"[1].

The heroes over whose graves, funeral pyres, or bodily remains, the shrines were raised, were all as yet 'deceased persons of distinction, either by birth, or wealth, or official position, the chief of them being warrior, king, overlord. The mounds built in honour of their memory were all as yet looked upon as monuments of victory. The presiding deities of such shrines built on four sides of the cities like Vesālī, Malla and Āḷavaka were all *Yakṣas* or dreaded personalities among the luminaries, the elemental forces, the inanimate things, the animate forms, the animals on land and in water, the savage tribes and civilised men. They were at the same time all entombed eponymic and deified heroes from whom the members of ruling clans, tribes and nations sought to derive their strength and inspiration. Though the basic idea was hero-worship, the *Yakṣa*-shrines built beside the *Yakṣa*-mansions were all believed to have been possessed by the disembodied spirits and haunted by the ghosts of these heroes. The elements of dread superstition clang on to these shrines which were evidently tombs over the prehistoric graves in which the heroes were buried together with their jewels and hoardings. Though the mode of worship became imperceptibly Brahmanical or priestly, the heroes continued to be remembered in tradition and myth of the people at large as their own leaders, and religious offerings and worship at the tombs enshrining their memory and bodily remains regarded as a way of producing the permanent mental attitude to remain loyal to the glorious tradition of the past and not to depart therefrom. When, in course of time, the kings and nobles became 'the leaders of thought, or reformers, or philosophers, they were claimed by the people at large as their own teachers, much to the detriment of the interest of the priests who traded by mediation between men on one

1 Buddhist India, p. 80.

side and the unseen and invisible world of spirits on the other. A passage in the Divyāvadāna supplies a typical case where the Brahmin priests as a class are represented as so much opposed to this mode of worship that the bankers who wanted to build a *Stūpa* in spite of the opposition, but were fewer in number, that they had to seek the protection of the king and complete their project under the guard of the royal army[1]. The development of the art of building this class of shrines took a new turn and followed a direction which went to overshadow warrior the king by warrior the teacher. In the history of this development the Buddha was certainly the greatest landmark. What is the new turn that it took and what the direction that it followed? Hitherto the mounds were built and shrines honoured as monuments of victory. Henceforth they were intended to serve as monuments of victory in defeat.

In a Buddhist sanctuary with the mound in its centre, the carvings and frescoes, depicting various scenes from the Buddha's life, and the temples and niches containing the images illustrative of the formal modes of various meditative moods, are all placed in the outer zone, added as ornaments or decorative designs, full of lesson and artistic value. From the artists' point of view these are various expressions of refined human imagination and finer emotion, and in the devotees' perception these appear as representations of the actual and possible achievements in human life. The central structure towering with its imposing sight is but a device to preserve and enshrine the bones and ashes from the funeral pyre where the body of the Buddha or that of a disciple after death was cremated. There are old inscriptions or epitaphs, incised on the relic-caskets and recording when, by whom, and whose remains were enshrined. The famous

1 Divyāvadāna, pp. 243-244; "The priestly records carefully ignore these topes" (Buddhist India, p. 82).

Piprawa Vase Inscription, found in Nepal Terai, records :— *Iyaṃ salila-nidhane Budhasa Bhagavate Sakiyanaṃ sukiti-bhatinaṃ.* "This (memorial mound enshrining the relics was built) on the demise of Buddha the Divine Teacher by his Śākyan kinsmen of glorious deed."

The expression *salila-nidhane* occurring in it signifies that the Buddha's body, exactly like that of any other man, was subject to decay and consumable by fire. There are passages where he is represented as saying that he was anyhow dragging his worn-out body, like a cart after careful repairing. The presence of hair, nail, bone, tooth, and the rest indicates that he had a human form. The legends and traditions, the sculptures and paintings, the images and inscriptions go to represent that he was born under all ideal circumstances of life, and that in all respects he was perfect, as perfect as a man could be. And yet the fact remains that he died. The mounds contain the monumental evidence of man's inability to overcome death in spite of all ideal circumstances, opportunities, attainments and perfections. By mere explaining away or mocking at death, the truth about man's inability to overcome it cannot be denied. The fact of the demise and funeral of the Buddha decides once for all that the denial of it is a mere act of fancy and frenzy, and all attempts to deny it are a bad bargain and a hopeless muddle. The bold proclamation of this truth is the obvious Buddhist motive behind the *Stūpa*.

The Barhut Stūpa as a creation of art represents a distinct form or type. The *Stūpas* at Sanchi and Sonari, in short, all the Bhilsa topes belong to this type. The models produced by the Barhut artists can be taken as faithful representations of the forms known to them at the time or they imagined what they ought to be. The scenes of relic-procession represent how the casket containing the remains of the funeral pyre was carried to the site where it was deposited. One of the Pillars full of medallions contains a geometrical symbol, which may be taken to represent the ground plan of the brick-

mound[1]. It shows that the layers of large bricks were so arranged as to illustrate various permutations and combinations of *Svastikas*[2]. The forms changed or were modified with times and according to localities, the process being one of differentiation or harmonisation between the mound on one hand and the mansion or temple on the other. The tope built by the Sakyan kinsmen of the Buddha over their portion of the remains of his funeral pyre is an earlier example, but this is still in ruins and has not as yet been restored[3]. The Ahin Posh tope, restored by Mr. W. Simpson, is a later example, and it shows a long flight of steps in front, leading up to the dome[4].

Buddhaghoṣa gives the following description of the tope built by and during the reign of king Ajātaśatru for hoarding the relics in one place (*dhātu-nidhāna*). His description is evidently coloured by what he saw at Thūpārāma in Ceylon.[1] To start with, the bricks were made out of pure earth dug out of a field to the south-east of Rājagṛha. The people were told that the king's intention was to build some shrines in honour of the eighty great Disciples. When the cavity had been dug so deep as 80 cubits, the bed was metalled with iron, and upon it was built a chamber of copper and iron of the same dimension as the shrine of Thūpārāma. In this chamber were placed eight mound-shaped relic-boxes of white sandal, containing the relics of the Buddha. Each of these was put within seven other boxes of red sandal, of ivory and the like, the uppermost one being made of crystal. All these were covered up by three chambers, one within another, the uppermost one of copper and iron serving as the upper half of the chamber-box. Having scattered sand with seven precious metals, one thousand lotus flowers growing on land

1 Cunningham's Stūpa of Bharhut, pl. XII. 2 *Ibid.*, pl. XI.
3 Buddhist India, p. 33. Smith's History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon, p. 84. 4 Buddhist India, p. 83.
5 Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī, Siamese ed., Part II. pp. 271-276.

and in water were strewn over it. Five hundred and fifty Jātaka-illustrations and the figures of eighty great Disciples and those of Śuddhodana and Mahāmāyā as well as those of seven comrades were made all in gold. Five thousand gold and silver jars filled with water were set up, five hundred golden flags were hoisted, five hundred golden lamps, and silver lamps of equal number were filled with fragrant oil and provided with wick on two sides. The Venerable Mahākāśyapa sanctified them, saying, "Let these garlands never wither, let this fragrance never vanish and these lamps never become extinct." A prophecy was inscribed on a gold-plate to the effect that king Aśoka would in time to come spread these relics far and wide. The king having honoured the relics with all kinds of jewellery, came out shutting the doors one by one. The door of the copper-and-iron chamber was sealed, and upon it was placed a piece of precious gem with an inscription, authorising the poorer kings to honour the relics with its aid. Thereafter Śakra sent Viśvakarmā to do all that was needed to protect the hoarded relics. He set up traps to keep off wild animals (*vāḷasaṅghāṭayanta*), surrounded the relic-chamber (*dhātugabbha*) by a wooden enclosure with wooden posts carved with the figures of soldiers holding swords (*asihatthāni kaṭṭharūpakāni*), and encircled the same by stone in the manner of a brick-structure. After having thrown dust-heap over it, and levelled the ground, a stone-mound was built covering it. When king Aśoka opened this tope after 218 years, he saw the oil-lamps burning as though they were just now lit up, and the lotus flowers fresh as though they were just now gathered and offered.

The story of Dharmaruci in the Divyāvadāna contains the description of another example of a tope. Here the tope, among other details, is said to have four staircases with steps leading, layer after layer, up to the dome with a crowning construction, surmounted by an umbrella, inlaid with all precious metals. On its four sides there were four doorways, and four shrines, one containing the representation

of the scene of birth, another that of enlightenment, the third that of first sermon, and the fourth that of demise of the Buddha[1].

B. M. BARUA

## Rasātala or the Under-World*

### III

Subāhu, Śrīvaha, Surasa and Subala[2] represent the Su tribes of Scythians. It is mentioned in the Mahābhārata that while Nārada and Mātali went to Pātāla to seek a suitable bridegroom for the latter's daughter, they after visiting Hiraṇyapura went to the country of the Suparṇas, and then visited the country of the Surabhis[3]. The mention of Hiraṇyapura in Pātāla gives us some indication where to seek for it. Kaśyapa had thirteen wives; he had by his wife Diti two sons, Hiraṇyākṣa and Hiraṇya-kaśipu, who were the ancestors of the Daityas; and the sons by his wife Danu were called Dānavas. Hiraṇyapura was the capital of the Daityas and Dānavas. It will be observed that on the south-eastern side of the Caspian Sea, there was an ancient town called Hyrcania, which was the capital of the country of the same name; it was situated near the modern town of Astrabad. On the southern and western sides of the Caspian Sea and immediately to the east, according to some authority, to the north of Media was the country of the Kaspii or Kaspios. The Caspian Sea was called by the name of "Mare Caspium or Hyrcania" by the classical writers. The name of Hyrcania appears to be connected with those of the two brothers

Subāhu and other Su tribes.

* Continued from p. 463 of Vol. I.

1 Divyāvadāna, p. 244.

2 *Mbh.*, Ādi, ch. 35; Udyoga, chs. 101, 102.

3 *Ibid.*, Udyoga, chs. 99, 100, 101.

Hiraṇyākṣa and Hiraṇya-kaśipu, the "Ādi" or primitive Daityas who founded a royal dynasty[1], and the name of the Kaspii also appears to be connected with that of their father Kaśyapa. It is curious that the royal Scythians claim their descent from Colaxais[2], who is perhaps identical with Kaśyapa, the progenitor of the Daityas, Dānavas, Asuras, Nāgas and other Turanian tribes, who were, of course, non-Aryans. There can be no doubt therefore that the Daityas and Dānavas lived on the southern and western sides of the Caspian Sea and on the north and the east of the ancient country of Ariana. Hyrcania therefore was the Hiraṇyapura of the Mahābhārata. From Hiraṇyapura, Nārada and Mātali went to the country of the Suparṇas[3] or Garuḍa birds. The names of all the clans which belonged to this tribe commenced with Su[4], and therefore they must have belonged to the Su tribe of Scythians. They evidently lived on the north of Hyrcania, and their country was separated from the latter by the river Atrik, the ancient name of which was Sarnius which is apparently a corruption of Suparṇa. Sarnius therefore separated the kingdom of Hiraṇyapura from the country of the Suparṇas. Hence the Suparṇas lived in Turkestan, including the Trans-Caspian district, bounded on the west by the Caspian Sea, on the south by the river Sarnius, and on the north by the river Jaxartes. Strabo also mentions that on advancing from the south-east of the Caspian Sea towards the east, the nations to be met with were the Dahæ, Massagetæ

1 *Bhāgavata*, iii, ch. 17; *Mbh.*, Vana, ch. 101.

2 Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Bk. iv, ch. 6 (vol. I, p. 289).

3 *Mbh.*, Udyoga, ch. 101, v. 1, *Ayaṃ lokaḥ suparṇānāṃ pakṣiṇāṃ pannagāśinām.*

4 *Ibid.*, Udyoga, ch. 101, vs. 2, 3,: *Vainateyasutaiḥ sūta shaḍbhis tatam idaṃ kulam, sumukhena sunāmnā ca sunetreṇa suvarcasā. Surucā pakṣirājena subalena ca mātale, varddhitāni prasṛtyā vai vinatā-kula kartṛbhiḥ.*

etc., who belonged to the Su tribe[1]. From the country of the Suparṇas, Nārada and Mātali went to the country of the Surabhis or the cow-tribe[2]. Surabhi is apparently the Sanskritised form of Khorasmii of the Greek writers. The country of the Surabhis therefore was situated on the north of the Oxus; it is now called Kharism or the Khanat of Khiva; it is also called Urgendj or Orgunje[3], which is the Urjagunḍa of the Matsya Purāṇa[4]. Strabo distinctly says that "the Khorasmii belong to the Massagetæ"[5] and therefore there can be no doubt that the Khorasmii or the Surabhis belonged to the Su tribe. It appears that Saramā, who was sent by Indra to ascertain the place where the cows robbed by the Paṇis, the Parnis of Strabo, as the Dahæ were called, who lived on the eastern side of the Caspean Sea[6], had been kept concealed, was also a Scythian. Saramā apparently represents the tribe of "Sarmatians, who are Scythians" and who lived on the north of the Caspian Sea[7]. Su-parṇas and Su-rabhis, and Saramā, who is described as a 'fair' woman, belonged to the Su tribe of the Scythians, and it appears that they were the early converts to the Aryan religion. They were taken into the communities of Aryans, and to each converted tribe was assigned some particular duty. Thus the Suparṇa tribe became their charioteers, as Garuḍa, called also Suparṇa, was the charioteer of Viṣṇu, and his brother Aruṇa was the charioteer of Sūrya. Su-bāhu, which means 'one with beautiful arms' is the same as Su-parṇa, which means 'one with beautiful plumage or wings'[8]. It appears that the Suparṇas were also

1 *Geography of Strabo*, vol. ii, p. 245, sec. 2, and note 2; *JBBRAS.*, vol. xxiv, p. 548.

2 *Mbh.*, Udyoga, ch. 101.

3 Vambery's *Travels in Central Asia*, p. 339; Burnes' *Travels in Bokhara*, vol. iii, p. 162.

4 *Matsya P.*, ch. 121, v. 46.

5 *Strabo*, bk. xi, ch. viii, 8.

6 *Ibid.*, bk. xi, ch. vii, 1.

7 *Ibid.*, bk. xi, ch. ii, 1.

8 *Mbh.*, Ādi, ch. 93.

called Śrīvaha[1] which means "beautiful". It has already been stated that Su-tala received its name from the Ki-darites. It cannot be ascertained whether the word *Śrī* is a corruption of *Ki-darites* or not, but there can be no doubt that *Su* stands for *Ki* of *Ki-darites*, as the Turanian *k*, or rather the non-Aryan *k* is equivalent to Sanskrit *s*, as *Sumukha* for *Kumiic*, *Surabhi* for *Khorasmii*, *Śālmala-dvīpa* for *Chal-dia*. It should be stated here that according to Drouin, the Kidarites were a Hunnic tribe different from the Ephthalites[2]. The Surabhi converts became the milkmen and soothsayers of the Aryans. According to Herodotus there were many people in Scythia who could foretell the future by means of willow wands, and it appears that the Surabhis were especially endowed with power of prophecy[3]. It was purely a Magian prctice[4]. Surabhis were also called Surasa and Subala for supplying milk, and Vaśiṣṭha's 'cow', which evidently belonged to the Surabhi tribe, was called Subalā[5]. The Saramā converts became door-keepers and watchmen[6] of the ancient Aryans. Saramā, according to the Bhāgavata, was one of the wives of Kaśyapa[7].

That the Suparṇas were early converts to the Aryan religion is confirmed by the fact that Dr. Spooner, was very much impressed "with the striking iconographical resemblance between the sculptured images of Garuḍa in India and the customary figure of Ahura Mazda in ancient Persian Art", and he says

Names of Garuḍa.

1 *Ibid.*, Udyoga, ch. 101, v. 5.

2 *JBBRAS.*, vol. xxiv, p. 571 note.

3 Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. I, p. 313 (bk. iv, ch. 67); *Mārkaṇḍeya P.*, ch. 21.

4 Rawlinson's *Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World*, vol. iii, p. 130.

5 *Rāmāyaṇa*, Ādi, ch. 52.

6 *Ṛg-veda* x, 14, 7-11; see Monier Williams' *Indian Wisdom*, p. 208.

7 *Śabdakalpadruma*, sv. *Kaśyapa*.

that he found some relation between Garuḍa, the vehicle of Viṣṇu, and Garō-nmānem, the abode of Ahura Mazda in the Avesta[1]. Dr. Modi objects to this identification on the ground that one has to take the Avesta *n* for the Indian *d*[2]. But Dr. Spooner was correct in his identification, as his statement is confirmed by the Mahābhārata. Garuḍa, while carrying the elephant and the tortoise with his nails, was invited by a Banyan tree (*Ficus Indica*) to sit upon its branch and eat them, and he was addressed "Oh Garut-man, you sit upon my extensive branch one hundred yojanas wide and eat the elephant and the tortoise"[3].

The Amara-koṣa and other lexicographies and the Padma Purāṇa[4] have got Garutmān as one of the names of Garuḍa[5]. The abode or paradise of Ahura Mazda named Garō-nmānem[6] is also called by the names of Garōtmān in the Pahlavi commentary of the Avesta[7], Garothmān by the Parsis[8], Garodmān[9] and Garō-demāna[10] in the Avesta. Garut-mān of the Mahābhārata and the Padma Purāṇa

1 Dr. Spooner's *Zoroastrian Period of Indian History* in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1915, p. 427, where he quotes the following passage from the *Vendidad*:—"I invoke Garô-nmānem, the abode of Ahura Mazda." See also Fergusson's *Nineveh and Persepolis*, p. 295 note.

2 Dr. J. J. Modi's *Ancient Pāṭaliputra* in *JBBRAS.*, xxiv, p. 530.

3 *Mbh.*, Ādi, ch. 29.

4 *Padma P.*, Sṛṣṭi, ch. 44, *Taṁ ca dṛṣṭvā Garutmāṁś ca praṇamya śirasā Harim.*

5 *Śabdakalpadruma*, *sv.* Garuḍa.

6 *Vendidad*, ch. 32 (150); *Yast*, iii, 1, 4; *S. B. E.*, iv, pp. 214, 215; xxiii, p. 43; *Visparad*, vii; *S. B. E.*, xxxi, p. 345.

7 *S. B. E.*, iv, p. 230 note.

8 *Ibid.*, vol. iv, p. 214 note; xxiii, pp. 317 n., 337 n.

9 *Gāthās*, Yasna, li, 15. Garôḍman means Home of Song, *S. B. E.*, vol. xxxi, p. 184.

10 *Rashn Yast* (xii), 37; *S. B. E.*, xxiii, p. 177.

therefore appear to be identical with Garotman, Garothmān and Garoḍmān. But as the bird saved the lives of the Bālakhilya ṛṣis by holding up the broken branch with his beak, the ṛṣis bestowed upon him the name of Garuḍa for his power of bearing such an immense burden, and since that day he has been called Garuḍa[1]. It is therefore clear that his former name was Garutmān and not Garuḍa. It is also related that while Garuḍa was carrying away *amṛta* or nectar in order to release his mother Vinatā from her thraldom, Indra hurled at him his thunderbolt. It did him no injury whatever, yet in deference to the ṛṣi with whose bone the thunderbolt was manufactured, he gave up a feather which was so beautiful that the gods conferred upon him the title Suparṇa, and since that day he has been called Suparṇa and he became a friend of Indra[2], which perhaps indicates that in the religious schism he sided with the party of Indra. Garuḍa's name is mentioned in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka[3]. This clearly proves that the Su tribes of the Scythians had become converts to the Aryan religion at a remote period, long before the Indo-Aryans migrated to the Punjab. Dr. Modi says, "The Su tribe, which was attacked (by the Huns), consisted of the different Turanian tribes, such as the Messagatœ, Tochari, and Dahæ, who lived on the frontiers of Persia on the shores of the Upper Jaxartes"[4].

Animal shapes of Scythian converts.

It will be remarked that notwithstanding the inclusion of the Scythian converts into the Aryan communities, some distinction appears to have heen made between them and the true Aryans by ascribing to them some animal forms with a view to denote their Turanian origin. Thus the Suparṇas were considered as birds, the Surabhis as cows, the Saramās as dogs. To other Hunnic converts was given the shape of snakes.

1 *Mbh.*, Ādi, ch. 30.
2 *Ibid.*, Ādi, ch. 33.
3 *Tait. Ār.* X, I, 6.
4 *JBBRAS.* xxiv, p. 548.

The episode of the fight between the *Gaja* and the *Kacchapa* that is the Elephant and the Tortoise, as related in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas,[1] is an allegorical description of a protracted war between the people of Gazaka or Gaza—representatives of the Aryans, and the now extinct tribe called Kaspii (the Turanian Dānavas), till they were both exterminated by Garuḍa, (the Turnanian Huns). This is a traditional account of a war between the two races at a remote period before the Aryan migration to India. Gazaka or Gaza, as it was called, was the summer capital of Atropatene[2], modern Azerbijan, one of the two divisions into which ancient Media was divided, Atropatene being the eastern division. According to Pliny[3], the Kaspii lived on the north of Media along the Caspian Sea near the river Cyrus or the modern Kuru, on the southern side of Armenia and Albania. According to Strabo their country called Caspiana appertained to Albania[4], but elsewhere he designates them by the name of Cossæi and says that they lived to the east of Media[5]. There can be no doubt therefore that they lived on the eastern side of Media but towards the north. The Kaspii were a famous tribe, as after their name the Caucasus mountain is called Mount Kaspius and the Hyrcanian Sea the Caspian Sea[6]. There can be no doubt that the country of the Kaspii adjoined Atropatian Media or Azerbijan. The Kaspii have been described by Strabo[7] as a barbarous people who starved to death those among them who were above seventy years of age by exposing them

Fight between the Elephant and the Tortoise

1 *Mbh.*, Ādi, ch. 29; *Padma P.*, Sṛṣti, ch. 44:—*Tiṣṭhantau vipulau tatra jighāṃsū Gaja-Kacchapau, aprameyau mahāsatvau sāgarasthaikadeśataḥ.*

2 *Geography of Strabo*, vol. ii, p. 263.

3 *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 218, note 2

4 *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 234.

5 *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 264.

6 *Ibid.*, vol. ii, pp. 226, 234.

7 *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 258.

in a desert place. They were a tribe of marauding bandits who never lost an opportunity to exact tribute from the Median kings[1]. It is very probable that the name of the Kaspii suggested the name of Kaśyapa as the progenitor of the Turanian race. In the Atharva-Veda Kaśyapa denoted a tortoise[2]. Gazaka was situated on the south-western side of the Caspian Sea and on the south-eastern side of lake Urumiya, and the fight between the Gaja and the Kacchapa is said to have taken place near the sea-shore, evidently the shore of the Caspian Sea. Garuḍa, after he had carried the Nāgas (serpents) on his back at the command of the latter's mother Kadru and at the request of his own mother Vinatā to *Ramaṇīyaka-dvīpa*[3] learnt at that place about his mother's thraldom to Kadru and also the means of her emancipation from her servitude. Garuḍa felt very hungry, and by the direction of his mother he devoured myriads of Niṣādas or fishermen on the sea-shore, but his hunger was not satisfied. He therefore went to his father who was performing asceticism on the north of the *Lauhitya Sāgara*[4] or the Erythræan Sea, and by his instruction he took up the elephant and the tortoise, which were of enormous size, with one of his claws and flew to a Baṭa tree (*Ficus Indica*) situated at *Alamba tīrtha*, to eat them. The branch broke and he flew away to a mountain elsewhere and there devoured the elephant and the tortoise[5]. But the Purāṇas go still further. They state that the elephant was very much pressed in the fight, and in his despair he prayed to Viṣṇu to deliver him from his difficult position and Viṣṇu went to the spot on his vehicle Garuḍa, killed his enemy and

1 *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 264.

2 *Vedic Index*, vol. I, p. 144; *Atharva-veda*, iv, 207; *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, vii, 5, 1, 5.

3 *Mbh.*, Ādi, ch. 26.

4 *Padma P.*, Sṛṣṭi, ch. 44:—*Tava tātas tapas tepe Lauhityasyottare tate.*

5 *Mbh.*, Ādi, ch. 30.

saved him[1]. The Purāṇas, it will be remarked, thus preserve the Aryan origin of Gaja or the Elephant. It will be observed that the entire scene of the story is placed on the western side of the Caspian Sea, which is the Kṣīra-sāgara of the Purāṇas, and the *Ramaṇīyakadvīpa* may be easily identified with the *country of Armenia*, Ramaṇīyaka being a pleonastic form of *Ramaṇiya* or *Armenia*, and *Alamba* with *Albania*, the capital of the ancient province of the same name now called Shirwan, situated on the shore of the Caspian Sea, as is indicated by the word *tīrtha* attached to the name and by the distinct mention that the foot of the Baṭa tree situated in Alamba was laved by the waves of the 'sea'[2] which was evidently the Caspian Sea. The scene of the whole story therefore comprised Atropatian Media, Caspiana, Armenia and Albania, that is, most of the Trans-Caucasian States. Two facts may be deduced from the allegorical description of the fight. One is that the people of Azerbijan, the capital of which was Gazaka, and which in the language of the Avesta was called Āryavaijam, the supposed original home of the Aryans, were frequently subjected to the invasions and depredations of the barbarous nomad tribes by whom they were surrounded, and were in a constant state of insecurity. Hence it should be inferred that the principal cause of Aryan migration from Iran to India and the countries to the west was not so much for religious schism, as it has been generally supposed, though it may have been one of the causes; but was due to a feeling to escape from the oppression, cruelties and devastations of the barbarous tribes to a place of security where they could enjoy peace and the fruits of their labour in the fields. The other fact that may be deduced from the story is that Garuḍa, one of whose names was Śālmalī[3] or Chaldea, was originally an inhabitant of Chaldea[4] or

1 *Vāmana P.*, ch. 85. 2 *Mbh.*, Ādi, ch. 29. 3 *Amara-koṣa.*
4 *Bhāgavata*, v, 20, where it is said that Garuḍa lived upon the

Mesopotamia, and this is corroborated by the fact that his father Kaśyapa practised asceticism on the north of the Lauhitya (Red) or Erythræan Sea, which in the Pauranic language was called Ghṛta Samudra and which surrounded Śālmaladvīpa[1] or Chal-dea. It is also very probable that Kadru, the mother of the Nāgas, was a Kurd, Carduchi of the ancients[2] as her name indicates, that is a woman of Kurdistan, and that she was married to Kaśyapa who was perhaps the same as Colaxais[3] mentioned by Herodotus as the progenitor of the royal Scythians. Hence it should be inferred that Chaldea was the original abode at least of the Su and other kindred tribes of Scythians, and that they were obliged to emigrate to the east of the Caspian Sea, most probably on account of the growing powers of the Semitic race, as is represented by the story of Garuḍa having carried his deformed brother Aruṇa on his back to the east across the Sea[4]. Garuḍa was a Chaldean or a Mesopatamian from his mother's side; this accounts for his and his brother Aruṇa's early conversion to the Aryan or Mithraic religion. From the cuneiform inscriptions of Boghaz-Keui and Tel-el-Amarna it appears that the Mitannians or Hittites of Northern Mesopotamia worshipped Mithra and Varuṇa so far back as 1500 B.C.[5] The Iranian Mithra and the Vedic Mitra being the Sun-god, it is very probable that Mitanni was the "Mitravana" of the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa[6].

It is remarkable that almost all the generic names of the serpents in Sanskrit have been derived from the general and tribal names of the Huns and other Turanian races, as *Nāga* is a corruption of Hiung-nu[7] the original name of

Śālmalī tree (*Bombax Malabaricum*) which gave its name to the division called Śālmala-dvīpa.

1 *Varāha P.*, ch. 89. 2 *Strabo*, Bk. xiv, ch. I, 24. 3 Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Bk. iv, ch. 6. 4 *Mbh.*, Ādi, ch. 24, vs. 3, 4.

5 *Contemporary Review*, December, 1921, p. 767; Havell's *History of the Aryan Rule in India*, p. 41. 6 *Bhaviṣya P.*, I, 72, 4.

7 *JBBRAS.*, vol. xxiv, p. 544.

the Huns ; *Sarpa* corresponds to the tribal name of *Sartaspa* or *Sarwya*[1]; *Uraga* to the *Uigurs*[2], who were the ancestors of the Usbegs. The word *Uraga* could not have been possibly derived from the Urogs, as the Ugric tribes were called after the dismemberment of Attila's Hunnic empire in 462 A.D., because the word existed before that year, and the Ugric tribes should not be confounded with the Uigurs, an ancient Turkish tribe[3]. *Pannaga* is perhaps a combination of the two words *Parni*[4] (*Paṇi*) and *Nogāi*[5], the former being the name of a Scythic tribe which lived on the banks of the Jaxartes, and the latter lived on the north-east of the Caspian Sea.

Sanskrit names of serpents are almost all Hunnic names : Nāgas and other names.

*Ahi* is a corruption of *Azi* of the Azi dynasty, the founder of which was Azi Dahāka which literally means (*ahi*) "the fiendish snake". He was a king of Chaldea. He built a palace called Kvirinta or the palace of the Stork in Babylon[6]. He was the counterpart of the Vedic Ahi[7] or Vṛtra, killed by Indra,[8] who was therefore called Vṛtrahan (Verethragna of the Avesta)[9] . The Ahi kings of Babylon belonged, of course, to the Semitic race, but according to the Ṛg-veda[10], Vṛtra's mother was Danu, and therefore he was a Dānava, and consequently he must have been a Turanian. The original seat of Azi myth was on the southern coast of the Caspian

1 Tod's *Rājasthān*, vol. I, ch. 7, p. 104.

2 Max Müller's *Science* of *Language*, vol. I, p. 348.

3 *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 366.

4 *Strabo*, bk. xi, ch. ix, 2 ; vol. ii, p. 251 : *Ṛg-veda*, x,108, 1.

5 Max Müllers *Science of Language*, vol. I, p. 348.

6 *S. B. E.*, vol. xxiii, pp. 60, 61 ; *Ābān Yast* (V), 29 ; *Rām Yast* (XV), 19, pp. 253, 254.

7 *S. B. E.*, vol. iv, Introduction, p. 28.

8 *Ṛg-veda*, I, 32, 1 ; III, 32, 11.

9 *Encyclopœdia of Religion & Ethics*, vol. I, p. 792 ; *Bahrām Yast* in *S. B. E.*, vol. xxiii.

10 *Ibid.*, I, 32, 9 ; iii, 30, 8 ; see Max Müller's *Ṛg-veda Saṃhitā*,

Sea[1]. The legend of Azi is localised only in Medic lands[2]. Though Ahi Dāsa is the Sanskrit from of Azi Dahāka, yet I leave it to the philologists to decide whether the word *Daṃśaka* (biter) has not any connexion with the same word Dahāka in its application to Ahi or snake, as Dasyu or Dāsa corresponds with the Iranian Daŋhu.

(*To be continued*)

NUNDO LAL DEY

# The Trade of India

*(from the earliest period up to the 2nd century A.D.)*

## II

IV. The Nordic tribes of the Northern Steppe region (who, in my opinion, had no connection with the Āryas of India) migrated westwards between the 25th and the 20th century B. C., temporarily destroyed the old trade route from Khotan to the East Mediterranean coast and cut off the ancient trade in jade-stone between China and Troy. This probably led to the great development of the sea-trade of India, and this is the trade referred to in the quotations from the Vedic mantras given above. But yet this trade was chiefly in the hands of the Paṇis and other Dasyus, whom it is the fashion now to call "Dravidians." The Ṛṣis of the Āryas were interested only in the ultimate results of the voyages of merchants in the shape of *dakṣiṇā*. Hence the references to the sea in the Vedic mantras are sparse ; for it was the Paṇis and not the followers of the Ārya fire-cult that braved the terrors of the deep and carried Indian goods to far-off lands.

[1] *J. R. A. S.*, 1918, pp. 60-61. [2] *Ibid.*, vol. iv, p. 1 note.

V. Ebony, ivory, and cotton goods are mentioned in the Egyptian inscriptions as being supplied to Egypt in the second millennium B.C. by the Abyssinian and Somali (Punt) traders. Abyssina and Somaliland must have got this ebony from India: for (1) India was so noted for its ebony that Virgil[1] speaks of it as peculiar to this country ; and, (2) we learn from the *Periplus*[2] that ebony was exported from the west coast of India in the 1st century A. D. to Africa in order to be sent on to other countries ; this was certainly a continuation of a pre-existing trade between India and Africa. Hence the ebony of the Egyptian inscriptions must have been Indian in origin. The elephant hunters of Abyssinia and Somaliland used axes, adzes and swords of Indian manufacture. Cotton cloth of various kinds, dyed and undyed, also found its way to the East African coast ; the royal "linen", besides precious stones and cinnamon, among the yearly tributes of Punt to the Pharoah Rameses III (12th century B. C.) must have been obtained in India, where alone they were available in those days. These Indian articles were exchanged for the sweet-scented gums of the land of Punt, and formed the basis of the unguents and scents so much used in ancient India and of which five kinds are mentioned in the Atharva Veda Saṃhitā[3] . By sailing straight to Abyssinia with the help of the monsoon, the Indian traders avoided the rapacious pirates of Arabia, who from ancient times dominated the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea and prevented Indian goods from being taken straight to the Egyptian markets.

VI. One result of this trade to Abyssinia and beyond was that the Indian traders acquired a knowledge of the various regions near the sources of Nile. On this knowledge, as recorded later in the Purāṇas and interpreted by Col. Wilford, Lieut. Speke relied, when he planned his expedition for discovering the source of the Nile. He says, "all our previous information concerning the hydrography of these regions

1 *Georgics* ii. 16-7. 2 *Ibid.* vi. 3 iv. 37. 13.

originated with the ancient Indians, who told it to the priests of the Nile; and all those busy Egyptian geographers, who disseminated *their* knowledge with a view to be famous for *their* long-sightedness, in solving the mystery which enshrouded the source of their holy river, were so many hypothetical humbugs. The Hindu traders had a firm basis to stand upon through their intercourse with the Abyssinians"[1].

VII. Indian merchants also traded with the merchants of the South-east and South coast of Arabia and exchanged their goods for Arabian frankincense and gold, and copper, tin, storax, coral and wine of the Mediterranean littoral. The Arabian merchants took the Indian goods to Egypt and Syria. It was thus that Solomon in the tenth century B. C. got Indian sandalwood, precious stones, ivory, apes and peacocks. In the case of most of these, the name of the article was also borrowed by the Hebrew and other languages. Thus Heb. *thuki* (*-im*) is Tamil *tokai*, peacock, the bird with the splendid tail, (*toka*, tail, from *to*, to hang); Heb. *ahal*, mistranslated "aloes" in the English Bible[2], is Tamil *ahil*; Heb. *almug*, sandalwood, is probably from Sanskrit *valgu*; Heb. *kophu* is Sans. *kapi*, ape, borrowed also by the Egyptians as *kafu*; Heb. *shen habbin*, ivory, is a translation of Sans. *ibha-danta*, elephant's tooth, *habbin* being but *ibha*, as were also the Egyptian *ebu* and the Greek *el-epha-s* (*el* being the Arab prefix); Heb. *sadin*, cotton cloth, Arab. *satin*, Gr. *sindon* are all from *sindhu*, already noted as an Accadian borrowing for Indian cotton cloth (India being the only ancient country which produced cotton and wove cotton cloth); Heb. *karpas*, Gr. *karpas-os* are from Sans. *Kārpāsa*, cotton. The "bright iron" of Ezekiel[3] was Indian steel, for Indian steel was so much prized even centuries later that Alexander preferred to gold a present of 100 talents weight of steel (white iron) from the Malloi and the Oxydrakoi.

1 Schoff's *Periplus*, p. 230.

2 I. Kings, x. 18-22. 3 xxvii. 19.

VIII. Mr. Kennedy in his article[1] on Ancient Indian trade spends all the resources of his learning in trying to disprove the existence of Indian trade either with Egypt or Assyria before the 7th century B. C. He is completely ignorant of the Vedic evidence. The Vedic mantras speak of sea voyages; surely these were not pleasure-trips undertaken by the Indians of that age! Mr. Kennedy admits that the Indian people, especially of the coastal districts, "were accustomed to the sea"; for their culture from time immemorial was coastal; the country produced in abundance timber both hard and sweet smelling, spices and precious stones which were eagerly sought after by the Egyptians and Assyrians; Indians from the neolithic age wove cotton cloth in abundance (and dyed it), as is proved from the various kinds of stone-implements for weaving discovered so far; and yet Mr. Kennedy will not believe that there was commercial intercourse between India on the one hand and Egypt and Assyria on the other. He attempts to explain away the etymologies referred to above and, after trying to whittle down the evidence for the early commerce of India with the west adduced by scholars, concludes that "there is no valid proof of it".

On this remarks Mr. Schoff in his *Periplus*[2]: "Mr. Kennedy minimizes the importance of the early Egyptian trading voyages, considering them purely local, while the numerous references to articles and routes of early trade in the Hebrew scriptures he passes by with the assertion that they are due to the revision following the return of Ezra. But whatever may have been Ezra's revision of the Hebrew books, substantially the same articles of trade are described in the records of Egypt at corresponding dates, and they indicate a trade in articles of Indian origin to the Somali coast and overland to the Nile, centuries before Ezra's day. Such opinions presume a continuous trading

1 J.R.A.S., 1898, pp. 248-287. 2 P. 328.

journey without exchange of cargoes at common meeting-points. But primitive trade passes from tribe to tribe and port to port".

IX. It was thus that Indian produce found its way to Assyria in the 9th century B. C.; on the obelisk of Shalmeneser III (860 B. C.) are figures of apes and Indian elephants, which latter must have passed through Makran. Tiglath Pileser III (745-727 B. C.) got from the Chaldean state of Bīt Yakīm a tribute of "precious stones, the product of the sea (pearls ?), timber, striped clothing, and spices of all kinds"—all products of India. He also made the ports in the Persian gulf centres for the gold of Karmania and the Himalayas[1]. Sennacherib (704-681 B. C.) enlarged the city of Nineveh, built therein a palace for himself, and planted a great park, where among other trees he introduced "trees bearing wool" imported from India[2]. In 606 B. C. the Assyrian empire was overthrown and Babylon became the headquarters of trade in Asia.

X. The trading nations of the world—Ionians, Jews, Phœnicians, Indians and Chinese took their wares to the Babylonian markets, and the population of Babylon got so mixed that Æschylus later on called it *pammikton hoclon*. There was established in that town a colony of South Indian traders, which continued to flourish till the 7th century A. D. Among the business tablets of the great firm of Murashu and Sons at Nippur (in the 5th century B.C.) we find records of dealings with Indian merchants [3]. As a result of this trade we find Tamil names of some South Indian articles borrowed by the Greeks and mentioned by Sophocles, Aristophanes and other writers. They were Greek *oryza* from Tamil *arisi*, possibly through Arab *aruz*, Gr. *karpion* from Tamil *karuvā*, cinnamon, Gr. *ziggiberos* from Tamil *iñji-*

1 Schoff's *Periplus*, pp. 123, 160.

2 J.R.A.S., 1910. p. 403 (Pinches). This expression "wool-bearing tree", was used more than 250 years later to describe the cotton plant by Herodotus (iii. 106). 3 J.R.A.S., 1917, p. 237 (Kennedy).

*ver*, perhaps through Sanskrit *śṛṅgivera* ginger, Gr. *peperi*, from *pippali* (which is *tippali* in modern Tamil, but retains the original initial consonant in Telugu), long pepper, but since extended to black pepper, Gr. *beryllos* from Sanskrit *vaidūrya*, itself being probably borrowed from Tamil, beryls being from ancient times mined in the Coimbatore district. Some writers derive Gr. *Kassiteros*, tin, from *kastīra*, tin. But as tin and lead were not extensively produced in India, (there is no name for either in the South Indian languages) but were imported from the west, the Sanskrit word was probably borrowed from Greek. This trade with Babylon is referred to in the Buddhist Jātaka tales. One of them is the *Bāveru Jātaka* (Baveru being the Indian rendering of Babylon), the tale of the Indian merchants who travelled to Babylon and took along with them the crow and the peacock. Another is the *Samuddavānija Jātaka*. A third, the *Kuṇḍaka Kucchi-sindhava Jātaka*, mentions Sind horses for export, the western sea-ports mentioned being Bharu-Kaccha and Suppara.

XI. The Jātakas mention also eastern seaports, notably Champā and Tāmralipti, whence traders sailed to Ceylon and Suvaṇṇabhūmi (Lower Burma and Malacca). Buddhist chronicles speak of the invasion of Ceylon in the 6th century B.C. by Vijaya Siṃha, who gave his name to the island; he is said to have sailed in a ship which could hold over seven hundred people. Several tales [1] of trade with Ceylon and Suvaṇṇabhūmi are found in the Jātakas. The Chinese legends refer to trade with Malacca as early as the 12th century B. C. and emigrations from the East Coast of India (Northern and Southern) to Indo-China and the East Indian Archipelago prove that there was active trade in early times between India and China. Silk and sugar reached India from China, which received in exchange storax and other incense, red coral, costus, pepper, and perhaps gold from Assam washings.

1 E.g. *Mahājanaka Jātaka*, *Saṅkha Jātaka*, *Sussondi Jātaka*, etc.

The Indians acted also as intermediaries of whatever trade there was between China and Assyria in those early days.

XII. In 538 B.C. Cyrus destroyed the Babylonian empire. His successor Darius annexed the Indus valley to his dominions; this brought him 360 talents of gold-dust, *paipīlika*, (from a misunderstanding of which the Greeks constructed the myth of ant-men) from Dārdistan, and besides, led to the development of the ancient caravan trade (1) across the Hindukush to Balkh and thence to the Euxine, (2) skirting the Karmanian desert, and thence through Mesopotamia to Antioch. It was thus that silk from China was first introduced into Greece and Egypt[1]. Darius sent his Greek admiral, Skylax about 510 B.C. by the Indus to the Red sea on a voyage of exploration. He then developed sea-traffic, for which purpose he tried to reopen the Suez canal, which was first dug by Sesostias in the 20th century B.C., and reopened under the 18th dynasty in the 15th century B.C. The Persian conquest of Northwestern India was the cause of the introduction into India of the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet which continued to be used in that region for five hundred years and more. Another result of the Persian connection was the increasing substitution of stone for wood in Northern India as the material of architecture.

XIII. From the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, the chief adviser of Chandragupta, the great Maurya Emperor (326-296 B.C.) we learn that trade both overland and oversea flourished very much at the end of the 4th century B.C. For the purpose of this trade, as we learn from Megasthenes, the Emperor linked up existing routes and made the Grand Trunk Road which ran from Puṣkalāvatī in Gāndhāra, through Takkhaśilā, Kānyakubja, Hastināpura, Prayāga to Pāṭaliputra and thence to Tāmralipti. Through this road Megasthenes travelled and noted that it was provided with milestones, which little fact proves the extent of literacy among the common

1 Cleopatra wore transparent silk. *Luc. Phar.* x, 141.

people in those far-off days. The Emperor himself took part in foreign trade. The *Arthaśāstra* Book II, chapters XI and XII, give detailed instructions about the various articles which the Royal Superintendents (*Adhyakṣa*) had to account for in the Treasury Account-books—pearls, beryls diamonds, corals, sandal-wood, agaru, scents, skins, woollen blankets, garments of fibre, silks, cotton fabrics, besides the products of mine, such as gold, silver, bitumen, copper, lead, tin, iron, crystals, conchshells, salt. These and forest produce formed the chief articles of royal merchandise, about which the following instructions are given in Book II, chapter XVI, to the Superintendent of Commerce (*Paṇyādhyakṣa*) :— "Let him ascertain the actual value and the selling-price (*arghamūlya*) of the things sold and bought and the net profit after the payment of tolls (*śulka*), roadcess (*vartanya*), conveyance-cess (*ativāhaka*), tax payable at cantonments and ferries (*gulma* and *deya*), subsistence allowance to servants (*bhakta*), and portion of merchandise to be given to the foreign king (*bhāga*). If there is no profit from the sale of the (Indian) produce in foreign countries, let him consider whether he could profitably barter it for foreign products. In view of large profits he may make friendship with the forest guards, boundary guards, and officers in charge of cities and of country parts"[1]. The *Arthaśāstra* also requires special encouragement to be given to foreign trade by providing that trade taxes should be remitted in the case of those who imported foreign merchandise, and that foreign merchants, who were not members of local companies, should be exempted from being sued for debts. Maritime trade was also fostered. The superintendent of ships (*nāvādhyakṣa*) was ordered to "show fatherly kindness" to weather-beaten ships arriving at ports and to reduce or cancel the tolls of ships whose merchandise was spoiled by water. Pirate ships (*himsrikā*) were destroyed

1 ii. 15. 43.

and the traditional usages of commercial towns were scrupulously observed by the superintendent of ships[1].

XIV. The internal trade of India was also very considerable in those days. The *Arthaśāstra*[2] speaks of two (internal) trade routes, one by water and another by land, the former being better according to the Ācāryas inasmuch as it is less expensive, but productive of large profit. Not so, says Kauṭilya, for the water-route is liable to obstruction, not permanent, a source of imminent dangers, and incapable of defence, whereas a land-route is of a reverse nature. Of water-routes, one along the shore and another in mid-ocean, the route along and close to the shore is better, as it touches at many trading port-towns; likewise river-navigation is better, as it is uninterrupted and has avoidable and endurable dangers. According to the Ācāryas, the land route which leads to the Himalayas is better than that which leads to the south. Not so, says Kauṭilya, for with the exception of blankets, skins and horses, other articles of merchandise, such as conch-shells, diamonds, precious stones pearls and gold are available in plenty in the south. There was uninterrupted trade in these articles between South India and North India from the Vedic times.

XV. The trade with Indo-china was developed in this age to a very large extent. Col. Gerini says, "From several centuries before the Christian era a double stream of traders and adventurers began to flow into Indo-china from Northern and Southern India, reaching the upper parts of the peninsula by land through Burma and its southern coast by sea, and founding there settlements and commercial stations. Brahmanism and, later on, Buddhism (third century B.C.), with most other achievements of Indian culture, followed in the wake of these pioneers, and thus it is to ancient India that Indo-china owes her early civilization"[3]. The Buddhist cult gained a firm foothold near the head of the Gulf

1 ii. 18. 2 vii. 12. 3 J.R.A.S., 1904, pp. 233-247.

of Siam and the Brāhmaṇa cults in Central and Northern Siam, where the cities of Swankalok (or Svargaloka, 95 B.C.) and Sukhothai (or Sukhodaya, c. 70 B. C.) which possess several temples in the Indian style testify to the amount of Indian influence. *Milindapañha* refers to Takkola, out-side the limits of *Suvaṇṇabhūmi*, i.e. near the gulf of Martaban which is certainly Takopa, a well-known trading centre in the early years of the Christian era. Epigraphic records have also been found "proving that the coast in question was dotted practically all the way with Indian settlements and colonies".

(*To be continued*)

P. T. Srinivas Iyengar

## Śālihotra

### III

Śālihotra, the veterinary surgeon, is described as the father of the veterinary science in India. The manuscript, called Śālihotra, is a work on veterinary medicine. Śālihotra is described to be the son of Hayaghoṣa, and the father of Suśruta, in answer to whose questions he expounded the Haya-Āyurveda revealed to him by Brahmā himself. It is a work on the 'Treatment of Horses'. It is a practical farriery, a complete guide to all that relates to the horse; its history, varieties, and uses,—breaking, training, feeding, stabling, grooming,—how to buy, keep and treat a horse in health and disease, etc., forming a complete system of veterinary art as practised in ancient India, and there it was accepted as the standard work on the subject. Śālihotra gives his name to the art, and to this day horse and cattle doctors are known in the North-West Provinces under the name of Saluter.

The work is divided into eight divisions, as we find the Āyurvedic system of medicine to be composed of eight aṅgas or parts (Aṣṭāṅga or octopartite), namely, Śalya or Major Surgery, Śālākya or Surgery of parts above clavicles, Kāya-cikitsā or Inner Medicine, Bhūtavidyā or Demonology, Kaumārabhṛtya or the Science of Paediatrics (described as Kiśora-vāla-cikitsā), Viṣa tantra or Toxicology, Rasāyana or Treatment to prolong life, and Vājīkaraṇa or Treatment to stimulate sexual power. There are 8 sthānas or main sections which treat of these 8 aṅgas. Each section is virtually a book in itself; it is sub-divided into many chapters, each dealing exhaustively with every phase of its subject.

In the introductory chapter, Suśruta is represented to have requested his father Śālihotra to teach him the origin and treatment of horses. Śālihotra addressed Suśruta as his son and said that "horses were birds originally, but as they came to be submitted by men as beasts of burden, diseases began to attack them in their captivity. Then out of kindness to the equine race, I performed austerities and learned the science of their treatment from Brahmā himself. I severed their wings, and now they roam over the earth on their legs, retaining their former speed. The Vedas were uttered by Svayambhu and I learnt it from him. He described its four-fold division by his four mouths to the four directions of this world. Āyurveda was developed from the Atharva veda. Brahmā originally described the science in one lac and twenty-five ślokas but I abridged it and described in 18,000 ślokas".

The 8 sthānas mentioned above are 1. Unnaya, 2. Uttara 3. Śārīrika, 4. Cikitsita, 5. Śiśu-bhaiṣajya, 6. Uttara-uttara, 7. Siddhisthāna, and 8. Rahasya. Only the first of these 8 sthānas, and even this not quite complete, is contained in the I. O. Ms. 2762. It is necessary to transcribe the whole of Sanskrit passages from the I. O. Cat. in order that the reader may form a just estimate of Śālihotra's work but for the present we must be satisfied with an analysis of its con-

tents in English with my identification of diseases described therein. The other sections are not available. Mm. Haraprasad Śāstri showed us a valuable find of the manuscript in the shape of the eighth sthāna of Śālihotra's work, the 'Rahasya-sthāna' from Udaipur in Rajputana. The Ms. is well preserved and well-written. The manuscript is no doubt unique, but his opinion, that this was the only part of Śālihotra's work known to exist, was modified when I pointed out the I. O. Ms., and Tanjore Cat. Ms. The Ms. consists of 5,000 ślokas and is in the possession of Mm. H. P. Śāstrī. Afterwards I learned from him that with the instinct of a scholar he made a gift of the Ms. to the library of the Society and it is now available to scholars. The entire Ms. of Śālihotra exists in Baroda and will be published soon. In the Triennial Cat. Mss., Madras, 1916-19, R. No. 2342, we find 1-18 chapters of the eighth section, Rahasya sthāna and 1-9 chapters of Unnaya sthāna.

### *Relation of Śālihotra to Suśruta*

Now in the I.O. Cat. Ms. and in Mm. Śāstrī's Ms., Suśruta is said to be the son of Śālihotra-muni who addressed his lectures to his son. Suśruta also calls Śālihotra his father (v. 2). But in the Suśruta Saṃhitā, Suśruta is said to be the son of the celebrated sage Viśvāmitra: 'Bramharṣi-puttra' (S. S., II, i), 'Viśvāmitrātmaja' (IV, ii), 'Viśvāmitrasuta' (VI, lxvi), 'Vaiśvāmitra' (VI, xxviii). In the Mahābhārata (Anuśāsana-parva, ch. 139, vs. 8-11), Suśruta is described as a son of Viśvāmitra. In the genealogical table of sage Viśvāmitra (see my History of Indian Medicine, vol. II, p. 282a), I have shown Suśruta to be one of the sons of Viśvāmitra. Thus there is an anomaly as regards the father of Suśruta. If Viśvāmitra was his father, how could Śālihotra call Suśruta his son. Both the views can be reconciled if we accept Viśvāmitra as Suśruta's father, and Śālihotra as his guru. A guru can address his disciple as son, and a disciple can likewise call his preceptor

father. Such a practice is sanctioned by Śāstras and also by usage.

In the Hārīta Saṃhitā, Ātreya addressed his disciple Hārīta as his son (see also Hārīta Samhitā, II, i, ii, iii, vii ; III, iii, v,xi, xii, xiii, xxii ; IV, i ; V, i). In the Madras Ms. in the Rahasya sthāna we find Suśruta to be a disciple, and not a son of Śālihotra.

Again we must consider whether besides the evidence of this manuscript, we possess any corroborative testimony that Śālihotra was Suśruta's preceptor. In Nakula's Aśva-cikitsā and Jayadatta's Aśva-vaidyaka we find no mention of Suśruta as a disciple of Śālihotra, who is described as the source of the science. Jayadatta quotes Śālihotra, Nakula, Sāraṅgadhara and Jayadeva. Gaṇa in his Aśvāyurveda (Nepal Cat. 765, p. 151) refers to Śālihotra as his source but does not mention Suśruta. In G.O.M.L., xxiii, 13319, Gaṇa, in the colophon to his Aśvāyurveda, professes to summarise the treatises of Śālihotra, Suśruta, Garga, etc. Śālihotra and Pālakāpya are quoted in later treatises on topics in relation to the veterinary science. As an instance I may mention that Śivadāsa Sena in his Tattva Candrikā, a commentary on Cakradatta's Saṃgraha, quotes Śālihotra and Pālakāpya, but not Suśruta. In the Agni Purāṇa, however, we find that Suśruta is said to have learnt the science of horses, elephants and cattle from Dhanvantari, who is represented in the Suśruta Saṃhitā to have taught his disciple Suśruta major surgery only. In the Bower Ms., I. i (p. 11) Suśruta is represented to have approached Muni Kāśirāja with the enquiry about the "nature of a plant with leaves dark-blue like sapphire, and with bulbs white like jasmine, crystal, the white lotus, moon's rays, conch-shell or mica or garlic plant." Kāśirāja addressed Suśruta and set forth its virtues (p. 15). Thus we find that Suśruta learned the different branches of Āyurveda, viz., Surgery, Botany and Veterinary Science from Dhanvantari. Hence we find that Śālihotra is said to be Suśruta's father and teacher of veterinary science in this Ms. of Śālihotra.

Śālihotra, according to Nakula, expounded the science of medicine for horses for the benefit of the equine race. He wrote the Āyurveda for horses at the request of Indra, for whom the sage maimed them by cutting their wings. The original Saṃhitā of Śālihotra consisted of 12,000 ślokas.

Śālihotra is said to have lived in Śālātura, a country near Gāndhāra the modern Kandahar. As such, he is identified with Pāṇini by some, and with Dhanvantari by others (see Dr. Mitter's opinion in the Proceedings of the A. S. B., July, 1885). Cunningham (Ancient Geography of India, pp. 57-58) identified Śālātura with modern Lahore ( Śālātura, Halātur, Alātur, Lahore) but without sufficient evidence. Hiuen Tsang's Śālatulo, which is situated at a distance of 20 li or about 3½ miles in a north-western direction from the province of Ohind corresponds to Śālātura, the birth-place of Pāṇini (Śālāturīya), in which designation he is referred to in the copperplate inscription of the Vallabhis found in Kathiawad (Indian Antiquary, I, pp., 16, 17, 45). According to Nakula he was the son of Hayaghoṣa or Turaṅgaghoṣa, which are merely descriptive synonymous names. He lived in Śrāvastī and was a brahmin by caste.

He explained the science at his retreat in the forest of Campaka, (the Campakāvatī forest in Magadha) at the foot of the Himalaya mountain.

Hayaghoṣa or Turaṅgaghoṣa is said to have been the father of Śālihotra. Hayaghoṣa has been identified with Aśvaghoṣa from the similarity in their names which are synonymous (haya=aśva, a horse). Hayaghoṣa may thus be identified with the celebrated Buddhistic preacher and writer Aśvaghoṣa Bodhisattva, the author of Buddhacarita or 'Life of Buddha' for the northern Buddhists (edited by Cowell) and Saundarananda Kāvya (edited by Mm. H. P. Śāstrī in the Bibliotheca Indica). He is also the author of many philosophical treatises (see Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, the total number being 7 (Nanjio) or 8 (Suzuki) or 9, if we include the Vajrasūcī in the list. There is evidence

to connect Aśvaghoṣa with the court of the renowned Indo-Scythian monarch Kaniṣka of Peshwar and so he must have flourished towards the end of the 1st century A. D. His work Buddhacarita was translated by Dharmarakṣa into Chinese in the 4th century A.D. His other work (Ka-coyam-yan-kim-lin) was translated by Kumārajīva, a Chinese pilgrim, about the same time. His name appears as the twelfth patriarch of the Buddhists from the venerable Buddha, third from Pārśva, the president of the Buddhist council during the reign of Kaniṣka, and Nāgārjuna's name occurs as the third from Aśvaghoṣa in a descending line. He is described as an inhabitant of Sāketa, the ancient name of a city in the modern province of Oudh, a brāhmaṇa by caste, and the son of Suvarṇākṣa.

Hayaghoṣa is also described to be a brāhmaṇa muni who had hermitage in the Campaka forest at the foot of the Himālaya mountain. Thus the age of Śālihotra may be known, but neither Aśvaghoṣa nor Śālihotra has given us any clue as to their identity. Again Suśruta, to whom Śālihotra addressed his lectures, flourished long before Kaniṣka, unless by Suśruta is meant Nāgārjuna, the celebrated Buddhist chemist, the redactor of Suśruta Saṃhitā, who flourished during the second century A.D.

GIRINDRANATH MUKHERJI

# Some old Bengali Books and Periodicals in the British Museum*

## II

### PERIODICALS

### I. *Samācār-candrikā*

One of the most important periodicals of the second quarter of the 19th century was the *Samācār-candrikā*, which was started under the editorship of Bhabānīcaraṇ Bandyopādhyāy in the Śaka era 1743, corresponding to 1822 A.D. This weekly paper (subsequently becoming bi-weekly from 1829 A. D.) was the organ of the orthodox Hindu society of the time and voiced the sentiments of the Dharma Sabhā, of which Bhabānīcaraṇ was the Secretary. It is said that Bhabānīcaraṇ at first assisted Rājā Rāmmohan Rāy in the editing of the *Sambād-kaumudī* (first published on December 4, 1821) but left that paper, not long afterwards, owing to a difference of opinion with the Rājā on the question of the abolition of the *satī* and started the *Samācār-candrikā* on his own account, chiefly to oppose the Rājā in his agitation on the question. This paper, therefore, enjoyed for a long time the reputation of being the organ of one of the most influential sections of society in Calcutta, just as the *Samācār-darpaṇ* (started on May 23, 1818) represented the views of the missionaries of Serampore and the two papers, the *Brāhmaṇ-sebadhi* or *Brahmanical Magazine* (started Sept. 1821 and written in English and Bengali in each issue) and the *Sambād-kaumudī* voiced the opinions of Rājā Rāmmohan Rāy and his party. These are the earliest Bengali periodicals of which we have any record, and they laid the foundations of modern Bengali jo urnalism.

* Continued from Vol. I, p. 323.

The old files of these papers are very scarce today. I had an occasion of giving an account of the early files of the *Samācār-darpaṇ* (from its inception up to July 14, 1821), which I found in the Library of the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat[1]. I came across a complete file of the *Samācār-candrikā* for the Bengali year 1237 (April 1830 to March 1831) in the Bengali collection in the British Museum. Of this I have already given an account in the *Calcutta Review*, 1922, pp. 274-283. I may supplement that account by recording here what I have been since able to gather about the career of its founder and first editor Bhabānīcaraṇ.

Bhabānīcaraṇ Bandyopādhyāy, son of Rāmjay Bandyopādhyāy, was born at Nārāyaṇpur in Parganā Ukhḍā in 1787 A. D. His father, who was employed in the Calcutta Mint, had a house in Calcutta, where Bhabānī appears to have been brought up in early boyhood. As was customary in those days, he learnt Persian and probably some English, besides Sanskrit. In 1803, at the age of sixteen, he was employed as a *sircar* to Messrs. J. Duckett & Co., and served in that firm for about 11 years. Later on, he acted successively as chief clerk to various well-known officials, such as Herbert Compton (afterwards Chief Justice of Bombay) and Bishop Middleton. On the establishment of Bishop's College, he is said to have acted as its Secretary. He had a chequered career thereafter. He was for some time the *khātāñji* or Chief Accountant to the Hughli Collectorate, the Dewan of Calcutta Tax Office and a *banian* to Messrs. Hickey, Baillie & Co. He appears also to have been for some time the manager of the *Englishman* under J. H. Stocqueler, and here probably he gained some experience

1 *Baṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, vol. 24, pp. 149-170, and my *Bengali Literature 1800-1825*, pp. 235-244. Here I have given an account also of the files of the paper (i) from 1831 to 1837 (Imperial Library, Calcutta) and (ii) from 1851 to 1852 (Bengal Asiatic Society's Library).

in newspaper-management. The Dharma Sabhā, which was started on Māgh 5,1236 of the Bengali era (= 1830 A.D.), found in him an enthusiastic Secretary, who published most of its proceedings in his *Samācār-candrikā*[1]. Besides journalism, he wrote several works in Bengali, of which I have been able to trace the mention of two. One of these was advertised for sale at Rs. 2/- in the first issue of the °*Candrikā*, as a publication from the Candrikā Press. The full title of the work is given thus : কলিকাতা কমলালয় প্রশ্ন উত্তর দ্বারা কলিকাতার রীতিবর্ণন মূল্য ২ টাকা।[2] In an old catalogue of the Calcutta Public Library (which subsequently became the Imperial Library, Calcutta) I find a mention of this work, although I have not been able to trace it in the Bengali collection of the Imperial Library. In the same catalogue mention is made of another work of Bhabānīcaraṇ, entitled আচার্য্য উপাখ্যান। This work also cannot be traced. Some importance attaches to the first-named of these works, *Kalikātā-Kamalālay*, because it is probably the first specimen of realistic social satire and served as model for such later works as *Naba-Bābu-Bilās* and *Hutam-Pe̊cār Naksā*. Bhabānīcaraṇ appears to have died in 1848 at the age of sixty-one. After his death the °*Candrikā* was probably conducted by his two sons, Rājkṛṣṇa and Bāmācaraṇ, assisted by Bhagabatīcaraṇ Caṭṭopādhyāy of Pānihāṭi. From a reference to it in the daily °*Prabhākar* of Baiśākh 23, 1272 (= May 4, 1865 A. D.), it appears that this paper existed till that date.

## II. *Sambād-bhāskar*

A file of this paper, edited and published by Gaurīśaṅkar Bhaṭṭācārya (popularly known as গুড়্‌গুড়ে ভটচায্), exists in the British Museum. It contains the following numbers :

1 *Calcutta Review*, 1922, pp. 276-77. It is said that the expenses of this paper were defrayed by the Dharma Sabhā (started probably in the year 1830) which was patronized by such distinguished men as Rājā Rādhākānta Deb, Tāriṇīcaraṇ Mitra, Rāmkamal Sen and Umānanda Ṭhākur.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 278.

A. Vol. 20, no. 75, October 2, 1858 (Āśvin 17, 1265 B.S.). Saturday.

B. Vol. 20, no. 85, October 26,1858 (Kārttik 11, 1265 B.S.).

C. Vol. 20, no. 152, March 29, 1859 (Caitra 17, 1265 B.S.).

D. Vol. 26, no. 155, April 5, 1859 (Caitra 24, 1265 B.S).

E. Vol. 24, no. 98, November 28, 1861 (Agrahāyaṇ 14, 1268 B.S).

F. Vol. 24, no. 102, December 7, 1861 (Agrahāyaṇ 23, 1268 B.S.).

There is no complete file of any particular year.

As twenty volumes appear to have been published by 1858 and as each volume is devoted to each Bengali year, the paper must have begun in the Bengali year 1246, corresponding to 1839 A.D. At the beginning, one Śrīnāth Rāy was the editor for about a year, after which Gaurīśaṅkar took charge of it.

The first number is numbered and dated in the following way :—৭৫ সংখ্যা ২০ বালম ইং ১৮৫৮ সাল ২ আক্তোবর দানীশাব্দ ১০৮ আন্দুল রাজাব্দাঃ ৯১ বাঙ্গালা ১২৬৫ সাল ১৭ আশ্বিন শনিবার মূল্য মাসে ১৲ টাকা আগামি ৮৲ টাকা। And at the end of this number we have the following information : এই সম্বাদভাস্করপত্র সহর কলিকাতার শোভাবাজারীয় বালাখানার বাগানে শ্রীগৌরীশঙ্কর ভট্টাচার্য্যের নিজভবনে প্রতি মঙ্গলবার ও বৃহস্পতিবার ও শনিবাসরীয় প্রাতঃকালে প্রকাশ হয়। It would follow from this that in 1858 it was a tri-weekly edited by Gaurīśaṅkar Bhaṭṭācārya and published at his own house in Śobhābājār Bālākhānā, Calcutta, every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday morning[1]. But in the issues marked C, D, E, F above, we have at the end এই সম্বাদভাস্করপত্র সহর কলিকাতার শোভাবাজারীয় বালাখানার বাগানে প্রতি মঙ্গলবার ও বৃহস্পতিবার ও শনিবাসরীয় প্রাতঃকালে শ্রীক্ষেত্রমোহন ভট্টাচার্য্য দ্বারা মুদ্রিত ও প্রকাশিত হয়। In the issue marked F above, we have also a letter from a correspondent addressed to Kṣetramohan Bidyāratna Bhaṭṭācārya as

1 From Long's article on 'Early Bengali Literature and Newspapers' in *Calcutta Review*, 1850, it would appear that this paper continued to be published thrice weekly even in 1850.

the editor : মহামহিম শ্রীযুত ক্ষেত্রমোহন বিদ্যারত্ন ভট্টাচার্য্য সম্বাদভাস্কর সম্পাদক মহাশয় প্রবলপ্রতাপেষু। This leaves no doubt that from March 29, 1859, Kṣetramohan (who was Gaurīśaṅkar's son) was the editor as well as the publisher[1], Gaurīśaṅkar having died in 1858.

The first number in our file contains two punning verses in Sanskrit (in the Śārdūla-vikrīḍita metre) as a headnote :

ভ্রাতর্ব্বোধসরোজ কিং চিরয়সে মৌনস্য নায়ং ক্ষণো
দোষধ্বান্ত দিগন্তরং ব্রজ ন তেঽবস্থানমত্রোচিতম্।
ভোঃ ভোঃ সৎপুরুষাঃ কুরুধ্বমধুনা সৎকৃত্যমত্যাদরাদ্
গৌরীশঙ্করপূর্ব্বপর্ব্বতমুখাদুজ্জৃম্ভতে ভাস্করঃ॥
নানালোককরক্রিয়ঃ সমুদিতে ন ব্যায়তে শাশ্বতঃ
শশ্বৎস্বাত্মগুণাম্বুজোজ্জলকরো দোষান্ধকারোজ্ঝিতঃ।
নানাদেশবিলাস এষ বিলসন্মঞ্জূরুবর্ণোপরো
গৌরীশঙ্করপূর্ব্বপর্ব্বতমুখাদুজ্জৃম্ভতে ভাস্করঃ॥

The second verse began to be omitted from the headnote in the issues, marked E and F above.

I have not been able to glean any important information from these files ; but in one of the advertisements it appears that Gaurīśaṅkar edited the Caṇḍī text with a Bengali commentary ( চণ্ডী মূল টীকা ভাষা ),. In the issue marked B, Śaurīndramohan Ṭhākur announces a Bengali translation of Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra* done by himself.

1 This disposes entirely of the statement of Mahendranāth Bidyānidhi (*Janmabhūmi*, 1302-3, pp. 328f.) that Kṣetramohan was the editor of the paper from 1264 B.S. In the same article, we are told that the first editor Śrīnāth Rāy was assaulted by the servants of the Rājā of Andul, a cruel tyrannical landlord, some of whose misdoings had been exposed in the paper. A criminal suit was brought against the Rājā who was fined Rs. 1000 by the Court. Gaurīśaṅkar also seems to have come into conflict with the same Rājā. From the fact that the Andul Raj era is used to date the paper (as we see above), it would appear that it was probably in some way patronised by the Andul Raj. The above assault occurred in January 13, 1840, and it was reported in the *Englishman*, April 15, 1840. Śrīnāth incurred heavy injuries, as parts of his body were burnt by redhot iron.

The name *Sambād-bhāskar* was probably suggested by that of the rival paper *Sambād-prabhākar* (first published in January 28, 1831) edited by Īśvarcandra Gupta, between whom and Gaurīśaṅkar there grew up rivalry, ultimately ripening into jealousy. It is evident from what Īśvar Gupta said about Gaurīśaṅkar in °*Prabhākar* (Baiśākh 2, 1253 and Baiśākh 1, 1254 quoted in Īśvar Gupta's life by Baṅkimcandra) that their mutual relations were at first friendly : সুবিখ্যাত পণ্ডিত ভাস্কর-সম্পাদক তর্কবাগীশ মহাশয় পূর্ব্বে বন্ধুরূপে এই প্রভাকরের অনেক সাহায্য করিতেন। এক্ষণে সময়াভাবে আর সেরূপ পারেন না। The quarrel must have begun later (according to some, in the same year 1254 B.S.) ; and they abused each other in the *Pāṣaṇḍa-pīḍan* and *Sambād-rasarāj* respectively. Of this Rājnārāyaṇ Basu writes in his *Bāṅgālā Bhāṣā O Sāhitya Biṣayak Baktṛtā* : "প্রভাকর" ও "রসরাজে" যখন ঝগড়া হইত, তখন রাস্তার দুইজন ময়লাপরিষ্কারক জাতীয় লোকে ঝগড়া করিয়া পরস্পরের হণ্ডিকাস্থিত ময়লা লইয়া পরস্পরের গাত্রে নিক্ষেপ করিলে যেরূপ দৃশ্য হয়, সেইরূপ জঘন্য দৃশ্য হইত।

Mahendranāth Bidyānidhi, on the authority of Long's article on early Bengali literature and newspapers in *Calcutta Review* for 1850, states that the *Sambād-bhāskar* was in existence till 1850. But in the list of periodicals given by Padmanāth Bhaṭṭācārya[1] from the Assamese paper *Aruṇoday* of 1851, it appears that the °*Bhāskar* continued till 1851 and was still published from Śobhābājār, Calcutta. We, however, find a reference to it at a much later date in the daily °*Prabhākar* of Caitra 7, 1272 (=March 19, 1866), of which a file exists in the British Museum.

Of Gaurīśankar's life very little is known. That he was also the editor of another bi-weekly, the notorious *Sambād-rasarāj* mentioned above and that he was imprisoned for libelling Rājā Nṛsiṃha Rāy of Kāsimbājār are facts which are well known. He was also the author of a school-book on Geography and is said to have collected together the moral stories written by himself for the *Bhāskar* in two parts,

1 *Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, 1324, p. 75.

entitled *Jñān-pradīp*. These were published between 1848 and 1853. Gaurīśaṅkar had the title Tarkavāgīś. He died a fortnight later than Īśvar Gupta on Māgh 24, 1265 (=1858 A. D.).

## III. *Sambād-rasarāj*

There are only two numbers of this periodical in the British Museum, dated respectively (A) January 17, 1862, Friday (5 Māgh, 1268), numbered Vol. I, No. 38 ( ১ বালম ৩৮ সংখ্যা ) and (B) February 7, 1862, Friday (Māgh 27, 1268 B. S), numbered Vol. I, No. 43 ( ১ বালম ৪৩ সংখ্যা )। মূল্য মাসে ॥০ অগ্রিম ৪ টাকা।

This, like the *Sambād-bhāskar*, is a very slight print, each issue consisting of only four pages (two sheets), of which two are taken up entirely by advertisements and the remaining two by reading matter. The name of the editor is nowhere given. The top of the front page is illustrated by a curious engraving. The engraving represents an escutcheon with floral (rose) designs on all sides, excepting the top where we have a man's bust. Along the base of the escutcheon we have another flowing design which reads on the left side দুষ্ট দমন, on the right side শিষ্টপালন and in the middle শ্রীরামধন স্বর্ণকারের সাবধান খোদিত বসত শিমলা। On the two sides of the escutcheon stand the figures of two stalwarts bearing the mace and the strident and probably typifying the above-quoted motto. The escutcheon is divided into four quarters, having stars and the figure of a deer on the dexter chief and dexter base respectively, and the figure of a lion and the crescent on the sinister chief and sinister base respectively. Under this engraving we have a Sanskrit verse in the Śikhariṇī-metre as follows :

সতাং স্বান্তে শ্রান্তং শমসুখমসীমং প্রকটয়ন্
বিদগ্ধানাং সদ্যঃ কুসুমশরলীলাং প্রবলয়ন্।
গুণানাবিষ্কুর্ব্বন্ গুণিষু খলগর্ব্বানপহরন্
রসোদন্তোদ্গারী জগতি রসরাজো বিজয়তে ॥

Of the one sheet (two pages) devoted to reading matter, more than three-fourths are taken up by letters, either wholly

or partly composed in doggerel verse, from anonymous correspondents ( কস্যচিৎ পাঠকস্য, কস্যচিৎ শ্রী * * ). The number marked A above, for instance, has a প্রেরিত পত্র which covers practically three columns of p. 3 ; while on the next page we have another anonymous letter, half in prose and half in verse, entitled ভাম্বলদাসের হন্যারোগ, the contemporary allusion of which is not intelligible. The first of these letters details the power of the °*Rasarāj* in demolishing the activities of other papers and contains a play upon the words *gupta* and *prabhākar*, obviously alluding to the *Sambād-prabhākar* edited by Īśvar Gupta[1]. Although the name of the editor of the periodical under discription is not mentioned, this fact makes it certain that the present paper is the notorious °*Rasarāj*, originally edited by Gaurīśaṅkar Bhaṭṭācārya who was dead now. The style and temper of these doggerels, which constitute nearly the whole of the subject-matter of the periodical, exhibit a bad taste and scurrilous vulgarity which justify the severe strictures of Rājnārāyaṇ Basu quoted above. It is hardly necessary to give quotations here.

Long in his *Return* (1855)[2] states that this paper, edited by Gaurīśaṅkar, started in 1838, for which Mahendranāth Bidyānidhi gives the date[3] 1839. It was first published probably from Murshidabad by Rājnārāyaṇ Sen who was its first editor and who was prosecuted for libel by Rājā Kṛṣṇanāth of Kāsimbājār. It is curious, however, that both the issues, discussed above, of this paper are for the year 1862 and numbered Vol. I, Nos. 38 and 43 respectively. This fact is unintelligible if the paper was first published in

1 This is, of course, keeping up the tradition of the paper, for both Īśvar Gupta and Gaurīśaṅkar were dead by this time.

2 *A Return of Names and Writings of 515 Persons connected with Bengali Literature*, 1855, pp. 145f.

3 *Janmabhūmi*, *loc. cit.* It is stated here, on the authority of the *Englishman*, Feb. 6, 1840, that about this time, Gaurīśaṅkar was assisted by Kālīkānta Gāṅguli in the editing of this paper.

1838 or 1839, and if we presume that each issue was numbered consecutively. It is probable that a new series began from 1862 and was numbered anew as Vol. I.

From the numbers mentioned above, it is clear that between January 17 and February 7, 1862, six numbers were issued (38 to 43), which gives us two numbers for each week (six numbers to three weeks) and makes it probable that the paper was a bi-weekly publication at this time. Both the numbers are published on Fridays. It is also evident that the paper did not cease in 1850 (as Mahendra nāth Bidyānidhi indicates), nor in 1858 with the death of Gaurīśaṅkar. It was in existence and was still published from Śobhābājār, Calcutta, in 1851, when it is mentioned by the Assamese paper *Aruṇoday*[1]. It was also in existence in 1855 when Long wrote his *Return* quoted above. The present file proves that it continued even up to 1862, although the name of the editor or the publisher at this time cannot be found.

## IV. *Sambād-prabhākar*

We have got in the British Museum only the file of the daily *Prabhākar* for one year 1272 B.S. or 1865 A.D. (Vol. 36). The file, however, is not complete even for that year. It begins with the second number, of which the superscription says : ৩৬ ভাগ, ২ সংখ্যা। বৃহস্পতিবার ২ বৈশাখ সন ১২৭২সাল। ইং এপ্রিল ১৮৬৫। মাসিক মূল্য ১ টাকা। অগ্রিম মূল্য ১০ টাকা। It was published daily (excepting Sundays) by Rāmcandra Gupta from 54 Nayancand Datta's Street, Simla, Calcutta : এই প্রভাকর পত্র রবিবার ব্যতীত প্রতি দিবস কলিকাতা সিমুলিয়ার অন্তঃপাতি নয়ানচাঁদ দত্তের ষ্ট্রীটের মধ্যে ৫৪নম্বর ভবনে শ্রীরামচন্দ্র গুপ্ত কর্ত্তৃক মুদ্রিত ও প্রকাশিত হয়।

In the second number (pp. 2-4) dated Baiśākh 3, there is

1 *Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, 1324, p. 75.

an interesting short review of Bańkimcandra's *Durgeśnandinī* which deserves quotation here:

[ ১২ পেজী ফরমার ২৬ ফরমায় ২২ পরিচ্ছেদে সম্পূর্ণ কলিকাতা মৃজাপুর বিদ্যারত্ন যন্ত্রে মুদ্রিত ও গ্রন্থকারের জ্যেষ্ঠ ভ্রাতা শ্রীযুক্ত বাবু শ্যামাচরণ চট্টোপাধ্যায় মহাশয়ের নামে উৎসর্গ করা হইয়াছে। মুল্য ১৲। ]

যাঁহারা ইংরাজী ভাষা শিক্ষা করিয়া সুপণ্ডিত হইয়াছেন তাঁহাদিগের অনেকে বাঙ্গালা ভাষার প্রতি আস্থা ও ভক্তির পরিবর্ত্তে ঘৃণা ও অশ্রদ্ধা প্রদর্শন করেন। তাঁহাদিগের দ্বারা বাঙ্গালা ভাষার নাম রক্ষা হওয়া সম্ভাবিত নহে। যাঁহারা কেবল চতুষ্পাঠীতে সংস্কৃত অধ্যয়ন করিয়াছেন, তাঁহারাও সকলে বাঙ্গালা ভাষার যথোচিত সম্মাননা করিতে পারিতেছেন না। যাঁহারা ইংরাজী ও সংস্কৃত উভয় ভাষায় উত্তমরূপ নিপুণতা অর্জ্জন করিয়াছেন, তাঁহাদিগের সকলে না হউন, কেহ কেহ বাঙ্গালা ভাষার মর্য্যাদা রক্ষার নিমিত্ত যত্ন করিয়া থাকেন। কিন্তু তাঁহাদিগের অধিকাংশের সে যত্ন বিফল হইতেছে। তাঁহারা প্রাচীন গ্রন্থের অনুবাদ করিতেছেন। অনুবাদের যে কোন প্রকার ফলোপধায়িতা নাই ইহাও আমরা কহিতেছি না, তদ্দ্বারা অনেক উপকার প্রাপ্ত হওয়া যায়। কিন্তু যখন একটি ভাষার সৃষ্টি হইয়াছে তখনই তাহার সঙ্গে সঙ্গে সেই ভাষার গর্ভজাত সন্তানোৎপত্তির আবশ্যকতা রহিয়াছে; সে সন্তান কোথায়? পাঠকগণ স্মরণ করিয়া বলুন তাঁহারা বাঙ্গালা ভাষায় লিখিত কখানি মূলগ্রন্থ পাঠ করিয়াছেন?[1] বাস্তবিক বঙ্কিমবাবু এই পুস্তকে অসাধারণ নৈপুণ্য প্রদর্শন করিয়া বাঙ্গালীর প্রথম উপাখ্যানকার (First Novelist) উপাধির অধিকারী হইয়াছেন।

In °*Prabhākar*, dated Baiśākh 8 (p. 3), we have an article supporting Bidyāsāgar's agitation on the question of polygamy; in the number dated Baiśākh 23 (p. 4), we learn from a reference that the *Samācār-candrikā* was still alive. In °*Prabhākar* dated Baiśākh 29 (p. 3), we learn that Īśvar Gupta died at the age of 45[2], and that within thirty years he composed more than 60,000 verses. We learn also that Capt. D.L. Richardson left Calcutta in May, 1865. On Śrāban 20 (= Aug 3), a perfor-

1 By way of exception, the footnote to this mentions the older poets and the following well known works : রোমাবতী উপাখ্যান, কুলীনকুল-সর্ব্বস্ব, নীলদর্পণ and নবীন তপস্বিনী।

2 At the time of his death Īśvar Gupta is usually stated to have been 47; the date of his birth being given as Phālgun 25, 1218 (=1811 A. D.) and that of his death Māgh 10, 1265 (=1858 A. D.). See his *life* by Bańkimcandra.

mance of Michael Madhusūdan's *Ekēi Ki Bale Sabhyatā* (একেই কি বলে সভ্যতা) at the house of Rājā Debīkṛṣṇa of Śobhābājār by the Sobhābājār Nāṭya-sabhā is noticed. On Śrāban 24 (=August 7) an interesting piece of news relating to the Brāhma Samāj is given: কলিকাতা ব্রাহ্মসমাজে নূতন বিপ্লব উপস্থিত হইয়াছে। বাবু কেশবচন্দ্র সেন ও প্রতাপচন্দ্র মজুমদার প্রভৃতি কয়েকজন ব্রাহ্ম তাঁহাদিগের মতানুযায়ী নিয়ম প্রবর্ত্তনার্থ প্রধান আচার্য্য শ্রীযুক্ত বাবু দেবেন্দ্রনাথ ঠাকুরকে যে পত্র লিখিয়াছেন, বাবু দেবেন্দ্রনাথ ঠাকুর তাহাতে সম্মত হন নাই। বাবু কেশবচন্দ্র সেন তদন্যথায় তাঁহাদিগের স্ব স্ব উপাসনার নিমিত্ত যে নূতন সমাজ প্রতিষ্ঠার উপদেশ চাহেন, প্রধান আচার্য্য তাহাতে সন্তুষ্ট হইয়া লিখিয়াছেন, দেশের মধ্যে যত অধিক পরিমাণে ব্রাহ্ম-সমাজ সংস্থাপিত হয়, ততই মঙ্গল।

There is an interesting article, entitled খেমটার নাচ, যাত্রা ও ওস্তাদী কবি, which would give some idea of the state of these forms of popular diversion at the time. We quote here a few lines from it (Āśvin 6=Sept. 21: কয়েক বৎসর পূর্ব্বে নীলকমল সিংহ, বদন অধিকারী, পরমানন্দ, শ্রীদামসুবল, মদন মাষ্টার ও গোপাল উড়ে এই বিষয়ে প্রসিদ্ধি লাভ করিয়া গিয়াছেন। এক্ষণে গোবিন্দ অধিকারী, উমেশ মিত্র ও মহেশ চক্রবর্ত্তী প্রভৃতি যে কয়জন বর্ত্তমান আছেন, ইহাদিগের সুখ্যাতি শ্রুতিগোচর হইয়া থাকে। কিন্তু ইহাদিগের কাহারও দ্বারাই যথার্থ সঙ্গীত বিজ্ঞানের কোন অংশ উদ্ধার হয় নাই। পক্ষান্তরে কৃষ্ণযাত্রা ও বিদ্যাসুন্দর উভয়ই প্রায় সাদৃশ্যে এক প্রকার।.....অধিকারীরা এক্ষণে যে রীতিতে কৃষ্ণযাত্রা করেন তাহাতে যদি ধর্ম্মসম্বন্ধ না থাকিত, কোন ভদ্ররমণীই তাহা অনাবৃত নেত্রে কর্ণে দর্শন শ্রবণ করিতে পারিতেন না। ওস্তাদী কবি, হাফআখড়াই ও পাঁচালী এখন মৃতকল্প। শেষোক্ত দুটি শাখা অল্প দিন প্রবল হইয়াই অল্প দিনের মধ্যে বিলুপ্তপ্রায় হইয়াছে।.....এখন যাঁহারা কবি গাহিয়া থাকেন, তাঁহারা বহু যত্ন করিয়াও লোকের মনোরঞ্জন করিতে পারেন না।

On Agrahāyan 10 (=November 24), p. 2, we have similar remarks in a comment on the second[1] performance of পদ্মাবতী গীতাভিনয়, probably the drama of the same title by Michael Madhusūdan: অনুষ্ঠান দেখিয়া বোধ হইতেছে, এ দেশের যাত্রাগুলির প্রাণবায়ু স্বরূপ কালুয়া ভুলুয়া ও ভিস্তি মেথরাণীদিগের[2] অন্নলোপ হইল।

1 The first performance took place on the Kārttik Pūjā night at the house of Rājendra Datta of Bahubājār, Calcutta.

2 These were the so-called comic but really vulgar characters in the popular *yātrā*.

আমাদের বহুকালের পরিচিত দূতী, যশোদা এবং মালিনী গোয়ালিনীরা শীঘ্র বাঙ্গালী সমাজের নিকট বিদায় গ্রহণ করিবেন। চিরাকাঙ্ক্ষিত নাট্যাভিনয়ের মধুর ফল আজকাল অনেকের হৃদয়ঙ্গম হইয়াছে।[1]

On Phālgun 24, 1272 (=March 6, 1866), we have the mention of a medical journal, called *Cikitsak* (চিকিৎসক), conducted by Mahendranāth Mitra, Rasiklāl Dās, Kṣetragopāl Lāhā and Ambikācaraṇ Rakṣit, members of the Cikitsak-sabhā, Cikitsak Office, 6 Gom̐sāi Gali, Āhiriṭolā.

We give below a list of some of the other important articles in this file of the daily °*Prabhākar* :

সন ১২৭২ সাল।

বৈশাখ ৩—দুর্গেশনন্দিনী

৮—বিলাতেও বহু বিবাহ হয় (supporting Bidyāsāgar's agitation on the question)

১০—বিক্রীজারীর টাকা অগ্রে কে পাইবে ?

১৩—সিবিলিয়ানদিগের বেতনহ্রাস

১৭—লাখেরাজ ভূমির বিচার

২৩—চন্দ্রিকা সম্পাদকের মতিচ্ছন্ন

২৫—গোহত্যাকারীর দণ্ড হওয়া উচিত কি না ?

২৭—আবকারীর শ্রীবৃদ্ধি

২৮—কলিকাতার জল সরবরাহ (also ৩রা and ৪ঠা জ্যৈষ্ঠ)

২৯—বাঙ্গালা ভাষা ও বিজ্ঞাপনী সম্পাদক (The বিজ্ঞাপনী was published at Dacca)[2].

৩০—নূতন পুলিসের অভিসার

জ্যৈষ্ঠ ১২—বালিকাবিক্রয় ও গবর্ণর জেনেরল

১৭—নীলপ্রধান প্রদেশে অগ্ন্যুৎপাত

১৯—নীলপ্রধান প্রদেশের বিচার প্রণালী

1 With this remark may be compared the sentiment expressed in the preface to Rāmnārāyaṇ Tarkaratna's *Ratnābalī*. The Bidyāsundar, however, was dramatised and acted at the house of Rājā Yatīndramohan Ṭhākur (Feb. 27, 1866 or Phālgun 17, 1272). We are told in this connexion that the Pāikpārā Nāṭyamandir was closed by this time.

2 It was edited by Kṛṣṇacandra Majumdār, the well known author of *Sadbhāṣatak*, who left the editorship of the ঢাকাপ্রকাশ for that of this periodical.

২১—বিনা অত্যাচারে নীল জন্মিবে না কেন ?
২৫—চুরি ডাকাইতির উন্নতি
২৬—নীল পুনর্ব্বার
আষাঢ় ২—মফঃস্বলে পাপের শ্রীবৃদ্ধি
৪—নীলকর সাহেব ও ছোট আদালত
ইন্‌কম ট্যাক্সের চরমোৎসব
৬—আইন ও সারকিউলার
৭—পশ্চিমবাহিনী খাল ও তাহার সেতু
১১—জেলা আদালতের স্বেচ্ছাচারিতা
১৩—আব্রাহাম লিঙ্কনের মৃত্যুর জন্য (শোকপ্রকাশ)
১৮—ভারতবর্ষের আয় ব্যয় ও ফ্রেণ্ড অফ্ ইণ্ডিয়া
অগ্রহায়ণ ১০—আমাদের রমণীগণকে কতদূর স্বাধীনতা দেওয়া উচিত ?
১৭—সিবিল সার্ব্বিশ পরীক্ষা (mentions সত্যেন্দ্রনাথ ঠাকুর as having passed)
২২—গ্রাম্য পুলিশ কিরূপে সংশোধন হইবে ?
পৌষ ২—অস্মদ্দেশীয় বালিকাবিদ্যালয়ের অবস্থা

This list does not pretend to be exhaustive but, taken along with the literary topics referred to above, it will indicate the extent and variety of subjects dealt with, as well as the popularity which this interesting and useful paper enjoyed for over 30 years.

Although the *Prabhākar* was a daily paper in 1272 B. S. (=1865-66 A.D.), it was originally started on Māgh 16, 1237 (=January 28, 1831), Friday [1], as a weekly paper under the patronage of Jogendramohan Ṭhākur and with Īśvar Gupta (then only a lad of 19 or 20) as the editor. It stopped on the death of Jogendramohan in 1239 B. S. (=1833 A. D.) The history is thus told by the editor himself. বাবু যোগেন্দ্রমোহন ঠাকুরের সম্পূর্ণ সাহায্যক্রমে এই প্রভাকর পত্র প্রকটিত হয়। তখন আমাদিগের যন্ত্রালয় ছিল না, চোরবাগানে এক মুদ্রাযন্ত্র ভাড়া করিয়া ছাপা হইত। [১২]৩৮ সালের শ্রাবণমাসে পূর্ব্বোক্ত ঠাকুরবাবুদিগের বাটীতে স্বাধীনরূপে যন্ত্রালয় স্থাপিত করা যায়। তাহাতে [১২]৩৯ সাল পর্য্যন্ত সেই স্বাধীনযন্ত্রে অতি সম্ভ্রমের সহিত মুদ্রিত হইয়াছিল।[2] It was again revived on Śrāban 27. 1243

1 See my article in the *Calcutta Review*, 1922, quoted above, p. 281-2.
2 *Sambād-Prabhākar*, Baiśākh 1, 1253, quoted in Baṅkimcandra's 'life of Īśvar Gupta' (also in *Janmabhūmi*, 1303-4, p. 241).

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গদীশ্বরকে চিন্তা করিয়া এতৎ অসমসাহসিক কর্ম্মে
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লচন্দ্র ঠাকুর মহাশয় যথার্থ হিতকারী বন্ধুর স্বভাবে
ন করিলেন এবং অদ্যাবধি আমাদিগের আবশ্যকক্রমে
মত উপকার করিতে ত্রুটি করেন না।[1]

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was then reduced to a few pages only,
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's prose and poetical compositions which
f the chief attractions of the *°Prabhākar*
at Īśvar Gupta continued to be the
ating himself with writing editorials on
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ion of Īśvar Gupta, however, a monthly
hat larger bulk was issued from 1260
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ly *°Prabhākar* which was also continued.
*ākar* was almost entirely taken up by the
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ta published a valuable account of the
r poetry[2] and a life of Rāmprasād and
r his death, his younger brother Rām-

[1] *Prabhākar* in Bankimcandra's 'life of Īśvar
*āmi, loc. cit.*, p. 242.

[2] given an account of *Sambād-sādhuranjan* for
ed by Īśvar Gupta, in *Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*,
om a advertisement on the fly-leaf of *Prabodh-*
Īśvar Gupta himself on Caitra 1, 1264 B.S., that
that date as a weekly : মাসিক মূল্য ।০ বার্ষিক মূল্য

candra Gupta became the editor. The *Prabhākar used to have the following two verses, composed by Professor Premcandra Tarkavāgīś of Calcutta Sanskrit College, as the headnote :

সতাং মনস্তামরসপ্রভাকরঃ সদৈব সর্ব্বেষু সমপ্রভাকরঃ।
উদেতি ভাস্বৎসকলাপ্রভাকরঃ সদর্থসংবাদনবপ্রভাকরঃ॥
নক্তং চন্দ্রকরেণ ভিন্নমুকুলেষ্বিন্দীবরেষু ক্বচিদ্
ভ্রামং ভ্রামমতন্দ্রমীষদমৃতং পীত্বা ক্ষুধাকাতরাঃ।
অন্যোন্যদ্বিমলপ্রভাকরকরপ্রোদ্ভিন্নপদ্মোদরে
স্বচ্ছন্দং দিবসে পিবন্তু চতুরস্বান্তদ্বিরেফা রসম্॥

S. K. D.

# Patañjali

## *as he reveals himself in the Mahābhāṣya*

### INTRODUCTION

The ancient history of India is unfortunately enveloped in obscurity. It is really to be regretted that we know very little of our ancient teachers, who by dint of their many-sided genius and clearness of vision, gave such a unique stamp to the intellectual and spiritual life of India, and left behind them such a brilliant record of erudition and scholarship which still excites our wonder and will continue to do so in all times to come. Their birth and parentage, their manner of life, their society and environments, and particularly the period of time in which they were born, are more or less obscure to us. In the absence of chronological history and authentic records in most of the cases, we cannot form an accurate estimate of their achievements and say anything definitely about their life and mission. The undesirable consequence has been that some of these teachers, like the heroes of ancient myths, have already become fabulous, their identity being lost for ever. India is the land of glorious traditions. But traditions

that are connected with the life of these ancient teachers sometimes prove to be so incredible and misleading that we very often fail to construct a real history out of the materials that are supplied by them. What first strikes our attention when we look back to the past is that the history of India has been the history of a galaxy of outstanding personalities, each eminent in his sphere of activity, each showing a new line of thinking. India can really boast of having produced prophets and religious preachers like Buddha and Caitanya, a saintly philosopher like Śaṅkarācārya, a man of letters like Patañjali, a politician like Cāṇakya, and a poet like Kālidāsa, who once held the torches of light that illuminated the countries far and wide. How eager we feel to know of our great men, to have a glimpse into the history of their life and after all to save their sacred memory from the depth of oblivion ?

We turn our attention to Patañjali as he has revealed himself in the Mahābhāṣya. He is one of those teachers of respectable antiquity who have made their mark in the history of Indian thought. He is a great grammarian, greater still as a man of letters, and in everything he is a true type of Indian genius.

Out of the materials as are placed before us by a careful study of the Mahābhāṣya, an attempt will be made through these pages to prepare a short account of Patañjali with particular reference to the scope of his studies and his intellectual culture. Patañjali is best known as the author of the Mahābhāṣya, " the Great Commentary," which is regarded as the most comprehensive work ever written on grammar. A study of the Mahābhāṣya makes it sufficiently clear that Patañjali was not only a philosopher and a grammarian, but he may be truly styled the representative man of letters of his age. He appears to have been a man of wide culture, trained in the orthodox fashion, endowed with unequalled power of exposition, well read in all current systems of Indian philosophy, and, in short, a veritable repository of Brahmanic culture. A landmark in

the history of Indian literature, his work, apart from its grammatical interest, may be studied as to what it reflects of the then India in its social, political and religious aspects.

### *Mahābhāṣya as a work*

The Mahābhāṣya forms a critical and explanatory study on the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana, i. e. an original commentary mainly elucidating the supplementary rules of Kātyāyana and those of Pāṇini only to a limited extent. Wherever the aphorisms of Pāṇini were found inadequate to cover the growing peculiarites of Sanskrit forms, Kātyāyana tried to supplement them by a number of additional rules (popularly called Vārttikas) as were necessary to bring the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini to completion and to make it up-to-date. The main object of the Vārttikas[1] was to make clear by way of criticism all that was either unnoticed or partially noticed by the rules of Pāṇini. In strict conformity to the order of the Aṣṭādhyāyī, the author divided his work into eight chapters of four sub-sections or Pādas, each of which contains further sub-divisions into Āhnikas varying from one to nine. The work is said to have been composed, on the strength of the evidence contained therein, during the second century before the Christian era, and it has continued to be a most authoritative work on the science of Sanskrit grammar. Patañjali, who is popularly mentioned as the last of the "three sages" (त्रिमुनि) gave a finishing touch, as it were, to the Pāṇiniyan system of grammar by this monumental commentary.

The Mahābhāṣya is a unique production ; its style is so simple and dignified, and the method of argument is so logical and accurate that it stands almost unparalleled in Sanskrit literature. As an indispensable guide to the understanding of the Vedas, the science of grammar had been studied in ancient India with much zeal and devotion. The advent of the Mahābhāṣya marked a new epoch in the grammatical speculations of India ; and students were not wanting to make

1 उक्तानुक्तदुरुक्तार्थचिन्ताकारि तु वार्त्तिकम्।

a serious study of so important a work. The study of the Mahābhāṣya proved a vast field of knowledge by itself. Bhartṛhari, the well-known author of the Vākyapadīya, was not only a keen student of the Mahābhāṣya, but is said to have written a running commentary on it (a Ms. of which has been found in the Berlin Library). Mention is also made of this commentary by I-tsing[1]. The circumstances that necessitated the outcome of such a huge treatise as the Mahābhāṣya have got a historical interest. First, it should be borne in mind that the science of grammar was regarded as a particular class of *Smṛti* (a term usually applied to the treatises dealing with Dharma) and in consequence of such regard this department of study was formerly designated as "Vyākaraṇa-smṛti",[2] and "Vyākaraṇāgama"[3]. It was not only the grammarians who used to apply such epithets to grammar but the Mīmāṃsakas too have shown similar regard for "Vyākaraṇa", and designated it as such. Bhartṛhari[4] has, however, given an account as to how this "Great Commentary" came to be composed so as to preserve the continuity of the "Vyākaraṇa-smṛti" from interruption. Vyāḍi[5] is said to have written a huge work on grammar under the name "Saṃgraha" containing one *lakh* of verses. This work was held in high respect and considered to be an authority on the subject, as is clearly evidenced from references in the Mahābhāṣya. In course of time, however, there came a period of decadence in Indian intellectual pursuit, and people could not afford to make a sustained effort so as to go through such a huge treatise on grammar. The study of the "Saṃgraha" thus came to be neglected by the majority of students, because they were either lacking in academic ambition or unable to spare the

1 *I-tsing*, Takakusu, p. xiv.

2 साधुत्वज्ञानविषया सैषा व्याकरणस्मृतिः।

3 पर्वतादागमं लब्ध्वा भाष्यबीजानुसारिभिः—Vākyapadīya, 2. 489.

4 Vākyapadīya, 2. 484-485.

5 बाढ्य परचितं ग्रन्थलक्षपरिमाणं संग्रहाभिधानं निबन्धनमासीत्—Puṇyarāja and संग्रहो व्याडि-कृतो लक्षश्लोकसंख्यो ग्रन्थ इति प्रसिद्धिः—Nāgeśa on M. B., vol. I, p. 6.

time necessary for mastering so difficult a subject. At such a critical juncture, when the study of "Vyākaraṇa-smṛti" was about to be discontinued, there came Patañjali with his robust genius, who again restored the study of grammar to its former state by building a grand edifice upon the basis of Kātyāyana's Vārttikas. In bulk the Mahābhāṣya comes nearer the Mahābhārata, and contains, in the words of Bhartṛhari[1], the germs of all principles—religious, social, scientific and moral. Besides being an elaborate disquisition on grammatical problems, the Mahābhāṣya has dealt with so many subjects of popular and philosophical interest that it can rightly be viewed as an epitome of all branches of knowledge with which Hindus in those days were more or less conversant. The influence exercised by the Mahābhāṣya on later disquisitions on grammar has been so great that a man's scholarship was not considered to be complete[2] enough to command popular respect unless and until he was well-versed in the Mahābhāṣya. The extent to which this great work was respected by the grammarians is clearly brought out by a couple of adjuncts whereby Bhartṛhari characterised it in the Vākyapadīya. In point of depth, Bhartṛhari maintains that the Mahābhāṣya seems to be unfathomable, but at the same time clear on account of its beautiful exposition[3]. Thus, in the Mahābhāṣya we find a strange mixture of two opposite qualities ; it is in a sense impenetrable, dealing as it does with subjects too many to be enumerated, and has, on the other hand, a peculiar stamp of clearness and perspicuity that serves to render it so interesting and beautiful. It is how Bhartṛhari has eulogised the Mahābhāṣya and tried to show the salient features that won for the work so glorious a name. Puṇyarāja, the well-known commentator on the Vākyapadīya, emphatically puts forward the reason why this commentary is generally

1 सर्वेषां न्यायबीजानां महाभाष्ये निबन्धने—Vākyapadīya, 2. 485.

2 तस्मिन्नज्ञातबुद्धीनां नैवावास्थित निश्चयः—Vākyapadīya, 2. 486.

3 अलब्धगाधिगाम्भीर्यादुत्तान इव सौष्ठवात्—Vākyapadīya, 2. 486.

known as the Mahābhāṣya and not merely as Bhāṣya[1]. It must be, however, remembered here that the commentaries of so reputed teachers as Medhātithi, Sāyaṇa, Śaṅkara and others are only called Bhāṣya, and it is the commentary of Patañjali alone that is distinguished from the rest of its kinds by the word *Mahat* (great). The Mahābhāṣya had many followers, and though a commentary by itself, it was studied as an original text by all devout students of grammar. We may mention the names of Bhartṛhari, Kaiyaṭa, Puṇyarāja, Bhaṭṭojī, Nāgeśa, Koṇḍabhaṭṭa and others as those who made a special study of the Mahābhāṣya. Bhartṛhari's Vākyapadīya, Nāgeśa's Siddhānta-Mañjūṣā and Śabdenduśekhara, Bhaṭṭojī's Śabdakaustubha and Koṇḍabhaṭṭa's Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇa are works that were written and planned entirely on the basis of the Mahābhāṣya. Kaiyaṭa, who wrote a learned annotation on the Mahābhāṣya under the name Pradīpa, compares this "Great Commentary" to a "boundless ocean"[2] and frankly admits like a true scholar that the ocean of the Mahābhāṣya is so deep and his intelligence so shallow that he is not really competent to undertake the task of commenting on it. He sincerely acknowledges his indebtedness to Bhartṛhari for what he has done with regard to the exposition of the Mahābhāṣya. Nāgeśa or Nāgojībhaṭṭa made a further contribution to the study of the Mahābhāṣya by his commentary which he designated as the Pradīpodyota. What is important to note is that the Mahābhāṣya did not only prove an authoritative work on grammar but subsequently gave rise to a vast field of study, for scholar after scholar ransacked this storehouse to widen the scope of grammatical speculations still further. The Mahābhāṣya is also called Phaṇibhāṣya from the supposed identity of Patañjali with Śeṣa, the Serpent-king. It is decidedly the greatest and most authoritative work ever written

1 सर्वन्यायबीजहितुत्वादेव महच्छब्देन विशिष्य महाभाष्यमित्युच्यते—under the Kārikā, 2. 485.

2 भाष्याब्धिः क्वातिगंभीरः क्वाहं मन्दमतिस्तथा ।

on grammar. The influence of the Mahābhāṣya on the extant grammatical literature of India has been very great; the decision of the Mahābhāṣya is still regarded as final and indisputable. It still enjoys such reputation and commands such respect that a form of word not sanctioned by the Mahābhāṣya runs the risk of being rejected by the grammarians.

### *Patañjali : His time*

It is difficult to definitely ascertain the time of Patañjali. He is evidently the last among the "three sages" (Trimuni) whose names are prominently mentioned in connection with the Pāṇiniyan school of Sanskrit grammar. It does not, however, serve our purpose to assign him a date later than those of his predecessors, *i.e.*, Pāṇini and Kātyāyana, because the dates of these two grammarians have not yet been positively fixed by the concensus of opinions. The best and reliable source wherefrom the information about Patañjali's time and birthplace etc. might be gathered is, really, the Mahābhāṣya itself. It will be almost clear from the materials we have put forward that the history of Patañjali is not so meagre as in the case of other ancient teachers of India. The following texts of the Mahābhāṣya have been considered and examined by both Indian and European scholars as what point to some positive data for determining the date of Patañjali. Under the rule Pāṇ. 3. 2. 123 the Mahābhāṣya has cited by way of examples इह पुष्यमित्रं याजयामः; and under the Vārttika जित्पर्यायस्यैव राजार्थम्[1] it has given two more instances, namely, पुष्यमित्रसभा and चन्द्रगुप्तसभा which all tend to prove that Patañjali flourished during the reign of Puṣyamitra, the founder of the Suṅga dynasty. Patañjali mentions both Candragupta and the Mauryas (Pāṇ. 5. 3. 99), and particularly refers to the council of the former and the profiteering practice of keeping the idols or images of gods by the Mauryas. But a careful examination of the

1 Vol. I, p. 177.

expression इह पुष्यमित्रं याजयामः will make it sufficiently clear that the performance of religious rites by Puṣyamitra as referred to here was an event that undoubtedly took place during the life-time of Patañjali. Now, if these passages really refer to Puṣyamitra and his royal council, as many eminent scholars have unhesitatingly given their verdict, we must be prepared to believe that Patañjali was a contemporary of Puṣyamitra and that he could not be placed later than 150 B. C. Patañjali has shown his familiarity with Puṣyamitra by frequent references ; whenever he happens to mention the name of a king, he does not forget to give prominence to the name of his patron-king Puṣyamitra by way of illustration. What particularly strikes our attention in dealing with these instances is that Puṣyamitra was not only a contemporary of Patañjali but held him in respect and favoured him adequately as his great patron. Patañjali has repaid his favour by mentioning his name several times in the Mahābhāṣya[1]. That he was in touch with a great ruling chief and had intimate knowledge of the royal court is clear from many passages of the Mahābhāṣya. Further evidence regarding the date of Patañjali is furnished by the texts अरुणद्यवनः साकेतम्[2] and अरुणद्यवनो माध्यमिकाम् which have been explained by distinguished scholars as an historical reference to a siege of Sāketa (Oudh) and Mādhyamikā by the Greek King Menander. This is, so to speak, the internal evidence in regard to the time of Patañjali.

Next we turn to the external evidence. The Mahābhāṣya was indeed hailed by the grammarians as the most authoritative exposition of the grammatical aphorisms of Pāṇini and Kātyāyana, and it undoubtedly attracted good many scholars who not only made a careful study of it but tried to render the texts of this "great commentary" easier by the further addition of commentaries and annotations on it. But in course of time, as Bhartṛhari tells us, the study of the Mahā-

1 See M. B., vol. II, p. 34.
2 See M. B., vol. II, p. 119.

bhāṣya was unfortunately neglected.[1] Of the earliest annotations on the Mahābhāṣya we have no definite knowledge. Bhartṛhari, the renowned author of the Vākyapadīya is said to have written a learned commentary "Ṭīkā" on the Mahābhāṣya. Both Puṇyarāja and Koṇḍabhaṭṭa call Bhartṛhari a "Ṭīkākāra"[2] i.e. author of a commentary on the Mahābhāṣya. A commentary from the pen of so great a scholar as Bhartṛhari, who is distinguished both as a poet and grammarian, is supposed to have been a very learned work, but unfortunately we have no access to it. Prof. Kielhorn speaks of a manuscript of this valuable work as preserved in the Berlin Library. The date of Bhartṛhari may be ascertained with a degree of certainty from the record of the Chinese pilgrim I-tsing. What we actually learn from this account is that Bhartṛhari flourished during the early fifties of the seventh century. It is not unlikely that Bhartṛhari might have availed himself of those earlier annotations on the Mahābhāṣya before he wrote his commentary and the Vākyapadīya. There must necessarily be a wide gulf between Patañjali and Bhartṛhari. The distance between Patañjali and Bhartṛhari is a period that extends over many centuries. From the accounts recorded by Bhartṛhari himself in his Vākypadīya it is clear that the study of the "Vyākaraṇāgama"[3] i.e. Māhābhāṣya had fallen much below the rank at the hands of logicians, namely, Baiji, Saubhava and Haryakṣa who by the introduction of logical niceties minimised the importance of grammar, and spoiled the "Ārṣa" (sacred) character of the Mahābhāṣya. In this way the Mahābhāṣya not only found itself in a miserable plight but lost its followers, and what is still more regrettable is that it became almost extinct in course of time,

1 Vākyapadīya, 2, 487-488.

2 Vākyapadīya, 2, p. 283 ; लतलोरर्थकथनं ढीकायां हरिणा कृतम् Vaiyākaraṇabhuṣaṇa, kār. 49.

3 Vākyapadīya, 2, 487.

it being studied in the Deccan only as an ordinary text.[1] When the study of the Mahābhāṣya had thus been neglected and the continuity of the "Vyākaraṇāgama" was about to be broken up, there came Candrācārya, Vasurāta and others who again restored the dignity of the "Vyākaraṇāgama" to its pristine glory.[2] The account given in the Rājataraṅginī[3] is almost the same. It was at the instance of the king Abhimanyu of Kāśmīr that the grammarians Candrācāryya and others popularised the study of the Mahābhāṣya. This Vasurāta is said to have been the tutor of Bhartṛhari. Like a typical Indian student, Bhartṛhari has magnified the greatness of his revered tutor by stating without any reservation that he made the collection of Vyākaraṇāgamas (principles of grammar) under the direction of Vasurāta. Now, what light is really thrown by these accounts on the date of Patañjali is that a good many centuries had actually elapsed before Bhartṛhari might have attempted to preserve the main tenets of the Mahābhāṣya in his Vākyapadīya. Moreover, the author of the Vākyapadīya respectfully mentions the name of Patañjali as a Ṛṣi and characterises the Mahābhāṣya as "Ārṣa" or sacred. This shows that Patañjali had already become a sacred personage to Bhartṛhari—a fact which is inexplicable unless we are prepared to make allowance for sufficient time between these two authors. It can be easily presumed that he could not attain to Ṛṣi-hood and the reverential designation of 'Bhagavat', as he is laterly called by the majority of scholars, until he became so old as to pass for a fictitious personage.

(*To be continued*)

PRABHAT CHANDRA CHAKRAVARTI

1 यः पतञ्जलिशिष्येभ्यो भ्रष्टो व्याकरणागमः। काले स दाक्षिणात्येषु ग्रन्थमात्रे व्यवस्थितः॥
Vākyapadīya, 2, 488.

2 Vākyapadīya, 2, 489.

3 चन्द्राचार्यादिभिर्लब्ध्वादेशं तस्माच्चदागमम्। प्रवर्त्तितं महाभाष्यं स्वं च व्याकरणं कृतम्॥
Rāj., I, 176.

# A Copper-plate Grant of Viśvarūpa Sena of Bengal

In April 1925, Mr. B. L. Chaudhuri of Sherpore in Mymensing, handed a copper-plate to me for decipherment. I learnt from him that it belonged to the young Mahārājā of Susang, who was informed that a blacksmith had a copper-plate, but before his men reached the blacksmith's shop, a portion of it was cut and melted. The Mahārājā, however, secured it though in its present mutilated condition. I began to read it and when I had nearly finished the reading Rai Saheb N. N. Vasu informed me that inscriptions of the same king having the same beginning was twice published, once in the 7th Volume and once more in the volume for 1896, pt. I of the *JASB.* I immediately took down the volume from the library and found the historical portion nearly the same in all the three plates, but the donation differed in all the three and that the new plate contained the names of many places in East Bengal which are likely to be useful for the topography of East Bengal in olden times. The plate will throw light on the later history of the Sena Dynasty in Bengal.

In the seventh volume of *JASB.* the plate was transcribed by the Society's Pandit Govindarāma and revised by Kamalākānta and the traslation into English was made by Sāradāprasāda. In the volume of 1896 the whole responsibility rested with Rai Saheb Nagendranath Vasu.

In one sense the historical portion of this plate is very important as it settled the name of the king who succeeded Lakṣmaṇa Sena in Bengal. Govindarāma read the name as Keśava Sena only in two places out of three but the Rai Saheb read it as Viśvarūpa Sena in all the places. In the other place Govinda did not read a proper name but an epithet. He read 'viśvavandyo nṛpaḥ' for 'Viśvarūpo nṛpaḥ.' He was evidently wrong. The *ū* in 'Viśvarūpo' was not

visible in the facsimile but *po* is distinctly there and not *ndyo*. Where he reads 'Śrī Keśavasenadeva' there is no space for three syllables 'Keśava' but only for two 'Viśva'. But the letters are very indistinct. The metre however comes out right with 'Śrī Viśvasenadevaḥ' with 12 mātrās and not with 'Śrī Keśavasenadevaḥ' with 13 mātrās. In Rai Saheb's facsimile the word Viśvarūpa is distinct in both the places, but the metre becomes extremely awkward with 'Śrī Viśvarūpasenadevaḥ' with 15 mātrās in the second place. In my copper-plate the word is distinctly *Viśvarūpa* in all the three places and the metre in the second place comes right with *Śrī Viśvarūpasenaḥ*.

Another difficulty arises in the name of the Queen of Lakṣmaṇa Sena and the mother of Viśva Sena Deva. Pandit Govindarāma reads it *Śrī Vasudevikā* but his facsimile does not support him. It looks like *Śrī Rāndrādevī* which is unintelligible. Rai Saheb Nagendranath Vasu reads it *Śrī Tāṇḍādevi tadasya* which comes out of the facsimile though with some difficulty. In the present plate it is *Śrīmat Ṭaṭṭaṇadevyamuṣya mahiṣī*. The metre is all right though I am not without my misgivings, as *Ṭaṭṭaṇadevī* is an unusual name and the *t* in *Śrīmat* would be *ṭ* in sandhi.

The names of the ancestors of Viśvarūpa are, father Lakṣmaṇa Sena, grandfather Ballāla Sena and great grandfather Vijaya Sena all descended from the Lunar race. They are the three best known kings of the Sena dynasty of Bengal. Two more princes of the Sena dynasty are mentioned in the donation portion of the copper-plate: one is Sadā Sena and the other Puruṣottama Sena Deva. Their relation with Viśvarūpa is not given but as they are called Kumāras, most probably they were his sons. Sadā Sena gave lands in Somagrāma in Vikramapura and Puruṣottama gave lands in Kandradvīpa. There are two more donors, viz. Nāñī Siṃha the minister of peace and war and Dāmāralī Sthairya Siṃha.

Halāyudha of the Vātsyagotra, the donee, was a very clever man. He purchased many pieces of land in many

places in East Bengal, he got donations of land from princes and ministers, but he made the king Viśvarūpa Sena to sanction all the various purchases and gifts as royal donations. A tabular statement of the lands is given below. He had gardens of cocoanut trees and betel-nut trees, he had plantations of betel leaves ; these were then regarded as a source of wealth and even learned brāhmaṇas like Halāyudha did not scruple to plant such profitable trees and creepers as these. One of Halāyudha's purchases was from Rājapaṇḍita Maheśvara undoubtedly the Pandit of that name belonging to Śāṇḍilya gotra who was the 'sabhāpaṇḍita' of Ballāla Sena.

The lands granted to Āballika Paṇḍita Halāyudha was valued at 500 Drammas of which 332 were the revenue from land and the rest income from cocoanut and betel-nut trees and betel leaves. This grant was divided into 6 portions situated in different parts of East Bengal :

(1) Given in the Uttarāyaṇa Saṃkrānti 100.

(2) In Vaṅga surrounded by a hedge of Madhukṣīrakas in an Aṣṭalā Mātṛcaraṇā in the village of Somagrāma 250.

(3) In Vikramapura given by Dāmāralī Sthairya Siṃha 25.

(4) At the same place given by Sāndhivigrahika Nāñīsiṃha 25.

(5) At Kandradvīpa Urā Caturaka purchased 50.

(6) At Pātilādivīka given by Puruṣottama Sena 50.

500

This statement is given after the name of the donee as a summary of detailed statements given in the body of the donation after 'Viditam astu bhavatām'.

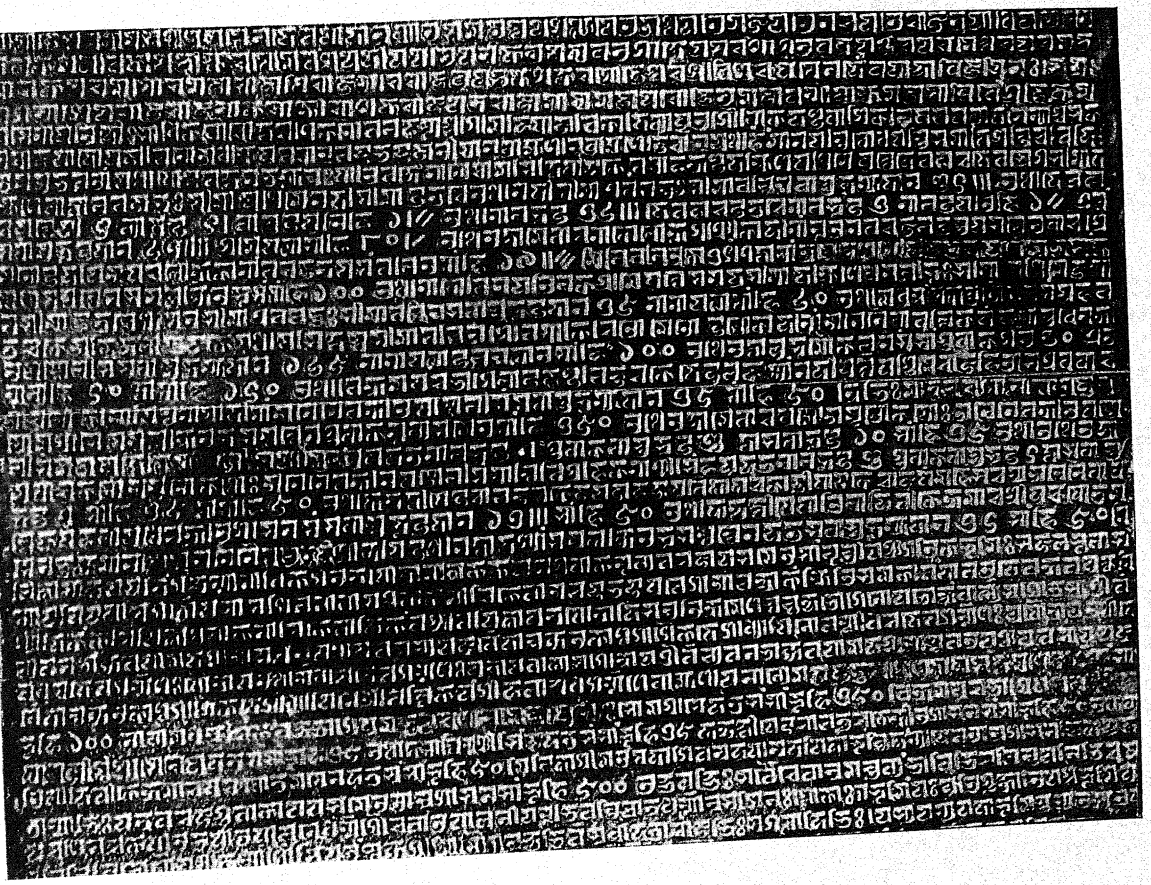
There we come to learn that the land belonged to the province of Pauṇḍra-vardhana. The city of Pauṇḍravardhana has been identified with Mahāsthāna in the Bagura District. On the theory that Lakṣmaṇa Sena was the last king of the five

Gauḍas viz. Vaṅga, Varendra, Bāgri, Rāḍha and Mithilā, and that he fled at the advance of Bakhtiyar Khilji on Navadvīpa in 1198 A. D., his son still held the province of Pauṇḍravardhana. The province included Vaṅga approachable by boats only. It necessarily included the Pāṭaka or district of Sāmasiddhi. Sāmasiddhi is still a flourishing village in Vikramapura inhabited by many Śrotriya Brāhmaṇas of Mahintā gāñī which belongs to Vātsya gotra, and who pronounce five pravaras Aurva, Cyavana, Bhārgava, Jāmadagnya,and Āpnavata. They belong to the same gotra and pravara with the donee but the donee professed Yajurveda in the Kāṇva śākhā while the Mahintās of the present day profess Śāmaveda in the Kauthumī śākhā.

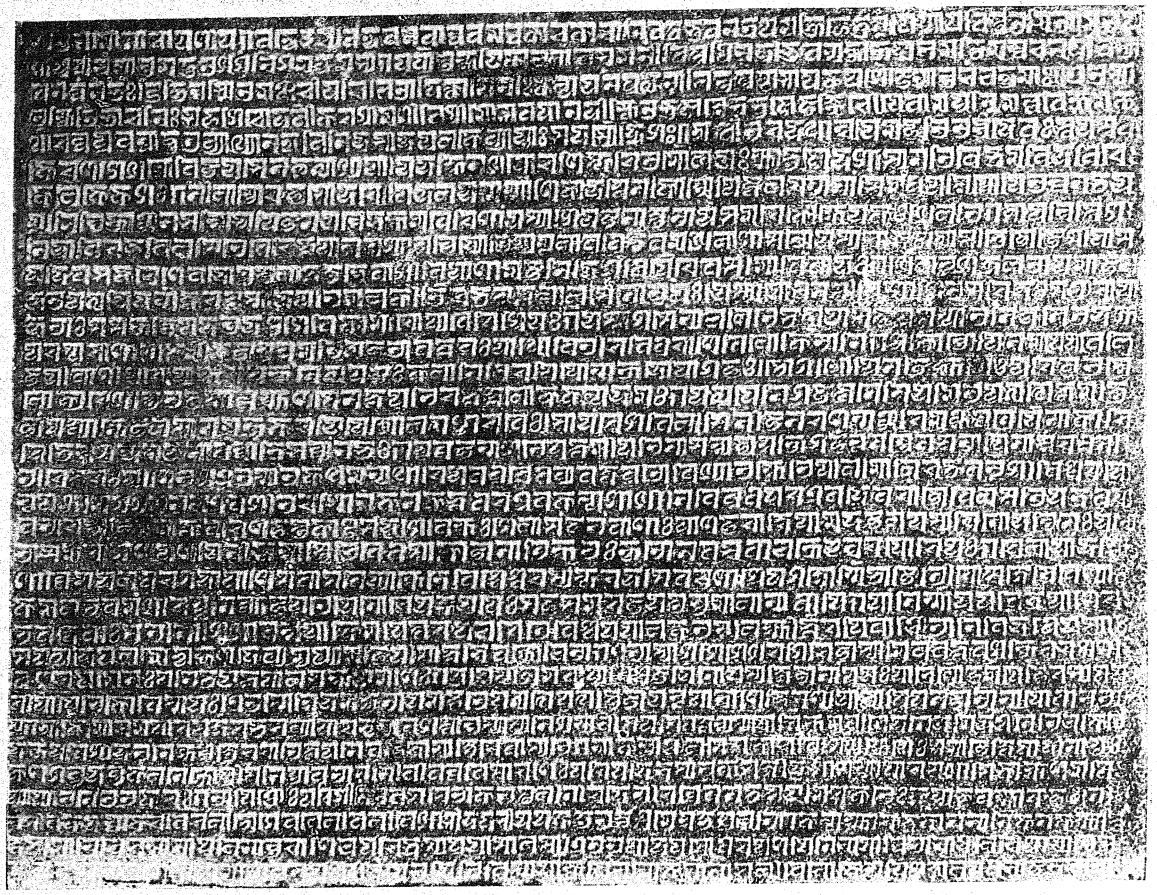
Though in the detailed statement the name of Sadā Sena appears as a donor his name is substituted by that of Dāmāralī Sthairya Siṃha in the summary.

As a portion of the copper-plate has been cut away and melted with writings on both sides, we miss on the obverse side the statement that Viśvarūpa Sena conquered the Gargas and Yavanas and on the reverse side we miss the name of the Dūtaka of the inscription. The inscription is published. We believe the archæologists of East Bengal will help the public by identifying the Caturakas, the Pāṭakas and the Grāmas mentioned in this copper-plate. The temptation of identifying Kandradvīpa with Candradvīpa is very strong but for the present we must resist it.

REVERSE



# OBVERSE



*I. H. Q., March, 1926.*

## OBVERSE

(1) नमो नारायणाय ।

वन्देऽरविन्दवनवान्धवमन्धकार-
कारानिवद्धभुवनत्रयमुक्तिहेतुम् ।
पर्य्यायविस्तृतसिताक्षितप-(2)क्षयुग्म-
मुद्यान्तमङ्गतखगं निगमद्रुमस्य ॥ [ १ ]

पर्यस्तस्फटिकाचलां वसुमतीं विम्बम्बिमुद्रीभवन्-
मुक्ताकुड्मलमम्बिमम्बरनदीवन्द्या(3)वनद्धं नभः ।
उद्भिन्नस्मितमल्लरीपरिचिता दिक्कामिनीः कल्पयन्
प्रत्यूषोल्लतु पुष्पसायकयशोजम्भान्तरं चन्द्रमाः ॥ [ २ ]

एतस्मा(4)त् क्षितिभारनिःसहशिरोदर्व्वीकरग्रामणी-
विश्रामोत्सवदानदीक्षितभुजास्ते भूभुजो जज्ञिरे ।
येषामप्रतिमल्लविक्रमक(5)थारम्भप्रबन्धाद्भुत-
व्याख्यानन्दविनिद्रसान्द्रपुलकैर्व्याप्ताः सदस्यैर्दिशः ॥ [ ३ ]

अवातरदथान्वये महति तत्र देवः स्वयं
सुधा(6)किरणशेखरो विजयसेन इत्याख्यया ।
यदङ्घ्रिनखधोरणिस्फुरितमौलयः क्ष्माभुजो
दशास्यनतिविभ्रमं विदधिरे(7) किलैकैकशः ॥ [ ४ ]

नीलाम्भोरुहसोदरोऽपि दलयन् मर्म्माणि कादम्बिनी-
कान्तोऽपि ज्वलयन् मनांसि मधुपस्निग्धोऽपि तन्वन् भय(8)म् ।
निर्विक्तारुजनसन्निभोऽपि जनयन्नेत्रक्लमं वैरिणां
यस्याशेषजनाद्भुताय समरे कौन्तेयकः खेलति ॥ [ ५ ]

भासन्निस्त्रिंश(9)निद्राविरहविलसितैर्वैरिभूपालवंश्या-
नुच्छिद्योच्छिद्य मूलावधि भुवमखिलां शासतो यस्य राज्ञः ।
आसीत् तेजोजिगीषा स(10)ह दिवसकरेणेव दोष्णस्तुलाभूद्-
भर्त्रैर्वाशीविषाणामजनि दिगधिपैरेव सीमाविवादः ॥ [ ६ ]

खेलत्खड्गलतापमार्ज्जन(11)च्छलप्रत्यर्थिदर्पज्वर-
स्तस्मादप्रतिमल्लकीर्त्तिरभवद्वल्लालसेनो नृपः ।
यस्यायोधनसोन्नि श्रोणितसरिद्दुःसञ्चरायां (12) च्छटाः
संसक्तद्विपदन्तदण्डशिविकामारोप्य वैरिश्रियः ॥ [ ७ ]

यस्याग्रसैन्यचलितैभघटासहस्र-
सम्पातनिर्द्दलितपक्ष(13)परम्पराणाम् ।
भूमौभुजां भुवमतित्यजतां वभूवुः
पाथोधितीरविधुराणि विलोकितानि [1] ॥ [ ८ ]

श्रीकान्तोऽपि न मायया वलि(14)जयी वागीश्वरोऽप्यक्षरं
वक्तुं नेत्यपटुः कलानिधिरपि प्रोन्मुक्तदोषाग्रहः ।
भोगीन्द्रोऽपि न जिह्मगैः परिवृतस्त्रै(15)लोक्यरक्षाङ्कृत-
स्तस्माल्लक्ष्मणसेनभूपतिरभूद्भूलोककल्पद्रुमः ॥ [ ९ ]

प्रत्यूषे निगड़स्खनैर्नियमितप्रत्यर्थिभूमीभु(16)जां
मध्याह्ने जलपानमुक्तकरटिप्रोद्गालघण्टारवैः ।
सायं वेश्यविलासिनीजनरणन्मञ्जीरमञ्जुस्वनै-
र्येनाकारि (17) विभिन्नशब्दघटनावन्ध्यं त्रिसन्ध्यं नभः ॥ [ १० ]

पूर्वं जन्मशतेषु भूमिपतिना सन्त्यज्य मुक्तिग्रहं
नूनं तेन सुतार्थिना (18) सुरधुनीतीरे हरः प्रोणितः ।
एतस्मात् कथमन्यथा रिपुवधूवैधव्यवद्व्रतो
विख्यातक्षितिपालमौलिरभवत् श्रीविश्वरूपो (19) नृपः [ ११ ]

न गगनतल एव श्वेतरश्मिर्न कनकभूधर एव कल्पशाखी ।
न विबुधपर एव देवराजो विलसति यत्र धरावतार(20)भाजि ॥ [ १२ ]

वाञ्छ वारणहस्तकाण्डसदृशौ वक्षः शिलासंहतं
बाणाः प्राणहरा द्विषां मदजलप्रस्यन्दिनो दन्तिनः ।

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1 This verse is not found in the other two inscriptions.

यस्थे(21)तां समराङ्गणप्रणयिनीं कृत्वा स्थितिं वेधसा
को जानाति कुतः कृतो न वसुधाचक्रेऽनुरूपो रिपुः [1] ॥ [ १३ ]

वेलायां दक्षि(22)णाब्धेर्मुषलधरगदापाणिसंवासवेद्यां
क्षेत्रे विश्वेश्वरस्य स्फुरदसिवरणाश्लेषगङ्गोर्मिभाजि ।
तीरोत्सङ्गे त्रिवेण्याः (23) कमलभवमुखारभ्यनिर्व्याजपूते
येनोच्चैर्यज्ञयूपैः सह समरजयस्तम्भमाला न्यधायि ॥ [ १४ ]

यां निर्म्माय पवित्रपाणिर(24)भवद्वेधाः सतीनां शिखा-
रत्नं या किमपि स्वरूपचरितैर्विश्वं ययालङ्कृतम् ।
लक्ष्मीर्भूरपि वाञ्छितानि विदधे यस्याः (25) सपत्नप्रोद्यं
श्रीमत्तटृणदेव्यमुष्यमहिषी साभूत्त्रिवर्गोचिता ॥ [ १५ ]

एताभ्यां शशिशेखरगिरिजाभ्यामिव बभूव शक्तिधरः ।
श्रौ(26)विश्वरूपसेनः प्रतिभटभूपालमुकुटमणिः ॥ [ १६ ]

दृष्टिस्वर्गमवाप्य विश्वजयिनो यस्य द्विजानां चयः
पात्रैर्लोहमयैर्हिरण्यपद(27)वी प्राप्तेति को विस्मयः ।
एतस्मिन्नियमाद्भुताय महति प्रत्यर्थिपृथ्वीभुजां
यत्याचाणि हिरण्मयाण्यपि पुनर्यातान्ययोवर्णता(28)म् [1] ॥ [१७]

आकौमारमपारसङ्गरभरव्यापारतृष्णावश-
स्वान्तस्यास्य निशम्य वीरपरिषद्वन्द्यस्य दोर्विक्रमम् ।
नेदं नेदमिदञ्च नेति चकिते(29)र्दुर्गं प्रविश्य द्रुतं
निर्गच्छद्भिररातिभूपनिवहैर्भ्रान्यद्भिरेवास्यते ॥ [ १८ ]

आकर्णाञ्चलमेलकारविशिखक्षेपैः समाजे द्विषां
दानाम्भः(30)कणगर्भदर्भकलनैर्गोष्ठीषु निष्ठावताम् ।
नीविवन्ध्यविसारणैः परिषदि त्रास्यत्कुरङ्गीदृशा-
मव्यापारसुखासितां क्षणमपि (31) प्राप्नोति नैतत्करः [1] ॥ [ १९ ]

तापिच्छैः परिशीलितेव सरितां कक्षस्थली नीरदै-
र्नीरन्ध्रेव नभस्तटी मरकतैः क्लृप्ता भुवः क्ष्मारुहः ।

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1. These three verses do not occur in Rai Sahib N. N. Vasu's inscription.

नो(32)लग्रावकदम्बकैरविरलाभोगेव वेलावली-
लेखासोददसौययन्नहुतभुग्धूमे मुहुर्मुच्छति [1][ २० ]
कल्पच्छारुहकाननानि कनकच्छाभृ(33)द्विभागाच्चिधिं
रत्नानां पुलिनान्तराणि च परिभ्रम्य प्रयासालसाः ।
एतत्पादपयोधरप्रणयिनि च्छायावितानाञ्चले
विश्राम्यन्ति स(34)तामनिद्रविदशोद्भ्रान्ता मनोवृत्तयः ॥ [ २१ ]
किमेतदिति विस्मयाकुलितलोकपालावली-
विलोकनविशृङ्खलप्रधनजैत्रयात्रा The plate has been cut here.

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REVERSE

1 ससस्तस्वप्रशस्त्युपेतअरिराजनिःशङ्कशङ्करगौड़ेश्वरश्रीमद्वल्लालसेनदेवपादानु-
ध्यातसमस्तस्वप्रशस्त्युपेतअरिराजमदनशङ्क-
2 रगौड़ेश्वरश्रीमल्लक्ष्मणसेनदेवपादानुध्यातसमस्तस्वप्रशस्त्युपेतअश्वपति-
गजपतिनरपतिराजत्रयाधिपतिसेन-
3 कुलकमलविकासभास्करसोमवंशप्रदीपप्रतिपन्नकर्णसत्यव्रतगाङ्गेयशरणागत-
वज्रपञ्जरपरमेश्वरपरमभ-
4 ट्टारकपरमसौरमहाराजाधिराजअरिराजवृषभ[ा]ङ्कशङ्करगौड़ेश्वरश्रीविश्व-
रूपसेनदेवपादा विजयिनः समु-
5 पगताशेषराजराजन्यकराजौराणकराजपुत्रराजामात्यमहापुरोहितमहाधर्मा-
ध्यक्षमहासान्धिविग्रहिकम-
6 हासेनापतिदौःसाधिकचौरोद्धरणिकनौबलहस्त्यश्वगोमहिषाजाविकादिव्य-
प्रतगौल्मिकदण्डपाशिकविषयपत्यादीनन्यांश्च सक-
7 लराजपादोपजीविनो अध्यक्षप्रवरान् चट्टभट्टजातीयान् ब्राह्मणान् ब्राह्मणो-
त्तरान् यथार्हं मानयन्ति बोधयन्ति समादिशन्ति च विदि-
8 तमस्तु भवतां यथा पौण्ड्रवर्द्धनभुक्त्यन्तःपातिवङ्गे नाव्ये सामसिद्धिपाटके
वराहकुण्डदक्षिणपश्चिमे पूर्व्वे देवहारदेवभोगसीमा द

1 This verse also is not found in Rai Sahib N. N. Vasu's inscription.

9 क्षिणे वाङ्गालवड़ाभू:सीमा पश्चिमे नदीसीमा उत्तरे तथा नदीसीमा एवं
चतु:सीमावच्छिन्नवास्तुभूम्यु दान ३४॥ तथा देवहा-
10 रपूर्वे टा ४ व्या भू ड ४। वास्तु उदाडिहि १।/ तथा नाल भू ड २६॥
देवहारउत्तरे नाल भू ड २ नाल उदाडिहि १/ एवं
11 सवास्तु भू ड दान ६७॥ ग्रामयत्या सांहि ८०।/ तथैतद्ग्रामे वारणा-
कोलोक्तगाञोकादीनां नूतनवरञ्चतुष्टयसमेत वारञे-
12 मनो उदयिता परलोक्तकानां वरजत्रयसम्वलित सांहि १८॥ मिलि-
वलिता का २ खं ७ द्वाभ्यां चयोदशवेघे उत्तरायणमहासंक्र-
13 मणसम्बन्धेन समुलक्षित भू सं सांहि १०० तथा नाञे विनयतिलकग्रामे
पूर्वे समुद्रसीमा दक्षिणे प्रनुल्लाभू:सीमा पश्चिमे जङ्घा-
14 लसीमा उत्तरे ग्रासनसीमा एवं चतु:सीमावच्छिन्नसवास्तु भू ड दान
२५ नानायत्या सांहि ६० तथा मधुचोरकाह्वतौ नवसंग्रहच-
15 तुरके आड़िजलापाटके यथाप्रसिद्धलसीमावच्छिन्नशीवसाकिरितो मितो
डाव्याकादीनां अनेनैवावस्थिकपंहलायुधेन क्रौ-
16 तपट्टोलो सं सवास्तुभूम्यु दान १६५ नानायत्या उच्छ्रत्वात् सांहि १००
तथैद्दास्तुभूमौ कलन संसा गुवाकग्रत २० एत-
17 न्मूल्यं हि ४० द्वा सांहि १४० तथा विक्रमपुरभागे लाड़हण्डाचतुरके
देऊलह्स्यां नदीपूर्वपश्चिमे राजहिताय एव वार
18 अरण्ये कामापिण्ठनागादीनां अनेनैव क्रीतपट्टोलो सं सवास्तुभूम्यु दान
२५ सांहि ५० त्रिभि: माढचरणा नाम अष्टल-
19 सोमग्रामे समुलक्षितभूसम्बन्धेन गुवाकमूल्यसमेत सांहि २५० तथैतद्-
ग्रामे वारत्रह्मअमृतोकयो: अनेनैव क्रीतपट्टो-
20 लो सं वर्षद्वयौ कुमारश्रीसदासेनप्रदत्त नालभू ड ७ गुवाकवास्तुभू ड १
द्वा स वा भू ड १० सांहि २५ तथा तथैतद्ग्रामे
21 वारकलोअमृतोकयो: अनेनैव क्रीतपट्टोलो सं सान्धिविग्रहिकनाञो-
सिंहप्रदत्त नालभू ड ३ गुवाकवास्तुभू ड ४ द्वा सवास्तु-
22 भू ड ७ सांहि २५ द्वा सांहि ५० तथा कन्द्रहोपे उराचतुरके जयडाह-
भू पूर्वे डोम्बरकाट्टिपाटके राजपंमहेश्वरस्य अनेनैवाव-

23 ञ्जिकपंहलायुधेन क्रीतशासन सं सवास्तुभू ड दान १२॥ सांहि ५०
तथा कन्द्रद्वीपे पातिलादिवीके कुमारश्रीपुरुषोत्तम-
24 सेन भुज्यमानायग अनेनैव चतुर्हद्दीव्यापिउत्थानद्वादश्यां समुलक्षित-
भूसम्बन्धेन दत्त सवास्तुभूम्यु दान २४ सांहि ५० मि-
25 लित्वा संक्षेप द्वा ि ]त्रंशद्ब्रह्मानाधिकशतत्रयोदानात्मककललगुवाकमूख्य-
वरजायसमेत सां चूर्ण पञ्चशतिकभूमि सजलस्थला स-
26 वाटिविटपा सगर्त्तोषरा सखिलनाला सगुवाकनारिकेला अचट्टभट्टप्रवेशा
आचन्द्रार्कक्षितिसमकालं यावत् देवकुलपुष्करि-
27 ण्यादिकं कारयित्वा गुवाकनारिकेलादिकं लग्गावयित्वा पुत्रपौत्रादि
सन्ततिक्रमेण स्वच्छन्दोपभोगेनोपभोक्तृं वात्स्यसगोत्रस्य श्रीवं-
28 च्यवनभार्गवयामदग्न्यआप्नवत्पञ्चप्रवरस्य यजुर्वेदान्तर्गतकाण्वशाखैकदेशा
ध्यायिनो लक्ष्मीधरदेवशर्म्मणः प्रपौत्राय तथा वे-
29 दधरदेवशर्म्मणः पौत्राय तथा अध्यायदेवशर्म्मणः पुत्राय वात्स्यसगोत्राय
श्रीवंच्यवनभार्गवयामदग्न्यआप्नवत्पञ्चप्रवराय यजु-
30 र्वेदान्तर्गत-काण्वशाखैकदेशाध्यायिने आवल्लिकपंश्रोहलायुधशर्म्मणे ब्राह्म-
णाय लाट्ये महाउत्तरायणमहासंक्रमणे स्वप संसा
31 भू हि १०० नाव्यमधुचीरकवङ्गभागेषु माढचरणा नाम अष्टलाः सोमग्रामि
दत्त संसा भू हि २५० विक्रमपुरभागे वर्षद्वद्वौ दा-
32 मारलोखैर्य्यसिंहप्रदत्त संसा भू हि २५ तथाहि सान्धिनाजौसिंहदत्तसंसा
भू हि २५ कन्द्रद्वीपे उराचतुरके क्रीतशासन संसां भूहि ५० तथा पा-
33 तिलादिवीके कुमारपुरुषोत्तमसेनदत्त संसा भू हि ५० मिलित्वा श्रीमत् सदा-
शिवमुद्रया मुद्रयित्वा भूच्छिद्रन्यायेन ताम्रशासनीकृत्य प्रद
34 त्तोऽस्माभिः यत्र वरजगुवाकायायसमेततास्रशासन सां भूहि ५००
तद्भवद्भिः सर्वैरेव अनुमन्तव्यम्। भाविभिरपि नृपतिभिरप-
35 हरणे नरकपातभयात् पालने धर्म्मगौरवात् पालनीयम्। भवन्ति चात्र
धर्म्मानुशंसिनः श्लोकाः॥ भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं प्र-
36 यच्छति। उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्म्माणौ नियतं स्वर्गगामिनौ। बहुभिर्वसुधा
दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः। यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फल

The plate has been cut here. HARAPRASAD SASTRI

# Inscriptional Excursions

## In Respect of Asoka Edicts

*Progress in study of Asoka inscriptions—how far real?*

The study of inscribed records of Devānaṃpiya Piyadasi Asoka now extends nearly over ninety years. Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka* in vol. I of Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, published in 1879, represents the middle stage in the progress of this fruitful study which commenced since James Prinsep, the father of Indian Epigraphy, deciphered the Brāhmī alphabet, and successfully read and translated the famous Delhi-Toprā Inscription in 1837. The republication of vol. I of the same Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum containing a new edition of the *Inscriptions of Asoka* prepared by Dr. Hultzsch marks, of course, the final stage. This edition stands out as a remarkable scholarly output of the year 1925. This year also has seen the publication of *Asoka Text and Glossary* from the pen of Prof. Woolner and that of the *Carmichael Lectures on Asoka* delivered in 1923 by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar of the Calcutta University. As early as 1919 Dr. Vincent A. Smith lived long enough to see his work on Asoka pass through a third edition. Dr. Bühler's *Edicts of Asoka* in the Epigraphia Indica,[1] vols. I and II, and M. Senart's *Les Inscriptiones de Piyadasi* (1881, 1886) are two great publications that appeared after Cunningham's *Inscriptions*.

Words cannot adequately express our indebtedness to Prinsep to whom we really owe the discovery of Asoka as he appears in his edicts. Inspiring is the memory of Turnour, Wilson, Lassen and Burnou who formed the first group of scholars associated with Prinsep. The work of those gentlemen who discovered Asokan monuments and edicts from time to time is very precious. Supreme is the task of Bühler, Senart, Fleet, Kern and Rhys Davids who endeavoured to place the path of Asokan study on *terra firma* and formed the second group of scholars associated with Cunningham. The third period of

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1 Fully treated in *Z. D. M. G.*, 1893-94, an off-print from which was published from Leipzig in 1909 with the title 'Beitrage zur Erklarung der Asoka Inscription.' See also *Archæological Survey of Southern India*, vol. I.

the study of Asokan records, characterised occasionally by extravagant and marvellous grammatical niceties and etymological ingenuity, began when Dr. F. W. Thomas created the nuclei in the several instructive notes he had time to jot down in the midst of his busy life in the India Office Library. Profs. Oldenberg, Haraprasad Sastri Sylvain Lévi, Dr. Charpentier, Mr. K. P. Jayaswal and Mr. Harit Krishna Deb represent the group of grammarians and etymologists associated with Dr. Thomas. A new synthetic stage emerged out of these isolated attempts when Dr. V. A. Smith wrote his monograph on Asoka.

*Hultzsch's readings and interpretations—how far reliable?*

It is not too much to say that the world of scholars interested in the study of Asoka awaited the publication of Dr. Hultzsch's edition with much wistful expectation. The prospect held out is not after all very encouraging. As one turns over its pages, reading written records of the Buddhist emperor of India, depending on Dr. Hultzsch's amended texts, interpretation, notes and introduction, the suspicion begins to grow that the position of his readers is no better than that of the caravan merchants in the Buddhist parable in which they are said to have at the end of their journey returned almost to the same spot whence they had started. For example, his rendering of the Bhābrū Edict or Second Bairāṭ Rock inscription goes to show that he has overlooked the note of the present writer in the *J. R. A. S.*, 1915, used in the third edition of Smith's *Asoka*. As to the identification of the seven Buddhist texts recommended by King Piyadasi, his references (*op. cit.*, f. n. 1, p. 174) make it evident that he has not utilised this edition of Smith's book, though it was published six years back. All his foot-notes refer to the second edition of Smith's work published in 1909. As regards the readings of this text, *v*[*ā*]*tave* and *diseyā* in line 4 (p. 173) and *bhikhu*-[*p*]*āye* can easily be challenged. From his plate it is clear that the readings would be *vitave*, *diseyo* and *bhikhupo ye* respectively, the construction of the sentence in which *bhikhupo ye* occurs being *bahuke bhikhupo ye cā bhikhun*[*i*] *ye c*[*ā*]", "many, who are monks and who are nuns." His reading of the effaced letters of the third Barābar Hill Cave Inscription as *jalāghosâgamathāta* (*op. cit.*, p. 182) is hardly convincing.

*'Anusaṃyāna' is not the same as 'anusaññāyamāna'*

If the reader turns to the *Carmichael Lectures on Asoka* for light regarding the chronology of the inscriptions, he cannot surely feel that he

is in any way more enlightened than he was on reading Smith, Bühler, Senart, Kern and Thomas. In supporting the earlier translation of *anusaṃyāna* by *'tour of inspection,* Prof. Bhandarkar cites the authority of certain Pāli passages in the Majjhima Nikāya (*op. cit.*, pp. 278-9). These passages illustrate the use of the expression *anusaññāyamāna.* But the connection of this with Asokan *anusaṃyāna* is phonetic rather than semantic. Buddhaghosa has explained *anusaññāyamāna* as meaning "*katākataṃ jānanto, anuvicaramāno vā*", (knowing what is done and not done, or judging the actions).

*Brahmanical and non-Brahmanical Ājīvikas*

The paramount interest of his lectures lies in his bold attempt to construct a history of Asoka as a man, a ruler and a teacher of *dhamma* solely relying on the authority of the Buddhist emperor's epigraphs, each of which is considered to be his autobiographical sketch. The discovery of the birth-star of Asoka is highly interesting. I fail however to understand how the evidence of the inscriptions of Asoka justifies his suggestion that the costly cave-dwellings at Barābar were probably excavated by the Buddhist emperor for the Brahmanical Ājīvikas as distinguished from their non-Brahmanical namesakes who were associated with the Nirgranthas or Jainas. The recipients of Asoka's cave-gifts at Barābar were obviously the same Ājīvikas who received some cave-dwellings subsequently from the Mauryan king Dasaratha. In the inscriptions of Dasaratha, the Ājīvikas are mentioned with the honorific prefix *Bhadaṃta* (Most Gentle), which is a clear indication of the fact that they were, strictly speaking, *Śramaṇas* or anti-Brahmin recluses, leaving aside the question whether they were Brahmins by caste or not. Prof. Bhandarkar's assumption of the existence of two divisions of Ājīvikas, viz., the Brahmanical and the non-Brahmanical, the eaters and non-eaters of fish, rests evidently (*op. cit.*, pp. 170-2) upon his interpretation of certain statements in the Pillar Edict VII, which are as follows :—

> " Dhaṃmamahāmātā pi me te bahuvidhesu aṭhesu ānugahikesu viyāpaṭāse pavajītānaṃ ceva gihithānaṃ ca sava [pāsaṃ]ḍesu pi ca viyāpaṭāse saṃghaṭasi pi me kaṭe ime viyāpaṭāse hohaṃti ti hemeva bābhanesu ājīvikesu pi me kaṭe ime viyāpaṭā hohaṃti ti nigaṇṭhesu pi me kaṭe ime viyāpaṭā hohaṃti nānāpāsaṃḍesu pi me kaṭe ime viyāpaṭā hohaṃti ti paṭivisiṭhaṃ paṭivisiṭhaṃ tesu tesu [te te mahā]mātā dhaṃmamahāmātā cu me etesu ceva viyāpaṭā savesu ca aṃnesu pāsaṃḍesu."

Smith renders the text thus :

> "My Censors (or High Officers) of the Law of Piety, too, are employed on manifold objects of the royal favour affecting both ascetics and householders, and are likewise employed among all denominations. On the business of the Church, too, they are employed, as well as among the Brahmans and Jains are they employed. Similarly, they are employed among the Jains, among miscellaneous sects, too, are they employed. The High Officers of various kinds shall severally superintend their respective charges, whereas the High Officers of the Law of Piety (Censors) are employed both on such things and also among other denominations."

Dr. Hultzsch's rendering substitutes "the Brāhmaṇas (and) Ājīvikas" for "the Brahmans and Jains," and "the Saṃgha" (lit. Buddhist Clergy) for "the Church."

Prof. Bhandarkar makes rather a free translation of the text in question :

> "Likewise I have arranged that they shall be occupied with the Brahmanic Ājīvikas, the Nirgranthas and the various sects."

Here the point to be decided is whether by the expression *bābhanesu ājīvikesu* Asoka meant the Brahmins and Ājīvikas or simply the Brahmanical Ājīvikas. The same question arises with regard to the analysis of the compound *bābhanasamanesu* occurring in the Pillar Edict VII, since *bābhanesu ājīvikesu* is grammatically the same expression as *bābhana-ājīvikesu.*

The term *śramaṇa-brāhmaṇa or brāhmaṇa-śramaṇa,* as employed in Indian literature, is a convenient expression to denote all *religieux,* broadly distinguished as Brahmin and anti-Brahmin. The Brahmin religieux are supposed to be all Brahmins by birth. The *śramaṇas* are supposed to be all anti-Brahmin in attitude but not necessarily all non-Brahmins by birth.[1] What one has in the above quoted statements is but a clumsy enumeration of these *śramaṇa-*

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1 For instance, Bindusāra's court-astrologer Piṅgalavatsa, whose prediction is said to have helped Asoka in life, is called 'ājīva-parivrājaka' in the *Divyâvadāna* (pp. 370-1); the same person, named Janosāna the Ājīvika, is represented as a Brahmin by birth (Mahāvaṃsa-Ṭīkā, Ceylon ed., pp. 126-8).

*brāhmaṇa* or *brāhmaṇa-śramaṇa* religieux, of whom the Brahmin religieux represented four *āśramas* : the *brahmacarya*, the *gārhasthya*, the *vānaprastha* and the *yati*, *bhikṣu* or *parivrājaka*, in short, both *pavajita* and *gihitha* of the Pillar Edict VII. In this enumeration the Ājīvika is clearly distinguished from the Nirgrantha or Jaina and the Saṃghastha or Buddhist. Now the question is —Is the Ājīvika distinguished from the Jaina and Buddhist as a *brāhmaṇa* or as a *śramaṇa*, as a Brahmanic recluse or as an anti-Brahmanic one? I would say, as a *śramaṇa* or anti-Brahmanic recluse. For, in the first instance, two stanzas of the Dhammika-Sutta (Sutta-Nipāta, verses 381-2) contain a similar enumeration of religious teachers other than Buddhist. And in the Sutta-Nipāta commentary one reads :—

> "Idāni ito bahiddhā lokasammatehi samaṇabrāhmaṇehi ukkaṭṭhabhāvena Bhagavantaṃ pasaṃsanto 'ye kec' ime' ti gāthādvayam āha. Tattha 'titthiyā' ti Nanda-Vaccha-Saṃkiccehi ādipuggalehi tīhi titthakarehi kate diṭṭhititthe jātā, tesaṃ sāsane pabbajitā Pūraṇakassapâdayo cha satthāro. Tattha Nāthaputto Nigaṇṭho, avasesā Ājīvikā, te sabbe dassento āha : 'ye kec' ime titthiyā vādasīlā' ti.....'Brāhmaṇā vādasīlā vuddhâ' ti ettāvatā Caṃki-Tārukkha-Pokkharasāti-Jānussoṇi-ādayo dasseti ; 'api brāhmaṇā santi kecî' ti iminā majjhimā pi daharā pi kevalaṃ brāhmaṇā santi atthi upalabbhanti. 'Kecî' ti evaṃ Assalāyana-Vāsiṭṭha-Ambaṭṭha-Uttara-māṇavakâdayo dasseti.....'ye vā pi c' aññe pi ye mayaṃ vādino ti evaṃ maññamānā caranti."[1]

Here is an enumeration of *śramaṇas* and *brāhmaṇas*, representing the religieux other than Buddhist (*ito bahiddhā*, lit. those outside the pale of Buddhist Order). The list, exactly as the one in the Pillar Edict VII, is not intended to be exhaustive. Five *śramaṇa* teachers : Pūraṇa Kassapa, Makkhali Gosāla, Pakudha Kaccāyana, Ajita Kesakambalī and Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta are broadly distinguished as Ājīvika from the sixth *śramaṇa* teacher Nāthaputta the Nigaṇṭha. The *brāhmaṇa* teachers are distinguished as aged, middle-aged aud young. Caṃki, Tārukkha, Pokkharasāti, Jānussoṇi and the rest are mentioned as typical representatives of aged *brāhmaṇa* teachers, and Assalāyana, Vāsiṭṭha, Ambaṭṭha, Uttara and the rest as those of younger *brāhmaṇas*.

Secondly, the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* distinctly mentions the Śākyas

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1 *Paramatthajotikā*, II, pp. 372-3.

(Buddhists) and Ājīvikas as representatives of *vṛṣalapravrajitas*,[1] the term *vṛṣalapravrajita* implying not that they were all *Śūdras* or *Vṛṣalas* by birth but they freely admitted them into their orders and were associated with recruits even from among the *Vṛṣalas*.[2]

In all the Jaina canonical texts, as well as in almost all the Buddhist canonical passages, the Ājīvikas or Ājīvakas figure as followers of Gosāla. In an exceptional Buddhist passage having correspondence with statements in the Pillar Edict VII, the *śramaṇa* teachers other than the Nirgrantha or Jaina and Śākyaputrīya or Buddhist are broadly classed as Ājīvika. In order to establish that the recipients of cave-dwellings at Barābar were non-Brahmanical Ājīvikas, Prof. Bhandarkar would have done well to prove that these religieux were dissociated from Gosāla or from Gosāla and other *śramaṇa* teachers excluding Nāthaputta or Mahāvīra. If it be asked why the Ājīvikas, mentioned in the inscriptions of Dasaratha with the honorific prefix *Bhadanta* befitting *śramaṇas*, were mentioned in the inscriptions of Asoka without it, the straight answer would be that Dasaratha was their devotee, while Asoka was not so. Because Asoka was a devotee of Buddhist monks, in addressing them he has used the honorific term *Bhaṃte* or '*Venerable Sirs*' (Bhābrū Edict). In all the votive inscriptions on the railing of the Buddhist *stūpa* at Barhut, the Buddhist monk donors are invariably mentioned with the prefix *Bhadaṃta*, *Aya* or *Bhadaṃta Aya*.[3]

*Chronology of the Edicts faulty in Smith's work*

Dr. V. A. Smith had the unsurpassed genius of a compiler. It must be always said to his credit that his rendering of the edicts preserves the 'turn' or 'spirit' of the original. The rendering which does not bring out in relief the simple but dignified diction of homely conversations, enlivened by a genial personal touch, and spontaneous expressions of an affectionate fatherly heart, cannot fulfil the responsible task of the translator of Piyadasi's epigraphs. But in spite of a good sense that prevails throughout adding to its peculiar charm, his account of Asoka

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1 *Arthaśāstra*, edited by Shama Sastri, p. 199: *Śākyâjīvakādīn vṛṣalapravrajitān*.

2 *Paramatthajotikā*, II, p. 175: samaṇakâ ti...vasale vā pabbājetvā tehi saddhiṃ ekatosambhoga-paribhoga-karaṇena patito ayaṃ vasalato pi pāpataro ti jigucchanto vasalakâ ti āha.

3 *Barhut Inscriptions*, edited by Barua and Sinha (Calcutta University publication).

cannot claim to be faultless ; it is rather faulty, at least in respect of the chronology of the edicts as settled or accepted by him.

Here my immediate purpose is to show how the vehicle of Asokan study has gone off the track and how this can be put back on it. This, I believe, can be best achieved by ascertaining the chronology of the edicts and the exact significance and historical bearings of certain technical terms and expressions in the edicts.

*Number and classification of available edicts*

Hitherto altogether 137 inscriptions representing 32 edicts of Asoka have been discovered and deciphered. These can be conveniently divided, according to the materials whereupon and the manner in which they are found inscribed, into these six classes: (1) Hill Cave, (2) Rock, (3) Separate Rock, (4) Minor Rock, (5) Pillar and (6) Minor Pillar. Conformably to this classification, their total can be worked up as follows :—

1. Hill Cave: Barābar Hill Cave Edicts, I—III —3
2. Rock : (a) 10 Rock Edicts, I-VII, IX, X and XIV, each in six recensions : Girnār, Kālsī, Shāhbāzgaṛhī, Mānsehrā, Dhauli and Jaugaḍa $10 \times 6 = 60$
   (b) 1 Rock Edict, VIII, in seven recensions : Girnār, Bombay-Sopārā, Kālsī, Shāhbāzgaṛhī, Mānsehrā, Dhauli and Jaugaḍa $1 \times 7 = 7$
   (c) 3 Rock Edicts, XI-XIII each in four recensions : Girnār, Kālsī, Shāhbāzgaṛhī and Mānsehrā $3 \times 4 = 12$
3. Separate Rock : 2 Edicts separately inscribed on Dhauli and Jaugaḍa Rocks, each in two recensions $2 \times 2 = 4$
4. Minor Rock : (*a*) 1 Edict, Minor Edict I in seven recensions, inscribed on Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Bairāṭ, Maski, Brahmagiri, Siddāpura and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara Rocks $1 \times 7 = 7$
   [(*b*) 1 Edict, Minor Rock Edict II in three recensions, forming the concluding portion of the last three edicts in the preceding list, not to be separately counted]
   (*c*) 1 Edict, the so-called Bhābrā or Bhābrū Edict, inscribed on the second Bairāṭ Rock —1
5. Pillar (*a*) 6 Edicts, I-VI, each in six recensions, inscribed on Delhi-Toprā, Delhi-Mīrāṭh, Lauṛiyā-Ararāj, Lauṛiyā-Nandangaṛh, Rāmpurvā and Kauśāmbī (Allahabad-Kosam) Pillars $6 \times 6 = 36$
   (*b*) 1 Edict, VII, in one recension, inscribed on Delhi-Toprā Pillar. $1 \times 1 = 1$

6. Minor Pillar : (*a*) 1 Schism Edict in three recensions, inscribed on Sārnāth, Kauśāmbī (Allahabad-Kosam) and Sāṃcī Pillars $1 \times 3 = 3$

(*b*) 1 Votive Edict inscribed on Lumbinī or Rummindeī Pillar —— 1

(c) 1 Votive Edict inscribed on Niglīva or Nigālī-Sāgar Pillar —— 1

(*d*) 1 Votive Edict, the so-called Queen's Edict, inscribed on Kauśāmbī (Allahabad-Kosam) Pillar —— 1

Total 32 Total 137[1]

*Current views of scholars as to chronology of edicts : Smith and Thomas*

There are wide divergences of opinion on the question of chronology of these edicts. In the mature opinion of Dr. V. A. Smith and Dr. F. W. Thomas the seven copies of the Minor Rock Edict I appear to be the first fruits of the epigraphic zeal of Piyadasi the Buddhist convert. The Minor Rock Edict II, containing concise summaries of the *dhamma*, or the Law of Piety, and the Bhābrū or Second Bairāṭ Rock Edict, recommending seven favourite passages selected from the Buddhist sacred books, are seemingly of early date. The whole set of Fourteen Rock Edicts was engraved in the thirteenth and fourteenth regnal years ; the two special Kaliṅga or Separate Rock Edicts, substituted in the newly conquered province for Rock Edicts, XI-XIII, and the two Barābar Hill Edicts, dedicating costly caves to the Ājīvika ascetics, must be assigned to the same period. The third Barābar Hill Edict, dedicating another cave-dwelling to some sect of ascetics, is to be dated in the twentieth regnal year, while the Minor Pillar Edicts of Rummindeī and Niglīva, recording the visit of Asoka to the village of Lumbinī and the Stūpa of Koṇāgamana, belong to the twenty-first regnal year. The dated record is then interrupted until the twenty-seventh regnal year, when the Pillar Edict VII was composed. The dated series of inscriptions as discovered up to the present terminates in the twenty-eighth regnal year with the Pillar Edict VII. The Minor Pillar Edicts of

1. The second total would be 139 including the missing records on two inscribed Pillars, one at Benares, the so-called Lāṭ Bhairo, smashed during a riot in 1809 and identified by Dr. Vincent A. Smith with a pillar described by Hwen Thsang, and one at Pāṭaliputra, numerous fragments of which were found by the late Babu Purna Chandra Mukharji.—Vincent A. Smith's *Asoka*, 3rd edition, p. 28 f.n. 1.

Sārnāth, Allahabad-Kosam and Sāṃcī, appearing as supplements to the main series of Pillar Edicts, must be later in date, as late as the 29th to 38th regnal year.[1]

### *Hultzsch*

Dr. Hultzsch agrees with M. Senart and Dr. Vincent A. Smith in considering the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām and cognate edicts to be the earliest of all the Asoka inscriptions, and that for two reasons: (1) they speak of inscriptions on rocks and pillars as a task which it was intended to carry out, and not as an accomplished fact; (2) they contain the first elements of Asoka's *dhamma*, which are more fully developed in his Rock and Pillar edicts. The Second Bairāṭ Rock Inscription or the so-called Bhābrū Edict, which may be interpreted as a 'letter to the Saṃgha', seems to be earlier than all the other Rock and Pillar edicts, inasmuch as the references to a few Buddhist tracts in this inscription suggest that after his visit to the *Saṃgha* and before starting on tour, he was engaged in studying the sacred literature, a fact that goes to place the inscription in the twelfth year of his reign. All the earliest proclamations have zeal (*parākramu, prakrama*) for their subject. The Rock Edict XIV, in which the author of the preceding edicts states that he caused them to be written 'either in an abridged (form), or of middle (size), or at full length, for the whole was not suitable everywhere', presupposes the Minor Rock Edicts. The words 'at full length' apply to the complete sets of fourteen edicts at Girnar, Kālsī, Shāhbāzgaṛhī and Mānsehrā, which are practically identical, with exception of the end of edict IX. The words 'in an abridged (form)' may refer to the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts, and the words 'of middle (size)' to Dhauli and Jaugaḍa, where two separate edicts were substituted for the Rock Edicts XI-XIII. It can be shown that the two Separate Rock Edicts at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa were contemporaneous with the Rock Edict XIII which was issued positively twelve years after Asoka's coronation. In this edict the king says that he ordered the officers of all districts of his empire to undertake quinquennial tours for inspection and propaganda purposes. The First Separate Edict at Dhauli must have been drafted in the same year because in some of its sections the king speaks of the quinquennial circuit of the *Mahāmātras* as a measure which he was about to introduce, and also states that at the same time triennial tours were instituted in the provinces of

1 Smith's *Asoka*, 3rd ed., pp. 27-54, 145-6.

Ujjayinī and Takṣaśīlā. The first six Pillar Edicts I-VI were issued twenty-six years after Asoka's coronation, while the Pillar Edict VII at Delhi-Toprā was published one year later. The Kauśāmbī Sāṇcī and Sārnāth Edicts cannot be earlier than the first six Pillar Edicts because the first of them, *i. e.*, the Kauśāmbī Schism Edict is found engraved on the Allahabad-Kosam Pillar in a position which shows that it was a subsequent addition.[1]

*Smith and earlier authors*

Dr. Vincent A. Smith upholds the opinion of M. Senart when he argues in favour of placing the publication of Fourteen Rock Edicts in the fourteenth regnal year of Asoka, that is to say, thirteen years after his consecration. He says that though the Rock Edicts III and IV are expressly dated in the thirteenth regnal year and the Rock Edict V mentions the fourteenth year, in the localities where all the fourteen edicts occur, it is clear that the whole set was engraved at once, their publication taking place in B. C. 256, assuming that the date of consecration was B. C. 269 and that of accession B. C. 273. It was clearly perceived by the early band of scholars that the Rock Edicts II and XIII referring to or mentioning by name the five contemporary Greek kings were issued when these kings were reigning. These Greek kings are :—

Antiyoka, Antiyoga = Antiochus I Soter of Syria, 280-261 B.C. or = Antiochus II Theos of Syria and Western Asia, son of Antiochus I, 261-246 B.C.

Turamāya, Tulamaya = Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt, 285-247 B.C.

Antekina, Antekini = Antigonus Gonatas of Macedonia, 276-246 B.C. ; 277-239 B.C. according to the authority relied upon by Dr. Vincent A. Smith.

Makā, Magā = Magas of Cyrene, half-brother of Ptolemy, 300-250 B.C. ; 285-258 B.C. according to Dr. Vincent A. Smith's authority.

Alikasudara, Alikaṣudala = Alexander of Epirus, 272-255 B.C., or = Alexander of Corinth, 252-244 B.C.

According to the above list of reigns as given in Beloch's *Greek History* (*Griechische Geschichte*) and cited by Dr. Hultzsch, B. C. 250 is the last year when these five Greek kings may be supposed to have been all alive, while the list supplied by Dr. Vincent A. Smith leads one to specify B.C. 258 as the last year.

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1 *Inscriptions of Asoka*, Introduction, pp. xliv-liv.

*H. K. Deb*

Against the received opinion that all the Fourteen Rock Edicts, at least the Rock Edicts II and XIII, referring to or mentioning by name the five contemporary Greek kings, were engraved in the thirteenth or fourteenth regnal year of Asoka, that is, much earlier than the Pillar Edict VII, which is expressly dated in the twenty-eighth regnal year (excluding the year of consecration) or in the twenty-seventh (including the year of consecration), Mr. Harit Krishna Deb, praised as a 'young Bengali scholar,' raises a contention seeking to establish a negative thesis that the Rock Edicts II and XIII could not have been promulgated prior to Pillar Edict VII. His contention apparently rests on a supposed omission which appears to him to be significant to the extent of forming a strong argument for his thesis. What is this omission ? He finds that the Pillar Edict VII, which contains a resumé of the various measures adopted by Asoka up till the date of its promulgation, does not make any mention of philanthropic works and propaganda of *dhaṃma* carried out in the realms of the five Greek kings and stated in the Rock Edicts II and XIII respectively.

*Bhandarkar*

Against the European scholars' unanimous view that out of the Fourteen Rock Edicts, two at least, namely, the Rock Edicts III and IV, which are expressly dated in the thirteenth regnal year (twelve years from the day of consecration), were engraved much earlier than all the Seven Pillar Edicts, Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar raises a doubt amounting to a contention and a thesis. He seems to think that the dates mentioned in the Rock Edicts III and IV are dates of the different events alluded to, and not of the actual engraving, since there are other dates mentioned in other edicts of this series, such as Rock Edicts V, VIII and XIII, which are unquestionably the dates of some prior events in recollection of the Buddhist emperor: (1) horrors of the war of Kaliṅga that he experienced in his eighth regnal year (including the year of inauguration); (2) pilgrimage to *Saṃbodhi* that he undertook in his tenth regnal year; (3) appointment of *Dharmamahāmātras* that he made in his thirteenth regnal year. He feels absolutely sure that the first six Pillar Edicts were inscribed in the twenty-sixth regnal year of Asoka, while the twenty-seventh regnal year is the date of incision of the Pillar Edict VII. He does not

only urge Mr. Harit Krishna Deb's negative evidence for questioning the soundness of the accepted earlier view that the Rock Edicts II and XIII were inscribed much earlier than the whole set of Seven Pillar Edicts but goes a step further when he tends to suppose that the Rock Edicts concerned were issued in the twenty-eighth year, that is, just a year after the publication of the Pillar Edict VII. He is compelled at last to infer that the Rock Edicts II and XIII, in fact, the whole set of Fourteen Rock Edicts came to be engraved after the Seven Pillar Edicts were incised. But how long after? He would say that as soon as the Pillars were engraved, Asoka took up the work of incising the Minor Rock Edicts, which, in its turn, was followed by that of the Fourteen Rock Edicts. He maintains that at the time when the Pillars were engraved the idea of inscribing the *dhaṃmalipis* on *parvatas* or *rocks* did not occur to the mind of Asoka. In the Sahasrām and Rūpnāth epigraphs (taking them to be typical of the Minor Rock Edicts) Asoka orders that edicts should be inscribed wherever a *stone-pillar* or a *parvata* is found, which shows that the idea of inscribing on *rocks* or *pillars* was new to him at that time, as otherwise there would be no propriety in his issuing that order. Assuming the greater probability of the supposition that Asoka's twenty-eighth regnal year corresponds to 251 B.C., it can be suggested that he probably ascended the throne in 279 B.C. The Carmichael Professor, with his usual frankness, confesses that the factors examined by him are more or less uncertain, and cannot therefore enable him to fix the date of Asoka's accession to the throne with any accuracy. He is however at one with previous scholars in holding that the Separate Rock Edicts at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa were engraved along with the Rock Edicts and as a substitute for the Rock Edict XIII.[1]

### *The views criticised*

Here several questions arise. Is it that the Minor Rock Edicts, as premised by Dr. Hultzsch, Dr. V. A Smith and Dr. F. W. Thomas, are the earliest of Asoka's epigraphs, or is it that these, as presumed by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, are posterior to the whole set of the Seven Pillar Edicts and prior to all the Fourteen Rock? Is it that the two Separate or Detached Rock Edicts at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa, as

1 *Asoka*, pp. 45-48, 265-269.

assumed by all these scholars, were engraved along with and as a substitute for the Rock Edict XIII of the other versions? Is it that the philanthropic works recorded in the Rock Edict II and the propaganda of *dhaṃma* recorded in the Rock Edict XIII, as made out by Mr. Harit Krishna Deb, are not at all referred to in the Pillar Edict VII which is expressly dated in the twenty-seventh or twenty-eighth regnal year of Asoka? Is it that the dates mentioned in the Rock Edicts III and IV, as pleaded by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, are not dates of their actual engraving? Is it at all reasonable to doubt that the whole set of the Fourteen Rock Edicts was promulgated in the thirteenth and fourteenth regnal years of Asoka (leaving out of account the year of coronation)? Lastly, is it true that the so-called Queen's Edict, that is, the Minor Pillar Edict recording a gift from Asoka's second queen, as supposed by Dr. F. W. Thomas, Dr. V. A. Smith and Dr. Hultzsch, could not have been inscribed earlier than the first six Pillar Edicts appearing on the same Kauśāmbī or Allahabad-Kosam Pillar and must have been inscribed during the closing period of Asoka's reign?

### *Chronological position of Minor Rock Edicts*

To be frank, I do not quite follow what Dr. Hultzsch, in agreement with Dr. V. A. Smith and Dr. F. W. Thomas, means by saying that the Minor Rock Edicts must be considered the earliest of Asoka's inscriptions because they speak of inscriptions on Rocks and Pillars as a task which is not as yet a *fait accompli*. The point which is apparently in his favour is that in these edicts the expression '*iya ca aṭhe*' (Rūpnāth) has been used instead of '*iyaṃ ca lipi*' 'and this inscription', or '*etāye ca aṭhāye iyaṃ lipi*' 'and for this purpose this inscription', occurring in the Separate Rock Edicts at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa; instead of '*iyaṃ dhaṃmalipi*' or '*iyaṃ dhaṃmalibi*' occurring in the Pillar Edicts; instead of '*ayi dhramadipi*' occurring in the Shāhbāzgaṛhī text of the Rock Edict XIV. In the Minor Rock Edict I one reads :—

(*a*) Edict proper: "Etiya aṭhāya ca sāvane kaṭe" (Rūpnāth).

(*b*) Direction: "Iya ca aṭhe pavatisu lekhāpetavāla-ta hadha ca athi s[i]lāṭhabhe[1] silāṭhaṃbhasi lākhāpetavaya-ta" (Rūpnāth).

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1 Bühler's reading *siḷāṭhubhe* yields a sensible meaning, namely, 'a stone-mound,' *ṭhubha* being = Ardhamāgadhī, *thubha* or *thūbha*. See

"Imaṃ ca aṭhaṃ pavatesu likhāpayāthā ya[ta] va athi hetā silāthaṃbhā tata pi likhāpayathā ti" (Sahasrām).
"And cause this purpose (matter or message) to be engraved on rocks, or wherever there are any stone-pillars there also cause it to be engraved" (Sahasrām).

I am unable to see how these materially differ, except for the blessed term *dhaṃmalibi*, from the statement and direction in the Pillar Edict VII, where one reads :—

(*a*) Statement : "Se etāye athāye iyaṃ kaṭe."
"Satavisativasâbhisitena me iyaṃ dhaṃmalibi likhāpāpitā ti".
"For this purpose this has been done."
"This edict of dhaṃma has been caused to be inscribed by me when I was consecrated twenty-seven years."

(*b*) Direction : "Iyaṃ dhaṃmalibi ata athi silāthaṃbhāni vā silāphalakāni vā tata kaṭaviyā."
" This edict of dhaṃma, if here are stone-pillars or stone-tablets, is to be made (inscribed) there."

It is not true to say that the Minor Rock Edicts were not expressly intended to be engraved as inscriptions, signified by the word *lipi* or *dhaṃmalipi*, because the concluding section of some of them differentiated as Minor Rock Edict II, ends with the statement "*likhita lipikareṇa*" (Brahmagiri).

I cannot but admit that in the great majority of the Fourteen Rock Edicts Asoka distinctly says that he caused this or that *dhaṃmalipi* to be engraved. Because he has expressed himself somewhat differently, *e.g.*, stating '*mayā idaṃ āñapitaṃ*,' 'this has been ordered by me' (Rock Edict III, Girnar Text), or '*rāñā idaṃ lekhāpitaṃ*,' 'by the king this has been caused to be engraved' (R. E. IV, Girnar), are we to suppose that these two edicts, in which the word *lipi* or *dhaṃmalipi* does not occur, were the earliest of Asoka's inscriptions ?

As regards the Minor Rock Edicts, I find that they were not intended to be inscribed precisely in their present form. Asoka did not send the final draft but only a private instruction to his agents, *e. g.*, son and *Mahāmātras* in charge of his government at Suvarṇagiri, suggesting to whom and by whose command it should be forwarded, what facts

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my paper on '*Stupa and Tomb*,' *ante*, pp. 16 ff. But the Sahasrām text corroborates the correctness of Hultzsch's reading and rendering '*silāthaṃbhe*,' 'a stone-pillar.'

should be emphasized, what message should be conveyed, what purpose should be kept in view, how the draft should be prepared, whereupon the drafted text should be inscribed, etc. If the king had sent the final draft, as in the case of the Pillar Edict VII, there was no reason for him to say "and by this text" (*etinā ca vayajanenā*). If the whole of it, as it was sent, were meant to be inscribed in the Sahasrām, Rūpnāth, Bairāṭ and Maski copies, his agents would not have omitted the preamble like the one in the Siddāpur and two other Mysore texts, as well as the concluding words of the Minor Rock Edict II. The preamble is :

> " [S]uvaṃṇagirīte ayaputasa mahāmātāṇaṃ ca vacan[e]na I[si]lasi mahāmātā ārogiyaṃ vataviyā hevaṃ ca vataviyā. "

The above remark is in some way applicable to the Separate Rock Edicts at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa, in which one comes across the expression *'iyaṃ lipi'* instead of *'iyaṃ dhaṃmalipi'*, and reads in the introductory statement :

> " [Dev]ānaṃpiya[sa] [va]canena Tosaliyaṃ mahāmātā nagalaviyohālak [ā] [hevaṃ] vataviya (S. R. E., I, Dhauli).
>
> " Devānaṃpiyasa vacanena Tosaliyaṃ kumāle mahāmātā ca vataviyā (S. R. E., II, Dhauli).
>
> " Devānaṃpiye hevaṃ āhā [ : ] Samāpāyaṃ mahāmātā nagalaviyohālakā he[va]ṃ vataviyā (S. R. E., I, Jaugaḍa).
>
> " Devānaṃpiye hevaṃ āha [ : ] Samāpāyaṃ mahāmātā lajavacanikā vataviyā (S. R. E., II, Jaugaḍa).

Here in the Jaugaḍa texts the expression *'Devānaṃpiye hevaṃ āha,'* with *'lajavacanikā'* in addition, has apparently been supplied by the man in charge, doing the work of editing, as a means of causing the instruction to be inscribed *verbatim*.

The remark holds true also of the Pillar Edict VII which really ends with the statement—*'satavisativasābhisitena me iyaṃ dhaṃmalibi likhāpāpitā ti,'* and it is the man in charge who incorporated, instead of leaving out, Asoka's private direction, with the introductory *'etaṃ Devānaṃpiye āhā'* perhaps supplied by him. The recorded direction is :—

> " Iyaṃ dhaṃmalibi ata athi silāthaṃbhāni vā silāphalakāni vā tata kaṭaviyā ena esa cilaṭhitike siyā ".

The self-same remark applies with a stronger reason to the Schism Pillar Edict at Sārnāth, in which also simply *'lipi'* has been employed instead of *'dhaṃmalipi'* and the section containing the king's private directions has been caused to be inscribed along with and inseparably from the edict proper which, as evidenced by its two other copies

at Kauśāmbī and Sāṃcī, was meant to be concluded with the words '*anāvāsasi āvāsayiye*.'

Here the most important point to be noticed is the omission, in all the copies of the Minor Rock Edicts but Rūpnāth and Sahasrām, of the king's two directions as to the rocks or stone-pillars whereupon the message should be inscribed and as to the text to be prepared.

Thus I fail to derive from the line of argument suggested by Dr. Hultzsch any real chronological data for accepting his view in favour of regarding the Minor Rock Edicts as the earliest of Asoka's inscriptions, or for endorsing Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar's opinion in favour of cataloguing the Minor Rock Edicts as posterior to the Seven Pillar Edicts and prior to the Fourteen Rock.

Dr. Hultzsch's second reason is that the Minor Rock Edicts must have been the earliest because they contain the first elements of Asoka's *dhaṃma*, which are more fully developed in his Rock and Pillar Edicts. Is it true at all? The copies of the Minor Rock Edict I, as determined by the Rūpnāth text, 'have zeal (*parākrama* or *prakrama*) for their subject.' Asoka returns to the same subject, as Dr. Hultzsch puts it, in the Rock Edict VI, 'which dwells on the necessity of exertion (*uṭṭhāna*) or zeal (*parākrama*) in conducting public business.' Here one must not lose sight of this grand distinction between the two edicts in spite of the fact that they harp on the same subject '*zeal*' or '*exertion*.' In the Minor Rock Edict I Asoka states what grand result he achieved, while in the Rock Edict VI he simply states how promptly and at all times he transacted public business. Would it not have been most preposterous on Asoka's part to proclaim in the very early part of his reign, as early as the twelfth year from the day of his coronation, that no sooner he commenced work with strenuous zeal than he attained the grandest possible success in it, the success in mixing or bringing together the gods and men who were so far unmixed in India, that is, stood apart. Was it such an easy task as he might fulfil by exerting himself for a year or a little longer, the task of bringing together in a joyous situation of active work the heaven and earth, the princes and people, the state officials and public, the gifted teachers and common masses, as the two terms '*gods*' and '*men*' imply? The additional matter of the copies of the Minor Rock Edict, as determined by the Brahmagiri text, inculcates certain precepts of conduct which one might have treated as the first elements of Asoka's *dhaṃma* repeated, emphasized or elaborated throughout his Rock and Pillar Edicts. But here, too, one must judge well the whole matter before deciding once and for all whether the

edict represents the prologue or epilogue, the opening or concluding words, the first inspiration or last lesson of a grand epic in the simplest prose. For here Devānaṃpiya Piyadasi concludes his teaching by saying: Esā porāṇā pakitii dighāvuse ca esa hevaṃ esa kaṭiviye" (Brahmagiri).

> "This is the ancient nature (eternal moral order, good old rule). This conduces to long life. Thus this should be done."

Indeed, the rune of the full text of the Minor Rock Edict, comprising what is generally known as the Minor Rock Edict I and what is known as the Minor Rock Edict II, is apt to remind the reader of what is traditionally cherished as the last word (*pacchima-vacana*) of the Buddha who is represented as saying at the last moment of his life: "Handa dāni bhikkhave āmantayāmi vo, vayadhammā saṅkhārā, appamādena sampādetha"[1] "Now, I charge ye, O Bhikṣus, the creations are subject to decay, diligently perform (your duties)".

Regarding the Second Bairāṭ Minor Rock Edict, miscalled Bhābrā or Bhābrū Edict, Dr. Hultzsch thinks that the references to a few Buddhist tracts suggest that Asoka, after his visit to the Saṃgha and before starting on tour (in his tenth or eleventh regnal year), was engaged in studying the sacred literature, a fact that goes to place the inscription in his twelfth regnal year. In this edict Asoka seriously recommends a selection of seven tracts, prepared by him out of the whole body of teachings of the Buddha for the constant study and meditation of many who were monks and who were nuns, as well as those who were upāsakas and upāsikās—Buddhist householders, men and women. It is hardly more than a year that Asoka became intimately associated with the Saṃgha and studied the sacred literature. Is it likely that he ventured in the very first stage of his study to think himself competent to make a grand selection of the texts that were worthy of being singled out as those which would go to make the good faith long endure, with the sincere conviction that his recommendation would be both acceptable and profitable even to the large body of monks and nuns who were the real repositories of Buddhist learning? The preliminary statements go to show that he was not unconscious of the height of feeling his impertinence might have aroused in the Buddhist Saṃgha, and that he would not have ventured at all to bring

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1 Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī, I, p. 16; quoted from Mahāparinibbāna-Suttanta, VI, 10.

forward his recommendation if it were not the ripe result of a life-long study, of a life-long thought, of a life-long experience.

*Are Minor Rock Edicts presupposed by R. E. XIV?*

In support of his view in favour of placing the whole set of Minor Rock Edicts earlier than that of the Fourteen Rock, Dr. Hultzsch suggests that the former is clearly presupposed by the Rock Edict XIV set up by Asoka as an epilogue to the whole series of inscriptions and rocks including the detached ones at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa. In the Rock Edict XIV Asoka says that at the time when it was engraved several other edicts had already been inscribed, some of which he caused to be written 'in an abridged form,' some 'of middle size,' and some 'at full length.' Dr. Hultzsch is inclined to think that by the words 'in an abridged form' Asoka must have referred to the Rūpnāth and cognate Minor Rock Edicts including the one miscalled the Bhābrū. I do not understand why Asoka must have done so. For among the Fourteen Rock Edicts themselves, apart from the two Separate Rock, there are some that are short, some that are long, and some that are of medium length. Of the preceding Rock Edicts presupposed by No. XIV, six at least, viz. Nos. II, III, VII, VIII, X and XI, may be mentioned as examples of those that are short. In bringing the above suggestion Dr. Hultzsch ought to have considered the fact that six preceding Rock Edicts out of a total of thirteen are found to be much shorter than the extant Rūpnāth text of the Minor Rock which appears without the concluding section of the Brahmagiri copy, and shorter also than the Bhābrū, as will appear from the subjoined table of words contained in the edicts in question :—

| Edict | | | Number of words |
|---|---|---|---|
| R. E. II (Girnar) | ... | ... | 70 |
| R. E. III | ,, | ... | ... | 56 |
| R. E. VII | ,, | ... | ... | 41 |
| R. E. VIII | ,, | ... | ... | 52 |
| R. E. X | ,, | ... | ... | 68 |
| R. E. XI | ,, | ... | ... | 61 |
| M. R. E. (Rūpnāth) | | ... | ... | 112 |
| Bairāṭ M.R.E. II (Bhābrū ?) | | ... | ... | 93 |

*References to descendants as data for dates*

It can, I believe, be easily shown by examining a special line of evidence that the Minor Rock Edicts were really not engraved earlier

than the Fourteen Rock considered apart from those separately inscribed at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa. Let one compare, for instance, the ways in which Asoka's sons and other descendants and successors find mention in the Rock Edicts on the one hand, and in the Minor Rock Edicts on the other, and judge what results therefrom :—

"Putrā ca potrā ca prapotrā ca Devānaṃpriyasa Priyadasino rāño vadhayisaṃti idaṃ dhaṃmacaraṇaṃ āva saṃvaṭakapā" (R. E., IV, Girnar).

"The sons and grandsons and great-grandsons of King Devānaṃpriya Priyadasi will increasingly promote this practice of morality as long as the present world system does not reach its termination."

"Ta mama putā ca potā ca paraṃ ca tena ya me apacaṃ āva saṃvaṭakapā anuvatisare" (R. E., V, Girnar).

"My sons and grandsons and those that shall be my descendants after them, as long as the present world system continues shall conform thereto."

"Tathā ca me pajā anuvataṃtu" (R. E., V, Kālsī).

"And likewise my progeny should abide by."

"Ayaṃ dhaṃmalipī lekhāpitā kiṃti ciraṃ tiṣṭheya iti tathā ca me putrā potā ca prapotrā ca anuvataraṃ savalokahitāya" (R. E., VI, Girnar).

"This *dhaṃmalipi* has been caused to be inscribed in order that it (the stated purpose) may long endure, and that likewise my sons and grandsons and great grandsons may conform thereto for the benefit of the whole world."

"Etāye cā aṭhāye iyaṃ dha[ṃ]malipi likhitā kiti putā papotā me a[su] nava [ṃ] vijay[a] na vijayataviya" (R. E., XIII, Kālsī).

"And for this purpose this *dhaṃmalipi* has been inscribed in order that my sons (and) grandsons that shall be will not rejoice over a new conquest (like the one made by me in Kaliṃga)."

Are these, I would ask, utterances of a man who had sons, grandsons, great grandsons, and the infinite line of remoter progeny, or those of an inspired young enthusiast who had at the most a few sons capable of growing up into manhood, or had at least clearly before his eyes the prospect of an unbroken continuity of his line? The cited texts do not certainly go to prove that Asoka had any sons and grandsons at the time when they were engraved. But undoubtedly they set forth what the young enthusiast and reformer would naturally

desire, that the heirs of his flesh and throne and glory, if there were any, should behave properly in respect of things cherished by him as great, good and noble. In the preamble of the Minor Rock Edict I, on the other hand, one has :—

> "Suvaṇṇagirīte ayaputasa mahāmātāṇaṃ ca vacanena Isilasi mahāmātā ārogiyaṃ vataviyā hevaṃ ca vataviyā" (Brahmagiri).
>
> "It is from Suvarṇagiri that by command of Lord the King's son as well as of the Mahāmātras, the Mahāmātras at Isila are to be informed (observing the customary rules of civility by way of an enquiry about their health) thus."

If in this quoted text Asoka meant by *ayaputa* the prince who was his own son, there can be no doubt that at the time when the Minor Rock Edicts were promulgated he had a son who was grown up enough to be able to participate in the work of administration. Four points are clear from the wording of the direction given : (1) the command is intended to be issued to the *Mahāmātras* at Isila directly from the Prince Royal and *Mahāmātras* in charge of his government at Suvarṇagiri ; (2) the Prince Royal and *Mahāmātras* at Suvarṇagiri are entrusted almost with an independent charge ; (3) there is doubt as yet if the Prince Royal was of proved ability so far as to be made the absolute head ; (4) the king has still reason for fear that the *Mahāmātras* at Isila might not obey their command, as it had not come directly from him, if it was not communicated in cordial spirit. The mood displayed is one of a reigning king who has made up his mind to remain gradually away from the scene of governmental affairs after committing their charges to his sons and high officers (cf. *lajūkas* made *atapati* later on, P. E., IV), and anxiously watches how far the new experiment is being successful. It is therefore expressly enjoined that they must observe the proper rules of civility. The king himself carefully observed these rules in addressing himself to the Buddhist *Saṃgha* (Bhābrū Edict).

### *Are Minor Rock Edicts later or earlier than Separate Rock and are Separate Rock Edicts later or earlier than Rock and Pillar ?*

Following the same line of argument it might be shown that the Minor Rock Edicts were all engraved somewhat later, and certainly not earlier, than the two Separate Rock Edicts at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa, as well as that the Separate Rock Edicts themselves were promulgated

not only later than the Fourteen Rock but later also than the so-called Queen's Edict and the P. E. VII. Just as the Minor Rock, so the Separate Rock Edicts, generally distinguished as the Provincials' and the Borderers', bear testimony to the fact that at the time of their engraving, the Royal Princes (*Kumālas*) were discharging governmental duties, being placed in charge of apparently four viceroyalties: (1) one stationed at Suvaṃṇagiri together with the *Mahāmātras*; (2) one stationed at Tosali together with the *Mahāmātras*; (3) one stationed at Ujeni together with a body of officials (*vaga*); (4) one stationed at Takkhasīlā together with the *Mahāmātras*. It is in the two Separate Rock Edicts that the king declares for the first time that in his fatherly heart he fostered all his subjects like his own progeny (*save munise pajā mama*), as well as that he would desire that all the neighbouring tribes, whom he had the power to crush at any moment he liked, should believe that he had the same solicitation for them as for his own subjects. This sentiment befits only a man who is a father of many children. In the same Separate Rock Edicts the king frankly expresses his inclination to chastise or admonish the Royal Princes and *Mahāmātras* rather than punish or crush the rebels. Here again the sentiment expressed is precisely like that of a long experienced head of a college who finding the teachers to be in the wrong, feels the need of training them up in the higher method of moral discipline rather than chastising the body of students under them and openly speaks out his mind, half in jest and half in shame, knowing it fully well that they will not misunderstand his feeling. There can be little doubt that these Separate Rock Edicts were inscribed as substitutes at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa, in the newly conquered Province of Kaliṅga, for the Rock Edicts XI-XIII, particularly for the Rock Edict XIII. There is indeed an echo of some of the contents of the Rock Edict XIII. But where is the evidence to prove that the Separate Rock Edicts were engraved along with the Rock Edict XIII of the other versions? From their position on the Dhauli and Jaugaḍa rocks it is clear that they were inscribed after the set of Fourteen Rock Edicts had been inscribed. The traces of hidden references to them in the Rock Edict XIV are a mere imagination of Dr. Hultzsch and other scholars read into the text. "My sons, grandsons that shall be"—this is the manner in which the king's descendants have been referred to in the Rock Edict XIII. From this reference it is not even certain that he had at the time any son, and what to speak of his participation in adminstrative work. Dr. Hultzsch sees a point of contact between the Provincial's Edict on one side and the Rock Edict III on the other in the mention of the 'quinquennial tours

for inspection' introduced in Asoka's twelfth or thirteenth regnal year. But here also is a point of difference which is of chronological importance, namely, that the Provincial's Edict refers to the 'triennial tours' side by side with 'quinquennial'. The 'triennial tours' apparently introduced as an innovation were meant not so much to distinguish between the two systems, one applying to the central or home provinces supposed to be under the direct control of the king and the other to the outlying provinces governed by his viceroys and *Mahāmātras* as between himself and the Royal Princes acting as viceroys. I can emphasize this point of difference as a test of chronology because it is quite clear from Asoka's unequivocal statement that there was a period of his reign when only the system of 'quinquennial tours' was applied uniformly in all his dominions (*sarvata vijite*). The Pillar Edict VII clearly presupposes the one on the Kauśāmbī Pillar in which by the king's own command the *Mahāmātras* in all places are directed to see that the mango-grove or park or almshouse made on the strength of his second queen's donations was recorded as :

[Dānaṃ] dutiyaye deviye ti Tivalamātu Kāluvākiye" :

[This is a gift] of the Second Queen, namely, of Cāruvākī, the mother of Tīvara (the Quick One)."

This Queen's Edict, issued between Asoka's twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh or twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth regnal years, anyhow not earlier than other Minor Pillar Edicts, such as those inscribed at Rummindeī and Nigāli Sāgar in the twentieth or twenty-first year of his reign, goes to show that at the time of its incision the king had at least two queens. the second of whom was Cāruvākī, and that by this particular queen he had a son whose pet name was Tīvala (one of quick intelligence). From this edict it is not at all conclusive that Asoka's son Tīvala was then so grown up as to be able to act as a viceroy. The manner in which Asoka refers to his sons in the Pillar Edict VII unmistakably shows that up till his twenty-seventh or twenty-eighth regnal year his sons were not sufficiently grown up to be entrusted with viceroyalties. For here the king says :—

> " Dālakānaṃ pi ca me kaṭe aṃnānaṃ ca devikumālānaṃ ime dānavisagesu viyapaṭā hohaṃti ti " (P. E., VII).
>
> " These (*Dharmamahāmātras* and similar high officers) are appointed by me (with this express object) that they shall be employed in the distribution (or disposal) of the alms (or gifts) of (my) boys and princes born of this or that queen."

In the parallel text in the Rock Edict V, where the king states

the various purposes for which he had appointed the *Dharmamahāmātras* for the first time in history, in his thirteenth or fourteenth regnal year, no separate mention of the boys and princes (*dālakas, kumālas*) has been made. There is already a suggestion that perhaps by *aṃnāna devikumālas* in Pillar Edict VII Asoka meant the sons of his father by the queens other than his mother, that is, not his brothers but half-brothers, collectively referred to as *bhātā* in the Rock Edict V, and as distinguished from his own sons (*dālakas*). But it must be borne in mind that the Rock Edict V just refers to the 'closed female apartments' (families in Indian sense) of Asoka's brothers, and does not necessarily imply that his brothers were all or any one alive at that time. At all events, the contexts yield us no clue to the connexion of *bhātā* in the Rock Edict V with *devikumālā* in the Pillar Edict VII. On the other hand, in the Pillar Edict VII, as also in the Queen's Edict, by *devi* or *devis* Asoka definitely meant only his own queen or queens. When an Indian king mentions his boys (*dālakas*) contrasting them with *aṃnāna devikumālas* in a context where by *devis* he meant his queens, it is very natural to think that by his 'boys' he meant his sons by the ladies of his harem other than his queens, and by *devikumālas* the princes who were his sons by this or that queen. The other suggestion that can be offered is that by *dālakas* the king meant his little boys[1] and by *aṃnāna devikumālas* his sons by his queens who were a little grown up. In this connexion one has the following information from literary traditions. First, the Pāli legends of Asoka tell us that on his father's death he seized the throne of Magadha after having killed all his ninety-nine half-brothers. As soon as he became king, he made his only brother by the same mother, called Prince Tiṣya (Tissakumāra), the vicegerent, but the latter joined the Buddhist Order in the fourth year after his coronation. In the same year his nephew and son-in-law Agnibrahmā was ordained. His son Mahendra, by a Vaiśya lady whom he married at Ujjayinī while he was a Viceroy there, also followed the example of Tiṣya in Asoka's sixth or seventh regnal year. The only posthumous son of the king's elder half-brother became a Buddhist novice at a very early age. The Sanskrit Avadāna legends would seem to be of much greater historical importance in this respect because (1) these also attest that Asoka's own brother Vītaśoka (Pāli name Tissa), who

1 Cf. Divyāvadāna, p. 370: "tasyāḥ (=of King Vindusāra's Queen Consort) putro jātaḥ...kiṃ kumārasya bhavatu nāma? sā kathayati: asya dārakasya...Aśoka iti nāma."

alone among Vindusāra's other sons remained alive after Asoka had become in the fullest sense the King of Magadha, joined the Buddhist Order ; (2) these agree with the Queen's Edict in referring to Asoka's two queens, the first of whom was Tiṣyarakṣitā and the second Padmāvatī, the mother of Kuṇāla, a pet name corresponding to Tīvala of the inscription ; (3) these record that Prince Kuṇāla, whose official name was Dharmavardhana, was born as soon as the 84,000 topes were erected, an event that took place, according to the Ceylonese Chronicles, in the seventh or eighth year of Asoka's reign, better, seven years after the king's conversion to Buddhism, which could not have taken place, according to the evidence of the edicts, till after the Kaliṅga war, finished in Asoka's eighth or ninth regnal year ; (4) these go to show that at the time of incision of the Pillar edict VII in Asoka's twenty-seventh or twenty-eighth regnal year Kuṇāla's age was not more than 13 or 14 years (discussed *passim*) ; (5) these also show that up till the time of incision of the Pillar Edict VII, Kuṇāla was not sent out to Takṣaśīlā but some years after that time, the viceroyalty at Taxila entrusted to some prince being for the first time referred to in the Separate Rock Edict I ; (6) lastly, these supply a text which is nothing but an echo of one in the Pillar Edict VII as will appear from the following quotation :—

> "Tato rājāśokaḥ pañcavarṣike paryavaṣite sarvabhikṣūn tricīvareṇa ācchādya cattvāri śatashasrāṇi saṃghasya ācchādanaṃ dattvā pṛthivīm antaḥpuram amātyagaṇam ātmānaṃ ca Kuṇālaṃ ca niṣkṛtavān" (Divyāvadāna, p. 405).

If this line of argument leads to any conclusion of chronological value, it is not only that the Separate and Minor Rock Edicts were inscribed a few years later than the Pillar VII and Queen's Edict, but that the Pillar VII and Queen's Edict themselves were inscribed a few years later than the Fourteen Rock. It also follows that the Minor Rock Edicts must have been inscribed somewhat later than the Separate Rock because the latter set of edicts shows that up till the date of its publication the king's own command (*lājavacana*) continued to be the seal of royal authority for the edicts when these reached the *Mahāmātras* at Samāpā, although these high officers evidently stood in the same relation to the Royal Prince and *Mahāmātras* at Tosali as that in which the *Mahāmātras* at Isila did in relation to the viceregal authority at Suvarṇagiri.

### *Objections met*

In placing the Separate and Minor Rock Edicts later than Pillar VII one has to meet the objections that arise from the arguments of

such scholars as M. Senart, Dr. Thomas and Dr. V. A. Smith : (1) that the words '*bahune janasi āyatā*' in the Pillar Edict VII can be traced only in the Separate Rock I, and as such the former presupposes the latter ; (2) that the words '*dhaṃmasāvane kaṭe*' in the Pillar Edict VII recur only in the Minor Rock I and as such the former presupposes the latter ; (3) that the Minor Rock Edicts, precisely like the Fourteen Rock, are found only in the outlying parts of Asoka's empire and as such the former set of inscriptions was intended to supplement the latter during the same period of the Buddhist emperor's reign. But comparing the Seventh Pillar and First Separate Rock Edicts one can see that the words '*bahune janasi āyatā*' in question occur in the Pillar Edict VII in connection with the *Dharmamahāmātras* and similar special high officers, while in the Separate Rock Edict I these have been used in connection with the Royal Prince and *Mahāmātras*, that is to say, the Pillar Edict VII presupposes the Rock Edict V, and not the Separate Rock Edict I. Similarly comparing the Seventh Pillar and First Minor Rock Edicts one can show that the words '*dhaṃmasāvane kaṭe*' in question occur in the former in connection with *dhaṃmavaḍhi* (=*dhaṃmacaraṇavaḍhi* in R. E. IV, *dhaṃmavaḍhi* in R. E. V,) and in the latter in connection with *aṭhavaḍhi*, the particular *aṭha* (purpose) being identified with the king's wish to make '*palakama*' or '*zeal*' itself long enduring. Rather the plural use of '*dhaṃmasāvana*' in the expression *dhaṃmasāvanāni sāvāpitāni*, qualified by *vividhāni*, goes to prove that proclamations or readings of *dhaṃma* of different kinds were caused to be heard on many an occasion, and therefore there is no reason to suppose that the Pillar Edict VII contains a specific reference to the Minor Rock, or that no *dhaṃmasāvana* was done after the date of incision of the Pillar Edict VII. Rather from the contents it is evident that to Asoka the expression *dhaṃma lipi lekhāpana* conveys virtually the same meaning.

### *Optimism in M. R. E. I—a test of chronology*

One must consider that the Rock Edicts VI and X, which dwell upon the same subject-matter '*palakama*,' bring out the king's feeling of diffidence making the reader hear almost a cry of despair through it, while in the first Minor Rock Edict the king conveys an unqualified message of hope by the example of the greatest possible success attained by him in his own life in the past :

"Dukaraṃ tu idaṃ añasa agena parākramena (R. E. VI, Girnar),

"Dukaraṃ tu kho idaṃ chudakena va janena usaṭena va añatra agena parākamena savaṃ paricajitpā" (R.E.,X, Girnar, cf P.. E., I : dusaṃpaṭipādaye añata agāya.....usāhena.)

"Kāmaṃ tu kho khudakena pi pakamamīṇeṇa vipule svage sakye ārādhetave" (M. R. E., I, Siddāpur).

Asoka is so much carried away by the joy which is the ripest fruit of his knowledge of success that he seems to completely forget that when he started his mission of the *dhaṃma*, the *pakama* was but a means to an end for him. The result is that at last for him the means becomes the end, and he blesses it with the fullness of his heart (*cilaṭhitike ca palakame hotu*). I do not see the reason why the Minor Rock Edicts should be taken to occupy the same place in the south as the set of Fourteen Rock does in the east, west and north-west, nor do I understand how they can do so. Bhagavanlal Indraji has already discovered a fragment of the Rock Edict VIII that clearly points to the existence of another copy of the whole set of Fourteen at Sopārā in the Thānā District. This opinion would perhaps have been sound if all the copies of the Minor Rock Edict I had been found in the south (Hyderabad and Mysore). But, as a matter of fact, one copy (Sahasrām) is found engraved in Shahabad District, Behar, one (Bairāṭ) in the Jaipur State, Rājputānā, and one (Rūpnāth) in the Jabbalpur District, Central Provinces. Would it not be more prudent, I ask, to anticipate the discovery of yet another copy of the set of Rock Edicts in the south ?

*Written in the sense of drafted—how far correct ?*

Regarding the chronology Prof. Bhandarkar has produced only a mouse, where an elephant was the expectation. If I have understood him aright, he is quite prepared to take Asoka at his word. Asoka, in his Pillar Edict VI, says that when he was consecrated twelve years, he caused the *dhaṃmalipi* to be written (of course, for the first time) for the good and happiness of the world :

"duvāḍasa vasa-abhisitena me dhaṃmalipi likhāpitā lokasā hitasukhāye" (P.E. VI).

Prof. Bhandarkar believes that Asoka actually did what he says, and that some of the Rock Edicts, notably Nos. III and IV, are the real examples of the *dhaṃmalipi* caused to be written then, that is, in the twelfth year after his coronation. In the same way some of the Rock Edicts, notably No. V, might be cited as an example of the *dhaṃmalipi* caused to be written in the thirteenth year after Asoka's

coronation. Prof. Bhandarkar would draw a distinction between '*likhāpita*' or 'caused to be written' in the sense of *drafted* and the same in the sense of permanently *incised* on a hard material like a 'rock' or a 'stone-pillar' or a 'stone-tablet' (*pavata, silāthaṃbha, silāphalaka*). For there are some clear instances where certain events, which had occurred earlier, came to be recorded later, *e.g.*, (1) the conquest of Kaliṅga that was made in the eighth year after Asoka's coronation was recorded, at least four or five years later, in the draft of the Rock Edict XIII; (2) the pilgrimage to *Saṃbodhi* that Asoka undertook in the tenth year after his coronation was recorded in the draft of the Rock Edict VIII made a few years later; (3) the *dhaṃmalipi*, that had been caused to be written in the twelfth year after Asoka's coronation, came to be mentioned in the Pillar Edict VI, written in the twenty-sixth year. He maintains that there is no definite evidence as to the Rock Edicts (or, better, Rock Inscriptions as he would call them) being incised in the same year in which they were caused to be written in the sense of *drafted*. As to the Pillar Edicts, he finds no reason to doubt that the first six of them were caused to be written in the sense of *incised* in the twenty-sixth, and the seventh one was engraved in the twenty-seventh year after Asoka's coronation. For, in the first place, the Pillar Edict VII, distinctly stated to have been written when Asoka was consecrated twenty-seven years, contains at its end the king's order to inscribe this inscription on the '*stone-pillars*' (*silāthaṃbhāni*) or '*stone-tablets*' (*silāphalakāni*), wherever there were any, in order to ensure its permanency; and secondly, in this inscription Asoka distinctly says that he had '*pillars of the dhaṃma*' (*dhaṃmathaṃbhāni*) made but does not refer to any '*rocks*' (*pavatas*). It was not till after the seven Pillar Edicts had been incised and until the day of incision of the Minor Rock Edict I that the idea of inscribing the inscriptions on '*rocks*' (*pavatas*) struck the mind of the king, because in the latter inscription Asoka orders that it should be written in the sense of *inscribed* on the *rocks* and likewise on the '*stone-pillar*' if it was there. To be logical, if this order be suggestive of the fact that the idea of inscription on the '*rocks*' was then new to Asoka, then his order in the Pillar Edict VII must also be suggestive of the fact that the idea of inscription on the '*stone-pillars*' was new to him at the time when the Pillar VII was incised. As Prof. Bhandarkar denies the conclusion, he denies also the premiss. As I have sought to show, the materials for engraving find mention in the body of directions which were not intended to be inscribed and yet have actually been inscribed in

such edicts as Sārnāth Schism Pillar, Queen's, Pillar VII and Minor Rock I. As regards the Minor Rock and Schism Pillar Edicts, in which the king's order also refers to the text whereby these should be promulgated (*etinā ca vayajanenū, hemeva viyaṃjanena vivāsāpayātha*), one must understand that his agents were desired to prepare the drafts on the suggested lines. These directions, whether actually inscribed or not, are unavailing as data for chronology because these are common presuppositions of all the edicts.

*Dhaṃmathaṃbhas in P. E. VII : their distinction from silāthaṃbhas*

By *dhaṃmathaṃbhas* in his Pillar Edict VII Asoka does not appear to have referred to them as materials for engraving his inscriptions but as monuments of Buddhist art, the *'pillars of religion'* as distinguished from *'the pillars of royal victory'* (*vijayastambha*).[1] It is evident from the inscriptions at Rummindeī and Nigāli Sāgar that these isolated monolithic pillars with crowning animal figures, religious symbols and reliefs were set up when Asoka came on pilgrimage to Buddhist holy places. These very pillars, as appears from the accounts of Asoka's pilgrimage in the Divyāvadāna, were the *caityas* with which the royal pilgrim marked the sacred spots as a matter of favour to the future visitors.[2] In directing his officers to have the edict inscribed on the 'stone-pillars' that were there, Asoka, if his language has any meaning, did not intend specifying his dhaṃmathaṃbhas to be used as materials.

*'Silāphalaka' in Pillar Edict VII and 'pavata' in Minor Rock I denote substantially the same material for inscription*

I am unable to detect any substantial difference between these two orders : (1) one, as in the Pillar Edict VII, directing that the edict should be inscribed on the 'stone-pillars' (*silāthaṃbhā*) or 'stone tablets' (*silāphalakā*), the pillars being mentioned first according as it was a record on a pillar ; (2) the other, as in the Minor Rock Edict I, directing that the royal message should be inscribed on the 'rocks' (*pavatā*) or 'stone-pillars' (*silāṭhaṃbhā*), the rocks being mentioned

1 Cf. dhaṃmavijaya contrasted with vijaya ; dhaṃmamahāmātā with mahāmātā, etc.

2 Divyāvadāna, pp. 389-97 : " Atha rājā...ayaṃ me manoratho ye Bhagavatā Buddhena pradeśā adhyuṣitās tān arceyaṃ cihnāni ca kuryāṃ paścimasyāṃ janatāyāṃ anugrahārthaṃ.

first according as it was a record on a rock. By a 'stone-tablet' one is to understand a '*boulder*' or '*detached block*' in a rocky mountain that might be used as a tablet for engraving an inscription. By a '*pavata*' one is not to understand the whole mountain or range of hills but a rocky part of it where 'stone-tablet-like' material was available. How can it be suggested, I wonder, that the idea of inscription on the '*rocks*' did not strike the mind of Asoka till after the incision of the Pillar Edict VII, if Prof. Bhandarkar admits, as he has admitted, that the first two Hill Cave Inscriptions at Barābar were inscribed when Piyadasi was consecrated twelve years, the date of incision of the inscriptions being the same as that of dedication of the cave-dwellings? The second inscription records that the second cave belonged to the Khalatika mountain or hill range (Khalatika-pavatasi). The name "Hill Cave Inscriptions" has been devised by the epigraphists for the convenience of reference; it does not imply that the inscriptions in question were inscribed on the 'caves' (*kubhā*). The inscribed votive records are Rock Inscriptions, and nothing else. If this is so, how can it be doubted that the Rock Edicts, Nos. I-IV, expressly recording on the 'rocks' in their two versions at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa (R.E. I) that they were caused to be written when the king was consecrated twelve years, were not inscribed in the twelfth year after his coronation and certainly not later, and also not earlier because, according to the king's own statement in the Pillar Edict VI, the *dhaṃmalipi* was caused to be written for the first time in history when he was consecrated just twelve years? None can detect in these four edicts any recorded event that happened later than the twelfth year of his reign. I take these four edicts together as I find that they are placed consecutively, one below the other, in the same internal arrangement or context. The opening words of the series contain the statement:—

"Iyaṃ.....si pavatasi Devānaṃpiye[na].....jin[ā] likhā..." (R.E., I, Dhauli).

"Iyaṃ dhaṃmalipī Khapiṃgalasi pavatasi Devānaṃpiyena Piyadasinā lājinā likhāpitā" (R.E., I, Jaugaḍa).

In the Rock Edict III the king says that he inaugurated the quinquennial tours when he was consecrated twelve years. The concluding words in the Rock Edict IV, being connected with the reference of material in the Dhauli and Jaugaḍa texts of No. I, yield the following clear statement:—

"[.....si pavatasi] duvādasa-vasāni abhisitasa Devānaṃpiyasa Piyadasine lājinêyaṃ likhite" (R.E., IV, Dhauli).

"[Khapiṃgalasi pavatasi].....(R.E., IV, Jaugaḍa).

*Fourteen Rock Edicts engraved not later than the fourteenth and not earlier than the twelfth year of Asoka*

The reference of material in the Rock Edict I continues through the remaining numbers of the series of Fourteen, viz., Nos. V-XIV, as determined by the versions other than those at Dhauli, Jaugaḍa and Bombay-Sopārā. When exactly this series was closed is still a problem, though it was certainly started in the twelfth year after Asoka's coronation. The omission of Nos. XI-XIII at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa, either on a prudential consideration of their unsuitability, particularly that of No. XIII, for the newly conquered province of Kaliṅga in which Dhauli and Jaugaḍa were situated, or through the oversight of the scribes, and the allusion of some such fact in No. XIV, naturally leads one to understand that these ten edicts were sent out for engraving in at least three instalments : (1) the first one of six edicts, Nos. V-X ; (2) the second one of three edicts, Nos. XI-XIII ; (3) the third one of just one edict, No. XIV. The recorded fact, in No. V, of appointment of the *Dharmamahāmātras*, made for the first time when the king was consecrated thirteen years, shows that the second instalment was not inscribed earlier than the thirteenth year after his coronation. The historian finds here no other chronological data than the absence of a definite mention of Asoka's sons, the *dālakas* and *kumālas*, in No. V, a fact which goes so far as to create a presumption in favour of an early date of its incision. Coming to the second instalment one finds that when No. XIII was engraved, the five contemporary Greek kings were still alive or reigning, the Greek kings who are collectively referred to as 'Antiyoka and his neighbours' in No. II which is shown to have been inscribed in the twelfth year. The latest year till which these five Greek kings may be supposed to have been all alive, that is to say, the latest year in which the Rock Edict XIII may be supposed to have been engraved, is, according to Beloch's Greek History, B.C. 250. The fixing of the regnal year of Asoka to which B.C. 250 corresponds depends chiefly on the date of demise of the Buddha. The Buddhists of Ceylon, Burma and Siam place the Buddha's demise in B.C. 544-43. The so-called Chinese 'Dotted Records' suggest B.C. 487-86 as a date for the same event. But by far the most acceptable suggestion is the one that comes from Dr. Geiger (translation of the Mahāvaṃsa, Introd.) and from my friend Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri (Political History of India), namely, that the real date is B.C. 484-83. The former has arrived at this conclusion after testing the Pāli traditional succession of the kings

of Magadha and Ceylon and that of the contemporary Buddhist *theras* in the light of Prof. Wijesinha's investigations showing that B.C. 484-83 was known in Ceylon to be the year of the demise up to a certain late date, and the latter in the light of his hypothesis that the Buddhists of Ceylon confused in later times the year of the Buddha's demise with that of Bimbisāra's accession (544-43—60=484-83). If, then, B.C. 484-83 be the year of the demise, and if it be that Asoka's coronation took place 218 years after it, it follows that B.C. 250 corresponds to the king's eighteenth or seventeenth regnal year, and by no means later. The detection of another Buddhist confusion, viz., that, as regards the date of Asoka's first conversion to Buddhism, between the two different years of Asoka's coronation and conquest of Kaliṅga, enables me to suggest that the dates of engraving of the last two instalments of the Rock Edicts could not be later than the time when the king was consecrated fourteen years. The Pāli accounts, *e.g.*, those in the Ceylonese Chronicles and Vinaya Commentary, place Asoka's first conversion to or sincere admiration for Buddhism in the very first year of his reign from the date of his coronation, without taking any cognizance of the horrors felt on reflection on the scene of carnage at the time of the Kaliṅga war waged when the king had been consecrated eight years. These horrors, as stated in the Rock Edict XIII, prepared the king's heart for response to the call of the *dhaṃma*. The Pāli accounts place his real conversion or deepest conviction in the fourth year, and the completion of erection of the monastic centres of pilgrimage, art and learning (*i.e.*, *dharmarājikas* or *stūpas* as in the Avadāna legends) in the seventh year after his coronation. Asoka's own statement in his Pillar Edict VI as to the first publication of his *dhaṃmalipi* in the twelfth year after his coronation brings out the same fact, namely, that his real conversion leading him into action did not take place until the fourth year from the day of his first conversion. This fact is clearly attested in detail by his two significant statements in the Minor Rock Edict I: (1) that when he was a mere Buddhist *upāsaka* for more than two and half years, he did not exert himself much; (2) that it was when he became intimately associated with the Buddhist Church for a year or a little longer (but less than two years) that he earnestly began work. By adding up these two periods one gets an interval of about four years. Moreover, the king's statement in his inscription on the Niglīva Pillar as to the enlargement of the *stūpa* of the Buddha Koṇāgamana when he was consecrated fourteen years tallies with the Pāli account that the erection of *vihāras* or *dharmarājikas* was not completed until the third year from his real and the

seventh year from his first conversion. The Avadāna legends, displaying as they do a hazy notion of the horrors of an action creating a living hell for the good people, record that the completion of erection of the *dharmarājikas* synchronised with the birth of Kuṇāla, the son of Asoka by his second queen Padmāvatī. As I have shown, the young prince Kuṇāla, and his mother Padmāvatī are likely the persons mentioned under different names in the Queen's Edict as Tīvala and his mother Kārūvākī the second queen. Anyhow, Kuṇāla of the Avadāna, who was sent afterwards to Taxila as his father's representative, was just thirteen or fourteen years old when the Pillar Edict VII was engraved. The same prince must then have been just in his mother's womb when the Rock Edict XIII was engraved with the king's prospective statement: "My sons (and) grandsons that shall be." And he was not perhaps in his mother's womb when the second instalment of the Rock Edicts was incised with the mention of an event dated in the thirteenth year from the king's coronation. The Rock Edict XIV closed the first series of Rock Edicts and marked the consummation of the first period of arduous work on new lines which commenced in the twelfth year and ended in the fourteenth. It is referring to this first series of Rock Edicts, and this alone, that the king says in No. XIV that though, when it was engraved, many *dhaṃmalipis* had been written, many yet remained to be written, and regrets that it was not possible to have his *dhaṃmalipis* inscribed everywhere as his dominions were wide by far. Is it not conclusive from such frank statements as these that the first series of *dhaṃmalipis* on the 'rocks,' intended to fix the outer lines of his dominions, is earlier than the Seven Pillar Edicts that stand in the interior? Mr. Harit Krishna Deb's contention needs no refutation. It is to be treated rather as an acrobatic feat than a sober scholarly argument. There is no reason why the humanitarian works once stated to have been carried out in the realms of the five Greek kings (R.E. II) and success of propaganda of the *dhaṃma* once stated to have been attained (R.E. XIII) should be referred to once more in the Pillar Edict VII, the object of which is to give only a resumé of the various methods and measures adopted for propagation of the *dhaṃma*. It needs no mention that without the Rock Edicts, particularly Nos. II-V, as presuppositions, the greater portion of the resumé in the Pillar Edict VII remains unexplained.

### *Quinquennial system as a test of chronology*

Asoka inaugurated the quinquennial tours for official inspection

when he was consecrated twelve years (R.E. III). The Avadāna legends say that he himself followed this system in making public gifts and large money-grants to the Buddhist *Saṃgha*. The internal evidence of his edicts or inscriptions shows that they were issued or engraved at the interval of five years. From the engraving of the first instalment of *dhaṃmalipis* (R.E. I-IV) and dedication of the first two inscribed caves at Barābar to the Ājīvikas up to the engraving of the last instalment of *dhaṃmalipis* (R.E. XIV) and enlargement of the *stūpa* of Koṇāgamana, one is to calculate three years (12th-14th year after coronation, 230-232 or 231-233 B.E.). After five years from his fourteenth or fifteenth regnal year he dedicated a third inscribed cave-dwelling at Barābar and set up the inscribed pillars at Rummindeī and Nigāli Sāgar when he was consecrated twenty years. It is to this period (19th-21st year after coronation, 237-39 or 238-40 B.E.) that the erection of the *dhaṃmathaṃbhas* as monuments of Buddhist religion and art must be assigned, the inscribed ones, such as the copies of the Schism Pillar Edict at Sārnāth, Kauśāmbī and Sāṃcī recording matters relating to Buddhism. According to Buddhist traditions in Pāli, the Schism Pillar Edict should exactly belong to this period (*i. e.*, shortly after 236 or 237 B.E.). It is not unlikely that the Queen's Edict, presupposed by the Pillar Edict VII and referring obviously to Tīvala or Kuṇāla as Asoka's little son by his second queen, also belongs to this period. The next period of engraving commenced in the twenty-sixth and ended in the twenty-seventh year after coronation (244-45 or 245-46 B.E.) during which the seven edicts were permanently incised on some of the *dhaṃmathaṃbhas*, the Pillar Edict VII being inscribed one year later than the first six of the series, when Tīvala-Kuṇāla was about thirteen or fourteen years old. If Asoka still adhered to his quinquennial arrangement, as he says he did (S.R.E.,I), the fourth period of engraving commenced in the thirty-second or thirty-third year after coronation (251-52 B.E.) during which the Royal Prince Tīvala-Kuṇāla (officially known as Dharmavardhana) sent to Taxila as his father's representative for stopping the frontier troubles was aged eighteen or nineteen years. The two Separate Rock Edicts, hinting at the frontier troubles and referring to the viceroyalties of three Royal Princes at Tosali, Ujeni and Takhasilā, must be relegated to this period, that is, to the thirty-second or the thirty-third year[1]. If Asoka reigned for thirty-six or

1 The assigned date of S. R. E. I can be ascertained from the legends of Asoka in Buddhist literature. It appears from the legends

thirty-seven years after his coronation and continued his quinquennial arrangement, the last period of engraving must have commenced in the thirty-seventh or thirty-eighth year (255 or 256 B.E.). The Minor Rock Edicts, referring to the viceroyalty of a fourth Royal Prince at Suvarṇagiri and hinting at an independent charge being given, must be taken to belong to this period. The enigmatic expression '*vyuṭhenā 256*' in the Minor Rock Edict I shows that this edict belonged to this period, and this alone.

*Riddle of "vyuṭhenā 256" solved: Meaning of "vivāsa" "vivutha"*

In issuing the Minor Rock Edict I Asoka sent the following three orders as to how it should be disposed of by his agents:

(1) "Iya ca aṭhe pavatisu lekhāpeta vālata hadha ca athi s[i]lāṭhubhe silāthaṃbhasi l[a]khāpetavaya—ta" (Rūpnāth).

(2) "Etinā ca vayajanenā yāvataka tupaka ahāle savara vivasetavāyu ti" (Rūpnāth).

(3) "Vy[u]ṭhenā sāvane kaṭe 256 sata vivāsā ta"

Put in plain terms, the first order is:—

(1) "Get this message inscribed on rocks or stone-pillars."

In plain words, the second order is:—

(2) "Set it up by this text everywhere within your jurisdiction."

The interpretation of the third order depends on the significance of these four: (a) *vyuṭhenā* with its variants *vyūṭhena* (Brahmagiri), *[v]yuthena* (Jaṭiṅga), *vivuthena* (Sahasrām); (ii) 256 with *vyuṭhenā*'s variant before and nothing after it (Brahmagiri, Siddāpur, Jaṭiṅga), with *vivuthā t[i]* before and nothing after it (Sahasrām); (iii) *sata* without any variant; (iv) *vivāsā-ta* with its variant *vivuthā ti* (Sahasrām). These are the various suggestions offered by the previous scholars from time to time:—(*i*) *vyuṭhenā* = Pāli *vivuthena*, *vyuṭṭhena*, Sk.

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of Asoka in the Divyāvadāna that almost in the same year Tiṣyarakṣitā, a passionate woman who was placed in the position of the queen consort caused the Bo Tree at Bodh Gaya to be destroyed and tempted her step-son Kuṇāla into sin, and about the same time Kuṇāla was sent to Taxila as a viceroy. According to the Mahāvaṃsa (chap. xx), Asoka's first queen consort Asandhimitrā died thirty years after his accession, *i.e.*, twenty-six years after his coronation; Tiṣyarakṣitā (Pāli Tissarakkhā) was placed in the position of the queen consort four years later (in Asoka's thirtieth regnal year), and she caused the great Bodhi Tree to be destroyed three years after that (in Asoka's thirty-second or thirty-third regnal year).

*vyuṣitena*, *vyuṣṭena*, from *vi*+√*vas*, 'to dwell' (Pischel) ; 'by the departed' (Bühler) ; 'by the illumined' (Oldenberg) ; 'by the messenger, missionary' (Senart) ; 'by the wanderer' (Fleet) ; 'by Asoka on tour' (Thomas, Hultzsch) ; 'by *vyuṣṭas*, a class of officers proclaiming a proclamation' (Bhandarkar) ; 'by the missioners' (Smith).

(*ii*) *256* denotes 'the number of years that have elapsed from the departure of the Teacher, *i.e.*, the Buddha' (Bühler); 'a date after the Nīrvāṇa of the Buddha' (Fleet till 1910) ; '256 nights spent abroad by Asoka on tour' (Thomas and Lévi, explaining in the light of the Sahasrām *'duve sapaṃnā-lāti satā'*, *lāti* taken = *rātri*) ; '256 nights spent in worship' (Fleet 1911), '256 nights spent in prayer' (Hultzsch) ; '256 individuals or missioners' (Bhandarkar, Smith) ; 'the number of messengers or missionaries' (Senart) ; 'two hundred individuals increased by fifty-six, *lāti* being a mistake for *sata*-(Bhandarkar, Bühler, interpreting Sahasrām text).

(*iii*) sata (?) = Pāli *satthā*, 'Teacher,' 'the Buddha' (Bühler) ; = *sattvāḥ*, 'beings' (Senart, Pischel) ; 'men' (Bhandarkar) ; 'souls, officials' (Pischel's posthumous note) ; = *smṛtaḥ*, 'enunciated, mentioned' (Lévi) ; = *śānta*, 'the tranquil' (Fleet) ; = *satra*, 'halting place, stage' (Thomas).

(*iv*) *vivāsā-ta* = 'illumination' (Venis) ; 'wander' (Fleet) ; 'spent on tour' (Thomas, Hultzsch) ; 'set out on tour' (Bhandarkar) ; the variant *vivuthā* = 'have gone forth' (Bhandarkar); 'have gone forth on mission' (senart) ; 'have passed' (Bühler); 'have appeared in the world illumined' (Oldenberg) ; 'have departed' (Lévi) ; 'dispatch edict' (Fleet).

In view of the apparently wide discrepancy between the texts one must be cautious in establishing an interpretation on the basis of a single word occurring in any particular text. It goes without saying that though differently worded, the texts are intended to convey the same idea. I find that in three of these texts, viz., Brahmagiri, Siddāpur and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara, the reading is practically the same. These three texts are simply worded *'vyuthena 256.'* The Sahasrām text inserts an explanatory clause *'duve sapaṃnā lāti-satā vivuthā ti'* between *'vivuthena'* and *'256'*. In the Rūpnāth text *'vyuthenā 256'* is followed by *'sata vivāsā-ta'*—evidently a similar explanatory clause. The occurrence of *'sata'* can be explained as a curious instance where the scribe intended to express the number also in words but had not done it carefully. *'Vivāsā'* is likely the same word

in another form as '*vyuṭhā*', '*vyuthā*', '*vyūthā*' or '*vivuthā*'. I cannot agree with Prof. Bhandarkar and Dr. V. A. Smith in suggesting that '*vyuṭhā*' supplies a gap in the Pillar Edict VII. This edict has nowhere a context with which '*vyuṭhā*' can fit in. There can be little doubt that '*vyuṭhenā*' stands in the same relation to the third order as that in which '*vayajanenā*' does to the second, or that *vyuṭha* is but a Prakrit form of Sk. '*vyuṣṭa*'.

The Sanskrit Lexicons explain '*vyuṣṭa*' as being a synonym for 'dawn' (*prabhāta*). The word in the sense of 'dawn' is used in the Śiśupālavadha (XII. 4). Dr. Shama Sastri in his instructive paper (Report of the Second Oriental Conference, Calcutta, pp. 35—43.) on Vyuṣṭi draws his readers' attention to several texts in the Vedas, Brāhmaṇas and Śrauta-Sūtras where '*vyuṣṭa*', '*vyuṣṭi*' and '*vyuṣa*' are used as synonyms, and used not merely in the sense of earlier morning but decisively in the sense of a periodical early morning suggestive of a new year's day'. In the Varāha Śrauta-Sūtra, as will appear from the following verse quoted from its Akulapada, khaṇḍa III, *vyuṣṭa* is represented as the well-dawned period or fourth *yāma* of night-time, '*upavyuṣa*' as the well-dawning period or third *yāma*, '*niśi*' as the dead dark period or second *yāma*, and *pradoṣa* as the fairly clear period or first *yāma* :

"Prathamo yāmaḥ pradoṣas syāt, dvitīyo niśir ucyate,
Tṛtīyôpavyuṣo jñeyaḥ, caturtho vyuṣṭa ucyate."

As Dr. Sastri has ably shown by citation of passages from the Ṛg-Veda, particularly one from I. 113. 3, where the pathway of the night-and-dawn (*naktoṣāsā*) in the year (*sumeka* explained in a Brāhmaṇa passage as *saṃvatsara*) is said to be the same and yet alternately pursued by them, that in interpreting these passages one is not to think of ordinary 'nights' and 'dawns' but of the longer nights of the *dakṣiṇâyana* by the former, as well as of the longer days of the *uttarâyaṇa* by the latter, the 'dawn' as a symbol of the longer days breaking on the summer solstice. I cannot but agree with Dr. Sastri when he suggests on the evidence of the Jaina Sūryya-Prajñapti and Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra that in ancient India the official year commenced on or was counted from the summer solstice, which was therefore treated as the new year's day, eagerly awaited by all and solemnized with special rites. These brilliant suggestions from Dr. Sastri enable me at once to translate and interpret the explanatory clauses in Asoka's Sahasrām and Rūpnath texts as follows :—

"duve sapaṃnā lāti-satā vivuthā ti" (Sahasrām).

"two hundred and fifty-six nights dawned earlier", *i. e.*, "two

hundred and fifty-six years reckoned from the summer solstice when the night is shorter than the day," Asokan *vivuthā* being equated with Vedic [*vi*]*ukthyā*.

"[duve sapaṃna] sata vivāsā-ta" (Rūpnāth).

"two hundred and fifty-six longer dawns," which is to say, "two hundred and fifty-six years reckoned from the summer solstice when the day is longer than the night, Asokan *vivāsā* being equated with Vedic *vyuṣā*."

As to *'vyuṣṭa'*, Dr. Sastri observes rectifying his previous interpretation in his translation : "In the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya (II. 6) it is used as the name of a particular division as the royal year, the month, the half month, and the day. Again in II. 7 Kauṭilya uses the word in connection with the examination of revenue accounts. He says that the receipts, expenditure and the net revenue shall be verified under certain heads in *'vyuṣṭa'*.....new year's day.....will suit the context admirably well ; for the accounts are ordered to be submitted at the close of the month of *Aṣāḍha* (II. 7) for examination on the *vyuṣṭa* or new year's day. The enumeration of seasons with *Śrāvaṇa* in the rains is a proof that *Śrāvaṇa* was the first month of the year at the time of Kauṭilya."

I welcome Dr. Sastri's opinion but at the same time feel that the two passages in the Arthaśāstra illustrating the use of *'vyuṣṭa'* must be represented somewhat differently. I find that in the first passage (II. 6) one has the clear definition of the two terms *'vyuṣṭa'* and *'kāla.'* The former is defined as 'the regnal year, month, fortnight and day,' which is the same as to say, "the date stated in term of the regnal and official years, the regnal year being counted from the day of coronation of the reigning king, and the official year commencing on the summer solstice.' The latter is defined as 'the seasonal divisions of the official year beginning in the rains.'

" Rājavarṣaṃ māsaḥ pakṣo divasaśca vyuṣṭam."

" Varṣā-hemanta-grīṣmāṇām tṛtīyasaptamā divasonāḥ pakṣāś śeṣāḥ pūrṇāḥ pṛthag adhimāsaka iti kālaḥ." Arthaśāstra, p. 60.

In the second passage (II. 7) Kauṭilya teaches how the revenue accounts should be verified in respect of receipt, expenditure and net revenue entered under such headings as *' vyuṣṭa,' ' deśa,' ' kāla'*, and the rest.

In Pandit Ganapati Sastri's edition of the Arthaśāstra and its Commentary (p. 138) one reads :—" Rājavarṣaṃ ā rājarājyābhiṣekādārabdhaḥ saṃvatsaraḥ, māsaḥ, pakṣaḥ, divasaśca vyuṣṭaṃ, rājavarṣādicatuṣṭayaṃ vyuṣṭasaṃjñam ityarthaḥ. Etacca amuka-rājavarṣe amuka-

māse, amukapakṣe, amuka-divase, amuka-puruṣeṇānītam etāvad dhanam, adyāmukapuruṣāyaitāvad dattam iti rītyā nibandhapustakādiṣu lekhyam iti boddhavyam."

The quoted extract makes it clear that '*vyuṣṭa*' is used in the sense of the date of entry stated in term of the regnal year and in that of the month, fortnight and day as in the official year. The regnal year signifies the succession of official years in which each current year in relation to those that are past is specified by an ordinal affixed to it, and the ordinal is to be determined by the number of years counted from the day of coronation of the reigning king. The months, half-months and days really belong to the seasonal divisions of time within an official year from the summer solstice.[1] There is nothing to prevent specifying the official years in succession in term of a current era lengthened by adding to it the regnal years. Considered in this light, Asoka's third order in Rūpnāth may be interpreted thus:—"In making the inscribed matter public, please see that it is attended with the date 256 (in term of the current Buddha-era)."

*Table of dates of the edicts*

Thus the discussion of chronology may be closed by stating its results in the subjoined table:—

| Edict | Years after coronation, years after parinirvāṇa. | B. C. |
|---|---|---|
| Barābar Hill cave I—II | 12, 230-231 | 254-253 |
| Rock I—IV | " " " | " " |
| Rock V—X | 13, 231-232 | 253-252 |
| Rock XI—XIII | 14, 232-233 | 252-251 |
| Rock XIV | " " " | " " |
| Barābar Hill cave III | 19, 237-238 | 247-246 |
| Rummindeī and Nigāli Sāgar | 20, 238-239 | 246-245 |
| Schism Pillar at Sarnāth Kauśāmbī, Sāṃcī | 21, 239-240 | 245-244 |
| Queen's (?) | " " " | " " |
| Pillar I—VI | 26, 244-245 | 240-229 |
| Pillar VII | 27, 245-246 | 239-238 |
| Separate Rock I—II | 32, 250-251 | 234-233 |
| Minor Rock I—II Second Bairāṭ (Bhābrū) | 37, 255-256 | 229-228 |

1 With reference to an Asokan pillar in the town of Ne-le in the

The proposed excursions will remain incomplete without an excursus on the meaning of some of the disputed Asokan words and expressions. My object in the excursus is to indicate how still some new light can be thrown on the significance of such words and expressions as *'nijhapayisaṃti'* (P. E. IV), *'nijhati'* (R. E. VI), *'vaca'* (R.E. VI), *'vacabhūmika'* (R.E. XII), *'anusaṃyāna'* (R.E. III, S.R.E. I).

I NIJHAPAYISAṂTI (P. E. IV).—Dr. Lüders has rightly explained it as meaning "will make (the authorities) reconsider" on the authority of the Jātaka-verse 334 (IV. p. 495) :

"Aparādhakā dūsakā heṭhakā ca
labhanti te rājino nijjhapetuṃ,
na maccuno nijjhapanaṃ karonti."

But it must be noted that in the gloss the word has been explained somewhat differently in the two connexions : (1) in the case of Yama, the king of death as *"balikammavasena khamāpenti pasādenti"*, "cause to pardon, please to relent by virtue of sacrificial offerings" ; (2) in the case of earthly king as *sakkhīhi attano niraparādhabhāvaṃ pakāsetvā pasādetvā"*, "causes to reconsider his case by proving his own innocence by depositions of witnesses called in his favour, persuades to release (by payment of ransom etc.)." In both connexions the word carries the idea of persuasion. Cf. Jātaka (VI. p. 516, verses 1924, 1926) : *"nijjhāpetuṃ mahārājaṃ"*, explained in the gloss as *"niddosabhāvaṃ jānāpetuṃ"*, *"niddosabhāvaṃ nijjhāpane"*.

NIJHATI (R. E. VI).—It occurs as a part of the idiom : *tāya athāya vivādo nijhatī va saṃto parisāyaṃ,"* "in that matter a division or adjournment takes place in the council " (V. A. Smith) ; "there is any

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suburb of Pāṭaliputra Fa-Hien says (Legge, p. 80) that it bore an inscription recording in which year, month and day the town was built. But so far as the written records of Asoka hitherto discovered go, he has nowhere mentioned the dates in term of the year, month and day. It is in the Kuṣāṇa records that the dates have been stated for the first time in the term of regnal year, and in that of the month and the day of an official year, cf. *"Devaputrasya Kaṇiṣkasya saṃ 5 he 1 di 1."* The specification of the date in term of the regnal year and the month, half month and day of an official year, as enjoined in the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra, is a convention which is met with for the first time in the earliest Sanskrit inscription of Rudradāman (A.D. 150) : *"Rudradāmno varṣe dvisaptatitame (72) Mārgaśīrṣabahulapratipadāyāṃ."* The convention once established was adhered to in the later Sanskrit inscriptions.

division or rejection in the council' (Bhandarkar). *Nijhati* = "meditation, reconsideration, adjournment or appeal" (Woolner); "adjournment" (Lüders, Thomas); "amendment" (Hultzsch); "casting away, rejection" (Jayaswal, taking *nijhati = nikṣapti*). I suggest "mutual understanding, coming to an agreement", and hold that the right passage to be cited is the one from the Aṅguttara-Nikāya, Part I, Parisāvagga, p. 66: "Yassaṃ parisāyaṃ bhikkhū adhikaraṇam ādiyanti dhammikaṃ vā adhammikaṃ vā te taṃ adhikaraṇaṃ ādiyitvā na c'eva *aññamaññaṃ saññāpenti na ca saññattiṃ* upagacchanti na ca nijjhāpenti, na ca *nijjhattiṃ* upagacchanti, etc". Here *nijjhatti* is used almost as a synonym for *saññatti*; cf. the Jātaka VI. p. 528, verse 2007; "*nijjhattā Sivayo sabbe*", "all the Śivi people have come to understand or to an understanding," "*nijjhattā ti saññattā*" in the gloss. In the Manoratha-Pūraṇi (Aṅguttara-Commentary) the terms *saññatti* and *nijjhatti* are explained thus: "*saññāpentî ti jānāpenti*", "*nijjhāpentîti pekkhāpenti*", according to which *saññatti* is "making the matter known", and *nijjhatti* "making the matter understood or considered."

3. NIJHATI (P.E. VII).—It is one of the twofold means whereby Asoka sought to make his mission of the *dhaṃma* effective, the other being *dhaṃmaniyama*. *Nijhati* is said to be the more essential or valued of the two means. It means "deep meditation" (Bühler and Senart, cf. Sk. *nididhyâsana*); "deep thought, self-control" (Laddu, Sk. *nidhyapti*, quoting '*nijjhattibala*' 'power of control' from the Paṭisambhidāmagga); "reflexion" (Thomas); "conversion" (Hultzsch); "wholesale prohibition" (Bhandarkar); "casting away, rejection" (Jāyaswal); "deliberation" (Lüders). '*Nijjhatti-bala*' does not mean the 'power of control', cf. Aṅguttara, iv, p. 223: "*ujjhattibalā bālā, nijjhattibalā paṇḍitā*". '*Ujjhatti*', as explained in the Commentary, implies 'an obstinate adherence to one's own statement, side or opinion (*yaṃ asuko idañca idañca āha maṃ so āha na aññanti evaṃ ujjhānaṃ*); '*nijjhatti*' implies 'a sober consideration of facts' (*atthānattha-nijjhāpanaṃ*), 'making one understand by placing facts and reasons' (*atthañca kāraṇañ ca dassetvā saññāpanaṃ*). This last sense stands nearest to Asokan meaning. But I feel that in Asokan context one has to devise an interpretation contrasting '*nijhati*' with '*dhaṃmaniyama*', the latter carrying with it the idea of 'regulation' or 'compulsion'. 'Persuasion' or 'appeal' suits well, Asoka's appeal being not so much to 'reason' as to 'human heart' or 'good sense.' The triple means of persuasion adopted by him consists of personal examples, religious and artistic demonstrations, and statement of essential principles of conduct.

4. VACA, VRACA (R. E. VI).—It means "the latrine," "the closet"

(Bühler, *vraca=varcagha*); "the mews" (V. A. Smith following Jayaswal who rightly equates '*vraca*' with Sk. '*vraja*,' cf. '*vraceya*' in the sense of '*gacheya*' R.E. VI); "the stables" (Bhandarkar); "the cow-pen" (Hultzsch); "the road" (Vidhusekhar Bhattacharyya). I suggest "the recreations primarily by way of musical entertainments." '*Vaca*' or '*vraca*' is mentioned as one of the six occasions when the king was supposed to be attending to his personal comforts and enjoyments and inaccessible to the public, strictly observing privacy. These occasions are: (1) *bhuñjamānasi* (while eating); (2) *orodhanamhi* (while in the midst of the ladies of the harem); (3) *gabhāgāramhi* (while in the bed-chamber and in the company of the queen); (4) *vacamhi*; (5) *vinītamhi* (while driving in a procession); (6) *uyānesu* (while sporting in the pleasaunce). These are the 'blessings of city-life' (*nagara-sampatti*) and 'enjoyable things' (*upabhogarasa*) whereby, in the Jātaka, V, pp. 505-7, a king, forgetful of his former state of glory, is appealed to. Combining Nos. (5) and (6) into one category, the Jātaka enumerates them as :—(1) *bhojana* (food)=*bhuñjamāna*; (2) *kilesa* (passions)=*orodha*; (3) *sayana* (bed)=*gabhāgāra*; (4) *nacca-gīta-vādita* (song, dance, music)=*vaca-vraca* (?); (5-6) *uyāna-nagara* (park and city)=*vinīta-uyāna*. Comparing the two lists and noting the points of agreement I cannot but think that '*vaca*' is connected with musical entertainments and similar pastimes.

5. VACABHŪMIKĀ (R. E. XII).—This denotes a body of officials mentioned after '*Ithījhaka- mahāmātā*', 'the *Mahāmātras* as censors of women' (R. E. XII). They represent the "overseers of cowpens" (Bühler); "Inspectors of cowpens" (V. A. Smith); "Officials connected with the cattle-herds" (Bhandarkar). I differ. There is no doubt that '*Vacabhūmikā*'=Sk. 'Vrajabhūmikāḥ', 'those in charge of *vrajabhūmi*.' The term '*vrajabhūmi*' is explained in the Śabdakalpadruma as meaning '*kelikadamba*' 'sportful amusements in a collective sense', or, symbolically, 'the *Kadamba* tree where Kṛṣṇa amuses himself with the *Gopis* or *Vraja-Kāminīs*, who are experts in singing, dancing, music and other pleasing arts'. The word '*yātrā*,' denoting in Bengali a kind of musical performance, is the same word in meaning as *vraja* √gamane (to go). In some edition of Subal Chandra Mitra's Bengali Dictionary, '*Varcā*' is said to denote a kind of '*abhinaya*' (dramatic performance). Asoka's '*Ithījhaka*' (*Stryadhyakṣa*) corresponds no doubt to Kauṭilya's '*Gaṇikādhyakṣa*', 'Superintendent of courtezans', *ithi* or *ithī* being=*nāṭakitthī* or *nāṭakastrī*, *i.e.*, the courtezans as dramatic actresses, as female dancers, singers and musicians. The functions of the Superintendent of Courtezans in the Arthaśāstra include

also the supervision of the courtezans following the pleasing arts as a profession. *Vraja-vihāra* means (*svaira-vihāra*). The 'dance, song and music' corresponding to '*vaca*' are but typical examples of '*visūka-dassana*' which as explained in the Pāli Brahmajāla-Sutta comprises all the various pleasing arts (*kelis*). I therefore suggest that Asoka divided the functions of Superintendents of Courtezans and placed some of them in charge of these Superintendents and some in that of the newly appointed *Vacabhūmikas*, the Superintendents of Recreations and Amusements.

6. ANUSAṂYĀNA (R. E. III, S. R. E. I.).—It means 'a tour for official inspection (Bühler); "circuit" (V.A. Smith, Bhandarkar); "complete tour" (Hultzsch); "official transfers" (V. A. Smith in agreement with Jayaswal). The credit of making a right hit on a Pāli passage in the Aṅguttara, I, pp. 59-60 illustrating the use of *anusaṃyāna* is due to my friend and pupil Mr. Charan Das Chatterjee, Lecturer, Lucknow University, who drew my attention to it. The passage is :—

> "Yasmiṃ samaye corā balavanto honti rājāno tasmiṃ samaye dubbalā honti : tasmiṃ samaye rañño na phāsu hoti··· paccantime janapade anusaññātuṃ" "At the time when the thieves are powerful, the kings then become weak : at that time it is not easy for the king to go into the frontier districts for *anusaṃyāna*."

One can see that the passage itself has used *anusaṃyāna* in the sense of going for inspection of outdoor works, duties in the outer regions. But this is not enough. The technical meaning of the word, corresponding to the Asokan, is fully brought out in the Commentary where one reads :—

"Paccantime janapade anusaññātun ti—gāmāvāsa-karaṇatthāya, setu-atthāya, pokkharaṇi-khaṇāpanatthāya, sālādīnaṃ karaṇatthāya paccantime janapade anusāsituṃ pi na sukhaṃ hoti."

From this it is clear that '*anusaṃyāna*' signifies "going on tour into the interior of the districts for erecting (monastic) residences in the villages, constructing the bridges, excavating the tanks, putting up the halls and doing similar works, and also for the purpose of governing (or instructing)." Asoka introduced a quinquennial arrangement in the case of the officials under the direct control and a triennial arrangement in the case of the officials under the Royal Princes for carrying out these works of public utility. A passage in the Arthaśāstra, III, 10, shows what was in the background of Asoka's system :

"Taṭāka-setu-bandhānāṃ navapravartane pāñcavārṣika parihāraḥ. Bhagnotsṛṣṭānāṃ cāturvārṣikaḥ. Samupārūḍhānāṃ traivārṣikaḥ."

B. M. BARUA

# Principles of Hindu Taxation
## II
### *Canons of Taxation*

In about the period which roughly covers Kauṭilya, Manu and the Mahābhārata, a number of general rules or canons was accepted in substance and formed the basis of taxation. They represent the same principles as the famous canons of Adam Smith in his *Wealth of Nations*[1] which are followed today by all economists with verbal differences here and there, the subject-matter closely corresponding in both the sets of canons. Considering the widely different economic circumstances under which they were produced, it is remarkable that the Eastern and Western canons agree so much as to matter and method. To all intents and purposes, they were only rules for the guidance of the state ensuring justice between the payer and the payee. When taken collectively, the Eastern maxims of taxation yield that sound economic exposition which is neither far, nor different from what holds good in the modern world. They furnish similar results when they are analysed and point to the same objective in their operation. Mr. Jayaswal has only put some of them together without any reference to the underlying economic principles. The guiding ideal is that —"it is not the heavily taxed realm which executes great deeds, but the moderately taxed one, whose ruler, not sacrificing the power of defence, manages administration economically"[2].

*Ist Canon.*—"A subject is bound to pay revenue to his king, inasmuch as the king ensures the safe protection of all these things (of the cultivators and traders)"[3]. This is Gautama's dictum which is supported by Manu in his saying that "tax should be levied (by the king) having protected the people with weapons"[4]. The Mahābhārata follows it up and allows taxation on the condition of protection[5] and enjoins heavy

1 Bk. V, chap. II.
2 Mbh., xii, 41, 22, quoted in Mr. Jayaswal's Hindu Polity, p. 166.
3 Gautama Saṃhitā (Dutt's Translation), X, p. 678.
4 Manu Saṃhitā, IX, 119, p. 648.
5 Āpaddharma Parva, 139, p. 1031.

(forced) taxation on the rich[1] who are expected to yield more for the protecting work of the state[2]. "Prosperous people should be gradually taxed in increased proportion"[3], i.e. in proportion to their income. This is but the first canon of Adam Smith which runs as follows ,—"Every subject ought to contribute to the revenue a sum proportionate to the income which he enjoys under the protection of the state"[4].

*IInd Canon.*—The Mahābhārata and the Manusaṃhitā lay down positive injunctions that tax must be levied according to Śāstra. The laws of Manu lay down, "the king should take tax every year in accordance with Śāstra"[5] while the Epic declares, "taxing according to reason.....is a means to preservation"[6]. Thus "the king ought to receive taxes from the people following Śāstra"[7]. The word 'Śāstra' (law) and 'reason' imply the well-known fixed rate and other incidents and exclude uncertainty and arbitrariness. It is in line with Adam Smith's second canon which says that "taxes ought to be certain, not arbitrary. The time of payment, the quantity to be paid ought to be clear and plain to the contributor and every other person"[8].

*IIIrd Canon.*—"In proper time, place, form, and strength (quantity) taxes should be extracted by the righteous king"[9]. The highly condensed form of this maxim compares well with the following 3rd canon of Adam Smith: "Every tax ought to be levied in the time and in the manner in which it is most convenient for the contributor to pay"[10]. Further it is pointed out by the Mahābhārata that taking tax in a lumpsum at a time is equal to oppressing people[11].

*IVth Canon.*—"Tax should be levied after consideration of the income and expenditure of the people"[12]."Nothing must be done to cause exhaustion by taxation"[13]. In other words this is equal to what Manu says by way of caution—"one's own root should not be destroyed by giving up taxes and duties nor that of others (subjects) by excessive

1 Ibid., 129, p. 1023.
2 Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva, 88, p. 998. 3 Ibid.
4 Fawcett's Pol. Econ., p. 197. 5 Manu Saṃhitā, VII, 80, p. 365.
6 Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva, 58, p. 978.
7 Ibid., 71, p. 987. 8 Fawcett's Pol. Econ., p. 197.
9 Śānti Parva, 88, 2, p. 211, quoted in Jayaswal's 'Hindu Polity', p. 166 10 Fawcett's Pol. Econ., p. 198.
11 Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva, 88, p. 998.
12 Ibid., 120, p. 1017. 13 Ibid., 87, p. 997.

taxation"[1]. In the illustration of this principle, the fourth canon of Adam Smith is covered sufficiently, viz., that "every tax should be so contributed as both to take out and keep out of the pockets of the people as little as possible over and above what it brings into the public treasury of the state"[2]. In Mill's opinion "it means apportioning the contribution of each person towards the expenses of government so that he shall feel neither more nor less inconvenienced from his share of the payment"[3]. The ancient Hindu economists also saw to the prosperity of the people and the fact that on it rested the sound policy of taxation. "Just as the calf can bear burdens strengthened by milk...so the people when they are prosperous" (unexploited)[4]. "Milk the cow but do not bore the udders"[5] says the Epic.

Two more minor canons follow from the above. These are mentioned here, although Adam Smith has nothing like them. They are minor in the sense that they may be worked out from the principles already noticed.

*Vth Canon.*—"The king should *imperceptibly* realise tax from the people without harming them (in the least)"[6]. In his 'Hindu Polity',Mr. Jayaswal has explained it to signify that "taxation should be such that it may not be felt by the subject"[7]. The Epic has used in this connection the metaphors of the works by the bee, the gnat, the leech, and milking, and all for the purpose of showing that the process must not be felt to be troublesome[8]. The point to be obseved is that no pain nor harm should be caused to the people by sudden demands.

*VIth Canon.*—"The king should tax *little by little* like the bee collecting honey from flower"[9]. At another place the condition laid down for such an act is the increasing prosperity of the realm[10]. It evidently aims at the raising of the rates of taxation. Manu adds to it the phrase, 'without harming the capital money of the subjects' and is followed by Śukra[11].

1 Manusaṃhita, vii, 139, p. 380; cf. Arthaśāstra, p. 74 (Shamasastry's trans.). 2 Fawcett's Pol. Econ., p. 197.

3 Prin. Pol. Econ., p. 484. 4 Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva, 87, p. 997. 5 Śānti Parva, 88, 4, quoted in 'Hindu Polity', p. 167.

6 Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva, 88, p, 998. 7 Hindu Polity, p. 166.

8 Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva, 88, 120, pp. 998, 1016.

9 Ibid., 120, p. 1016.

10 Hindu Polity, p. 166. 11 Manusaṃhitā, vii, 129, p. 376; also Śukra-Nīti, p. 81.

## *Industrial Taxation*

From the fourth canon is deducible the methods of industrial taxation which are given below. They are but special applications of the fourth canon in its operation on industrial products. The principle remaining practically the same, the form is a little different due to the sphere in which it acts. The keynote may be said to be in the language of Kauṭilya—"Just as fruits are gathered from a garden as often as they become ripe, so revenue should be collected as often as it becomes ripe. Collection of revenue or of fruits, when unripe, shall never be carried on lest their source may be injured causing immense trouble[1]. Kāmandaka and Śukra have also endorsed it by saying that taxes should be raised like "the gardener who collects flowers and fruits having duly nourished the trees with care"[2]; "a florist both tends and sprinkles water on his plants and culls flowers from them"[3]. This is the "principle of replenishment or recuperation" according to Prof. B. K. Sarkar[4].

In the Mahābhārata and the Manusaṃhitā are found special treatments of the rules regarding the levying of tax on articles of trade, and industrial and art products. They are taken up separately because of the highly technical matter involved.

(1) As to trade :—

(a) "It is the duty of the king to fix rules (i. e. rates) of taxation on the traders, having considered their sale and purchase, increase and (expenses on) the way, food and clothing"[5].

(b) "The king should take taxes from the merchants on their articles after proper enquiry as to the prices of sale and purchase of commodities, the distance over which they are brought, the expenses on the way for carriage and for safe-guarding them from thieves and robbers, and calculation of profit on total expenses"[6].

1 Arthaśāstra, p. 307.

2 Śukranīti, p. 81. The exact antithesis of gardener is the charcoal-maker who obtains everything after burning wood. Śukra's illustration is for putting down heavy taxation (Śukranīti, p. 147). Cf. Prajāgara Parva, 33, p. 452. 3 Nītisāra, p. 61.

4 Pol. Theo. and Inst. of Hindus, p. 186.

5 Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva, 87, p. 997.

6 Manusaṃhitā, vii, 127, p. 378.

(2) As to Industry :—

(a) "Rules of taxes ought to be made so that the fruit (profit) may be enjoyed both by the king and the worker... .....but never without properly examining the work as well as its fruits. Neither profit, nor execution of work, is possible without a cause (i. e. incentive). Covetous extraction is undesirable as it would at a time destroy trade, agriculture and the kingdom'[1].

(b) "On consideration in every possible way the king should fix the (rate of) tax, so that both sides, viz., he and the seller (producer) may get real fruits (profits) of their respective works"[2].

(3) As to art-products :—

"The production, gifts, advances (to workers) and development of those who live by artistic work should be specially noticed in fixing the rule of tax on them"[3]. It is to be noted in this connection that a late writer like Śukra speaks of "maintaining artists according to need"[4].

## *Import and Export Regulations*

Mr. Jayaswal has shown from Kauṭilya the rules on importation and exportation of goods. Dr. Shamasastri's articles in the *Indian Antiquary*,[5] threw some light on the subject and are very useful. Bad and injurious imports are discouraged while certain things are not at all allowed to go out of the country. The following principles are of great importance[6] :—

(a) Imports harmful to the state and luxuries (fruitless) are to be discouraged by taxation[7].

(b) Beneficial imports should be made free of import duties[8].

(c) Articles which are rare in the country and those which would be seed for future production should be allowed in free[9].

1 Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva, 87, p. 997.
2 Manusaṃhitā, vii, 128, p. 378.
3 Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva, 87, p. 997.
4 Śukranīti, p. 164. 5 Vol. xxxiv. 6 Hindu Polity, p. 168.
7 Arthaśāstra, II, 21, p. 112 ; Hindu Polity, p. 168.
8 Ibid. 9 Ibid.

(d) Certain commodities should not be exported, while their imports are to be encouraged by not being taxed at all, viz., weapons and armours, metals, military vehicles, rare things, grains and cattle[1].

(e) Foreign favourites and private manufactures of wines and liquors were taxed on the principle of compensation with reference to state manufactures[2].

## *Excise Duty*

Kauṭilya has a compensating charge for liquor of private and foreign manufacture. Mr. Jayaswal says,—"foreign favourites and private manufactures in wines and liquors were taxed on the principle of compensation with reference to state manufactures"[3]. The countervailing duty in such cases kept the prices equal. The Arthaśāstra has laid down,—"Those who deal with liquor, other than those of the king, shall pay five per cent as toll" and the superintendent....."shall fix the amount of compensation (vaidharaṇa) due to the king (from local and foreign merchants for entailing loss on the king's liquor traffic)"[4].

## *Extra Taxation*

This involves great constitutional issues, signifying consent on the part of the people in consideration of extraordinary circumstances such as war, danger, famine, and disease. It is intimately connected with the doctrine of resistance and revolution in the case of illegal taxation. That the people were consulted and often had to be coaxed for raising revenue for special purposes is plain and clear from the ancient political writings, although the exact limits are not available from them. The important principle, on which such taxation is based, is the will of the people towards the realisation of an object of common welfare and interest, and it comes out most conspicuously in the case of extra taxation.

While the Epic offers the general advice of "taxing pleasingly and peacefully,"[5] it allows extra tax in times of danger and difficulty. "In

1 Arthaśāstra, II, 21, p. 111; Hindu Polity, p. 168.
2 Arthaśāstra, II, 25, p. 121 ; Hindu Polity, p. 169.
3 Hindu Polity, p. 169. 4 Arthaśastra, p. 121.
5 Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva, 120, p. 1017.

times of danger the king can (for the purpose of protecting the people) take unsanctioned things without enraging the people"[1]. Raising money by force is not forbidden in times of danger"[2]. Manu allows special rates of taxation to meet such untoward necessity. "In danger one-eighth and in grave danger one-fourth" is his standard[3]. Kauṭilya enjoins "revenue by demand in financial trouble" and the rates of one-third and one-fourth of grains[4]. He also advises public "subscriptions" as another means[5]. Śukra follows Manu and points out roundly that "the ruler should realise his share of revenue according to Prajāpati's system, but in times of danger and difficulty according to Manu's system". "When preparing to destroy the enemy he should receive from people special grants of duties, fines, etc."[6]. He adds that the amount so gained should be returned in proper time. This is like the modern national debt.

But this does not mean that the people had no voice over such extra taxation. In fact the king had to approach them for such a purpose, showing such special items of the budget as "building walls, paying officers and workers and other charges"[7]. Even in case of religious needs the money was to be the willing gift of the people. "Sacrificial rites should be undertaken by the king with the money lovingly given by prosperous subjects without being oppressed"[8]. Specimen of royal speeches illustrate, how far and in what way, the king had to appeal to the people for money grants, whether against danger or for religious needs.

The Mahābhārata gives the following ,—"The king desiring money should appeal to the people showing the danger (ahead): 'See, in the country there is fear from the enemy, but it will shortly disappear like the flowering bamboo. The enemies having combined with the robbers have for their own destruction aimed at attacking my kingdom. Now I pray for money from you, gentlemen, since this serious danger has appeared. When the present difficulty will be got rid of, I shall return your money to you. If the enemy forcibly takes your money you will never get it back and your family and children will be destroyed in case of their attack. Who will then

1 Āpaddharma Parva, 132, p. 1023.
2 Ibid. 3 Manusaṃhitā, x, 120, p. 648.
4 Arthaśāstra, pp. 301, 302. 5 Ibid., p. 303.
6 Śukranīti, pp. 27, 138.
7 Rājadharmāunśāsana Parva, 87, p. 998.
8 Anuśāsana Parva, 61, p. 1236.

enjoy your wealth ? You are like my children and I become highly pleased to see your prosperity. I am, therefore, appealing to you for funds at this time of distress. Do you put a stop to this trouble to the state by subscribing funds according to your might. Money should not be considered dear in times of danger"[1].

The Dīgha Nikāya also supplies the king's appeal for a sacrifice. Mr. Jayaswal has given this form of demand :—"I intend to offer a great sacrifice. Let the gentlemen (Venerable ones, according to Rhys Davids) give their sanction to what will be to me for weal and welfare"[2]. If the people gave their sanction, the king was to prepare and perform the sacrifice and the country had to pay a tax for it[3].

Śukra also furnishes an example of the king's procedure against danger in approaching the people for money-grants. It seems to be an imitation of the Epic both in form and thought, and does not yield anything new. Its interest, however, is in the fact that the idea is preserved even down to the late age of Śukra. He advises that "in times of danger the king should call on the wise men, the preceptors, brothers, friends, servants, relatives and councillors, and humbly consult their wishes in the proper manner"[4]. The royal speech is to be like the following,—"I shall do away with the danger if you give me your counsels. You are my friends and not servants. I have no other sources of help besides you all... ..I shall remember the benefit rendered by you and pay back the remainder after getting rid of the trouble"[5].

The reference here is to the raising of subscriptions and loans or National Debt. The noticeable difference between the Epic and Śukra is that the appeal in the former is to the people in general and is more detailed and emphatic, while in the latter it is merely like a gist and is limited to those who are closely attached to the king as his immediate associates and relatives. It shows some decay of the democratic attitude and a tendency to centralisation.

## *Kinds and Rates of Taxes*

From the above account it is clear that there were several sources of revenue which in their turn characterised the taxes paid to the

1 Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva, 87, pp. 997-8.
2 Dīgha Nikaya, Kūṭadanta Sutta, sec. II ; Hindu Polity, p. 94.
3 Ibid. 4 Sukranīti, p. 265. 5 Ibid., p. 265.

state. They rose from the uses of articles by the tax-payers or the people in general. That the people were the very ultimate source of revenue was a fact recognised probably long before varieties of taxes came into vogue. As early as the immediate post-Vedic period it was realised that the burden of taxation fell quite naturally on the common masses. Hence the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa declared that both "Brahmā (priesthood) and Kṣatra (ruling power, nobility) depend upon the people"[1]. In the Saṃhitā period "the Vaiśya is described as tributory to another"[2]. The Mahābhārata and the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya entertain the same view, the former holding that "the king is always dependent on others",i.e. the subjects[3] and the latter stating expressly that "finance and army depend upon the people"[4]. The economic existence of the state is analysed backwards and is shown to be closely connected with the business side of the life of the people including, as far as it could, trade and commerce, as they were in those ancient days. It is to be remembered that "the measure and price of property should be subject to taxes" and not property itself of the people according to the rule of Vasiṣṭha[5].

In the Vedic period *bali* or tribute is most prominently mentioned[6]. Prof. Basu has pointed out that it meant religious offering as well, e.g. tribute to Indra, the king of gods. "The word 'bali' has frequently been used to signify offerings to gods but 'balihṛt' (tax-bearing) could not but have meant tribute to the king"[7]. Nothing is mentioned in the Ṛg Veda as to the rate of this tax. Perhaps the time was not quite mature. Zimmer has therefore remarked that "fixed taxes the people did not pay the king ; they brought to him voluntary presents". He compared this with the old Germanic conditions mentioned in Tacitus, Germania 15.[8] But a passage in the Atharva Veda gives a clue which can be used advantageously for explaining the situation. The Atharva Veda has it—

"When yonder kings, who sit beside Yama, divide
Among themselves the sixteenth part of hopes fulfilled"[9].

1 Śat. Br., XI, 2, 7, 16. 2 Camb. Hist. of India, p. 128.
3 Mokṣadharma Parva, 321, p. 1151. 4 Arthaśāstra, p. 393.
5 Vasiṣṭha Saṃhitā, XVII, p. 803, (Dutt's Trans).
6 Ṛg Veda, V, 1, 10 ; VIII, 100, 9.
7 Indo-Aryan Polity, p. 79. 8 Altindisches Leben, p. 166.
9 Atharva Veda, III, 291, vol. I, p. 124 (Griffith's trans.). Also cf. the four ṛṇas or debts well-known in Sanskrit literature.

Griffith says that it is for "immunity from taxation in the next world"[1] by means of sacrificial rites. It is certainly a reflex of the condition in this sublunar world and beautifully suggests, by the phrase "hopes fulfilled", the precarious harvesting prospects in an agricultural country like India. The same Veda explains further,—

"The wealth which husbandmen aforetime, digging like men
Who find their food with knowledge, buried (as seed-corn),
This to the king, Vivasvat's son, (Yama) I offer,
Sweet be our food and fit for sacrificing :"[2]

As regards the Buddhist time, Fick also has observed that "so far as I have seen, the Jātakas contain no fixed rule concerning the nature of these taxes nor concerning the amount of the king's share"[3]. But it is to be remembered that the Buddhist tradition had parallel to itself the dictates of the law-books. The Voltairic taunt of the Buddhist monk Āryadeva at an unknown Frederick is a remarkable example proving the dependence of the king on the sixth portion of the produce of the people[4]. Again although the Jātakas have no reference to such a rule, the Mahāvastu mentions this time-honoured and classical proportion from the very foundation of the state[5]. All this may be due more or less to Hindu influence, but nothing but time seems to account for the increased rate from the Vedic to the Buddhist time. The 'Cambridge History of India' following V. A. Smith points out one-sixth to one-sixteenth rate in the Buddhist time[6]. The Greek account based on Megasthenes shows one-fourth of produce in addition to rent and ten per cent charges on sales[7].

In the period of the Law-Books exhaustive details are furnished by Gautama, Viṣṇu, and Manu, including both direct and indirect taxes. Gautama gives the following scale,—"Cultivators should pay a tenth, eighth or a sixth part of their produce .....a fiftieth part of profit on animals and gold ; a twentieth part of the profit on trade and a sixth part of that made on fruit, honey, flowers, medicines and bulbs"[8].

1 Atharva Veda, iii, 29ı, vol. I, p. 124. 2 Ibid., vi, 116, vol. I, p. 309. 3 Fick's Social Organization &c., p. 116, (Dr. Maitra's trans.). 4 Cf. Catuḥśatikā, p. 461.

5 Mahāvastu, Senart's ed., vol I, pp. 347-348.

6 Cambridge History of India, p. 199 ; V. A. Smith, J. R. A. S., 1897, 618ff.

7 Ibid., pp. 410, 418. 8 Gautama Saṃhitā, X, p. 678, (Dutt's tr.).

Viṣṇu's procedure is similar with slight differences here and there,— "One sixth of paddy, similarly in respect of all food grains; two per cent on animals, gold and clothes; one sixth of meat, honey, clarified butter, medicinal herbs, scents, flowers, fruits, timbers, leaves, deer-skins, earthen vessels (baked), unbaked vessels, and bamboo works; one tenth profit on indigenous articles and one twentieth of that on imported articles". Confiscation of goods is enjoined on non-payment[1].

Manu has the following rates,—"One sixth or eighth or twelfth part of paddy or grains after due consideration of the strength of the soil, needs of cultivation and extent of labour; one-fiftieth of animals and gold; one-sixth of the profits on the sale of the seventeen kinds of goods, viz., trees, meat, honey, clarified butter, scents, plants. vegetables, juice, flowers, fruits, leaves, roots, grass, wicker-work, earthen vessels and those of leather, and stone articles[2].

The Mahābhārata recognises without much particularisation,— 'One-sixth part of grains and custom duty'[3], one-tenth of paddy, one fiftieth of animals and gold[4]. It also adds things needed for the personal use of the king[5], as well as import and export duties and fines and forefeitures"[6]. Thus the Epic adds to the law-books something which is not there.

This is a decided advance but does not stand on par with what is to be found in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra[7]. The following details show the highly technical and particularised treatment never found elsewhere within the limits of Indian political literature. The kinds of taxes noticed in the Arthaśāstra are roughly indicated, their subdivisions being left out :—"Revenue from forts, country-parts, mines, buildings, gardens, forests, cattle, roads, imports, exports and port-towns, and special taxes[8].

Something of the rates may be seen here like the above :—

"Taxes that are fixed (piṇḍakara), that are paid in form of one sixth of the produce (ṣaḍbhāga), provisions for the army (senābhakta), taxes that are levied for religious purposes (bali), tributes from

1 Viṣṇu Saṃhitā, III, p. 820 (Dutt's trans).
2 Manusaṃhitā, VII, 130-132, p. 378. 3 Śānti Parva, 71, p. 987.
4 Ibid., 67, p. 984. 5 Ibid.
6 Ibid., 71, 10; Jayaswal's Hindu Polity, pt. II, p. 162.
7 Ind. Ant., XXXIV (1905).
8 Arthaśāstra, pp. 65, 111-119, 156, 303.

vassal kings and others (kara), special collection on the birth of a prince (utsaṅga), taxes from margins (pārśva), compensation for damages (parihīnaka), presentation to the king (aupayanika), taxes on lands below lakes, tanks, etc. built by state (kauṣṭheyaka)[1].

Kāmandaka mentions eight sources of revenue purely in imitation of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra—"Agriculture, communications (to facilitate commercial traffic), entrenchment of strong-holds for soldiers in the capital (for protecting merchants), construction of dams and bridges across rivers, erection of enclosures for elephants, working of mines and quarries, felling and selling timber, and the peopling of uninhabited tracts—these eight-fold sources of revenue the sovereign should ever enhance"[2].

Śukra allows—"Śulka (duty) from market-places, streets, and mines, and from usury, the king's share being the thirty-second part, or the twentieth or sixteenth part,—similarly one third, one fourth, and half from places irrigated by tanks, rivers, etc. ; one sixth from barren and rocky soils ; half of gold, a third of silver, one fourth of copper, one sixth of zinc, and iron, half of gems, glass, lead, after expenses have been met" .

Although there is hardly any uniformity in the rates of taxation in any period or in the different authors of different periods, they are interesting in the sense that they disclose how revenue used to be collected by the ancients and how they calculated the proportions. Many other points of economic importance are inlaid in these dry lists of things and materials, and the charges on them, but they do not concern political philosophy proper or the theories regarding taxation.

It is noteworthy that, even if no *permanent settlement* was available in the days of yore, the rates were looked upon as pretty fixed on a vague average. This can be easily understood from a dictum of the Mahābhārata—important as it is in more senses than one—where a king is called a "*nṛśaṃsa*" (a mean injurer of men) who raises tax higher than what it used to be in the reign of previous monarchs, i.e., in the past[4]. Śukra has also the remark that "people do not like new taxes" generally[5]. Of course no rule could have been laid down on a thin basis like the above," but it was certain that even in taxation a rough

1 Arthaśāstra, pp. 112, 113. 2 Nītisāra, p. 60.
3 Śukranīti, pp. 147, 148. Cf. Sarkar's Pos. Background of H. Socio., p. 116. 4 Udyoga Parva, 42, p. 462. 5 Śukranīti, p. 89.

customary calculation had sufficient influence on the minds of the people. An extreme 'nṛśaṅsa' could thus through greed and headiness upset the balance of the state. The whole question really involved the change of rates from past ones to the immediate demands[1].

Tax rendered in the shape of labour was a common method of payment countenanced in the law-books and other political literature as parallel to payment in kind. The king was empowered to have manual work in turn from all artizans and labourers or those who had to live by labour[2]. It is not certain what status these people had in the state. Most probably the principle was not to touch their earning, either because it was very small or for the purpose of encouraging their respective vocations. Nothing can also be said with certainty as to what was exactly meant by insisting on payment by labour, although it had its positive utility and object for the time. Yet it ought to be considered as a special kind of tax, but its rates would not be different and various enough to be traced out here, Manu's standard being one day per month and Śukra's one day per fortnight[3].

## *Spiritual Tax*

Spiritual tax is uniquely and essentially a Hindu conception rising out of the intimate relation and reciprocity between the king and the people. It is evidently connected with the various aspects of kingship. Although it has no material value nor any economic significance, yet it is closely associated with the policy of the state in its largest issues, in determining the character of the people. Hopkins has pointed out that "the royal tax is not only in kind, material, but also spiritual"[4]. In all probability, this idea comes from the natural expectation of having a share of the prosperity of the people, first material, then spiritual; the first is tapped by taxation as usual, and the second holds good in theory only. Certainly the king is the partaker of the fame and dignity of his people, and this may be extended to the sphere of the spiritual as well.

In the contract theory of the Mahābhārata, this tax is mentioned

1 This is also connected with the causes of revolution; see *I.H.Q.*, I, pp. 696ff.

2 Gautama Saṃhitā, X, p. 679; Manusaṃhitā, VII, 138, p. 380; Rājdharmānuśāsana Parva, 76, p. 990; Arthaśāstra, pp. 140, 142; Śukranīti, p. 148. 3 Manusaṃhitā VII, 138; Śukranīti, p. 148.

4 Ethics of India, p. 138.

last of all together with the other kinds of taxes. It is instituted with the contract itself and in fact is a part of it. So it is said—"You will get one-fourth of the religious merit of those religious works which we shall perform being protected by your prowess"[1].

This share and its exact proportion are both repeated more than once in the Epic, showing that it was well accepted at the time.[2]. An important reservation is also mentioned, so as to make the theory of spiritual taxation operative in both ways. In case of bad protection, i.e., misrule, one-fourth of the peoples' sin would also go to the king as his portion[3]. If he has the share of the merits, let him also have an equal share of the demerits, almost like the fisherman's reward in the fable going to the gate-keeper as his dues. The real meaning is that the king is responsible for the moral and spiritual decay of the kingdom in his charge.

Some of the law-books have the same idea as to the king's share in the merits and sins of the people[4]. The whole theory is more canonical than political and economic.

## *Exemptions and Exceptions*

Over and above the general methods of taxation dealing with principles and rates, there were necessary exceptions according to the nature of time and circumstances. A type of exception or exemption, if it may really be so called, to the general rule already seen, was that the rich were havily taxed from the Vedic time down to the age of Śukra[5]. On the other end of the scale, remissions were allowed as special cases unavoidable and unforeseen. The Brāhmaṇas as a class were generally free from all payments. A short survey will elucidate the conditions underlying all such exceptional procedures.

The Mahābhārata emphatically forbids taxing when there is no rain and the crops have not grown. Poor men, children, and women are exempted from taxation evidently on the ground that they could not earn anything. The following lines from the Epic bear out the

1 Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva, 67, p. 984.

2 Ibid., 72, 75, pp. 988, 990. 3 Ibid., 72, p. 988.

4 Gautama Saṃhitā, XI, p. 681 ; Viṣṇu Saṃhitā, III, p. 820 ; Yājñavalkya Saṃhitā, p. 55.

5 See supra, also Ṛg Veda, I, 65, 4, p. 90 ; Śukranīti, p. 138,

point—"If on account of drought people culivate (their lands) by drawing water from wells (dug for the purpose), it will not be right for the king to tax them then. The king should carefully protect the poor, the old, the blind, and children. No tax should be taken from women who are not in a position to pay. Tax on the slender means of the poor destroys the glory of the king and the state. Sin visits the king in whose kingdom children wistfully look at good food which they cannot get to eat[1]. Surely the hungry looks of the poor burn mankind[2].

Manu has a qualifying statement in this respect, advising very slight and light taxation in case of the poor—"From the poor subjects, even those who live by selling vegetables, the king should take a little tax"[3].

And there is also a slight hint as to the maintenance of the poor, helpless and those without any qualification (capacity for earning)[4], It is no wonder that Śukra considers Manu's scheme to be meant for the times of danger[5], Vasiṣṭha is similarly for taking a very small tax from artizans, but leaves free the aged, the widows, unmarried girls, and students[6]. Further he adds that—"There is no duty on livelihood gained by wit, nor on infants, nor on an emissary, nor on what is gained by begging, nor on the residue of a property left after a robbery, nor on a śrotriya, a religious mendicant, and religious sacrifice"[7].

Gautama remits duties when things are sold at a lesser price[8] and so does Śukra when things are unsold[9]. Vasiṣṭha omits tax on rivers, grass, forests, mountains, and places for cremation[10], and Kauṭilya in a number of cases, the most prominent among them being—"Living in tracts of low or middle quality, acquiring uncultivated land, being a learned man, an orator, charitable and brave, having no subsistence, emergent occasions"[11].

All these go to show that the ancient law-givers and politicians tried to meet the demands of their times in respect of poverty and

1 Anuśāsana Parva, 61, p. 1236. 2 Ibid., 51, p. 1231.
3 Manusaṃhitā, VII, 137, p. 380. 4 Ibid., IX, 311, 636.
5 See supra, pp. 136, 137. 6 Vasiṣṭha Saṃhitā, XVII, p. 804.
7 Ibid. 8 Gautama Saṃhitā, X, p. 679.
9 Śukranīti, p. 147. 10 Vasiṣṭha Saṃhitā, XIII, p. 804.
11 Arthaśāstra, pp. 52, 216, 302, 492.

other economic conditions including failure, partial and otherwise, of business and similar incidents. The balance between economics and politics was maintained as clearly as possible, since both are so related as to react mutually at all times and under all circumstances.

## *Brāhmaṇical Privilege*

The question of the Brāhmaṇa's immunity from taxation, coming down from the days of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa[1], deserves special attention and careful treatment, for it is a point which has been often suspected to be economically unsound and partial in principle[2]. Soma Deva Suri in his Nītivākyāmṛta is not willing to make any the least allowance on any ground like Kauṭilya who has even the hermit's tax[3]. But it has a value or economic importance, although it is by no means absolute. It is admitted everywhere in Hindu Politics and is accepted as such,[4] having at the same time that reservation which preserved the rule but stopped and obstructed abuse. In fact it really turns on and is conditioned by actual and proper Brahmanical functions and duties and is in this sense somewhat like the "Utilities" mentioned by Mill[5].

The orthodox canonical writers explain the Brāhmanical privilege by the idea of exchange. The Brāhmaṇa's gift of religious merits, probably including teaching, writing, and other cultural (philosophical and scientific) activities, was supposed to take the place of taxes. So Viṣṇu says supported by Manu—"He (the king) shall not collect revenue from Brāhmaṇas, for they give virtue as tax unto the king"[6].

"The śrotriya's daily religious work, when properly supported by king, gives prosperity to the state, and wealth and long life to the king himself"[7].

"It is said that the Brāhmaṇa first made the Vedas known, the

1 Śat. Br., v. 3. 3. 12ff ; v. 4. 2. 3ff ; S. B. E., XLI, pp. 72, 95.

2 See Dr. N. N. Law's Ancient Ind. Polity, p. 150.

3 Nītivākyāmṛta, vii, cited in Hindu Polity II, p. 33 ; Arthaśāstra p. 26.

4 Gautama Saṃhitā, X, p. 679 ; Vasiṣṭha Saṃhitā, XVII, p. 803 ; Viṣṇu Saṃhitā, III, p. 820 ; Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva, 71, p. 988 ; Mokṣadharma Parva, 132, p. 1024 ; Manusaṃhitā, VII, 133, p. 379 ; Arthaśāstra, pp. 52, 302 ; Śukranīti, pp. 263, 269 (indirectly).

5 Mill, Prin. of Pol. Econ., p. 29. 6 Viṣṇu Saṃhitā, III, p. 820.

7 Manusaṃhitā, VII, 136, p. 380.

Brāhmaṇa saves (one) from misfortune. Therefore, the Brāhmaṇa shall not be made to pay taxes"[1].

But the heterodox thought of the Mahābhārata qualifies the above assertion by adding that—"Those Brāhmaṇas, who are not śrotriyas (i. e. strictly pious) nor have the household fire going, should be taxed by the king and set to work without pay"[2].

Moreover, even a later work as the Devībhāgavata recommends the same drastic procedure with regard to a Brāhmaṇa who does not discharge his duties, i. e. does not do the function for which he is meant in society. As a matter of course the Brāhmaṇa has his own well mapped out social duty. Disregard of this brings him within the operation of the rule in the Devībhāgavata and the Harivaṃśa which runs as follows :—

"The king ought to consider as Śūdra that Brāhmaṇa in his kingdom who is devoid of the Vedas (i. e., Vedic knowledge) and is unlearned (not merely educated) and therefore fit to be taxed (like the other castes) and set to ploughing the land"[3].

"But a Brāhmaṇa who has no touch with Vedic learning, should be forced to do the works of a Śūdra by all righteous kings.....he is to be counted a non-Brāhmaṇa"[4].

Even the great champion of Brāhmaṇism, Manu, advises royal support of Brāhmaṇas after the proper examination of their works and conduct[5]. A comparison with Mill's statement will bring out the underlying principle :—

As to the "Utilities fixed and embodied in human beings the labour being in this case employed in conferring on human beings qualities which render them serviceable to themselves and others. To this class belongs the labour of all concerned in education, not only school-masters, tutors, and professors, but.....*moralists and clergymen as far as productive of benefit*, physicians as far as instrumental in preserving life and physical and mental efficiency, the labour of various trades, sciences and arts.....and all labour bestowed by any person throughout life in improving knowledge or cultivating the bodily or mental faculties of themselves and others"[6].

1 Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā, III, p. 753
2 Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva, 76, p. 990.
3 Devībhāgavata, p. 111. 4 Harivaṃśa, Viṣṇu Parva, p. 29.
5 Manusaṃhitā, VII, 133.
6 Mill's Prin. of Pol. Econ., p. 29.

The regulations about taxing Brāhmaṇas, therefore, yield to the general rule of unproductive labour. Reading between the lines it becomes clear that no one was allowed to lie fallow, that is labour from all in some shape or other was necessary for social good and the up-keep of the state. The Brāhmaṇa could not be allowed to cause economic loss to society and state. He had to be useful in some way, either by plying his own legitimate vocation or by doing other works. That the state had the power of forcing the highest caste to be really and directly productive in default of all the utilities for which it was left free to itself shows great advance in sound economics. Certainly it needed to be perceived and worked out before it could be promulgated as a principle and enacted as law.

J. N. C. GANGULY

# Hindu Politics in Italian

## III

### *Machiavellism*

### 1

It is clear that Machiavelli looms large in Italian thought. The Italian writers are, moreover, frank enough to admit that *Machiavellismo* is an eternal phenomenon. According to them it is a synonym for political science, the science of practical life. In *Machiavellismo*, as they understand it, is of course to be included the philosophy of Hindu *arthaśāstras* and *nītiśāstras* as well.

The authors have tried to indicate not only the parallels and resemblances of a general character but very often even the verbal identities. The attempts must be regarded as in the main quite successful.

But it may be noted that for purposes of comparison such literal analogies or identities are not always necessary and as a matter of fact not possible. It is enough if the conspicuous trends of thought can be proved to be the same or similar. All that is wanted is the discovery of the "nearest approaches" or closest neighbours. For, after all, no two individuals can ever be exact duplicates, and no two systems perfect doubles of each other. Students of comparative philosophy are not unaware that even where a verbal identity exists

there may exist a profound distinction in the personality. Without a proper orientation to these limitations the establishment of equations between the tenets of thinkers can but degenerate into a puerile play with words.

Of the three great ancient and mediæval European types of political theory, Aristotelian, Thomist and Machiavellian, it is certainly the Machiavellian that the *artha* and *nīti* literature approaches the most in fundamental particulars. Hindu thought is secular like the political philosophy of Aristotle, but A's categories are the philosophical correlates of the city-state. Thomas Aquinas discusses the problems of a larger territorial entity and also of the monarchy exactly as the Hindu thinkers do, but he is the embodiment of theocracy which is absent in the Kauṭilyan theorisings. Machiavelli treats of secular, untheocratic or rather aggressively anti-theocratic, as well as larger and wider than urban, national interests ; and although at heart a lover of democracy as in *Discourses*, he considers monarchy to be the best adapted to the conditions of Italian life in his time. Naturally, therefore, the student of Hindu political theories is likely to find greater points of contact with M. than with other thinkers.

It need be remembered, however, that almost every philosophical system contains concepts and categories, some of which are virtually universal or at any rate have remained universal up till now. Inspite of the differences in the Hellenic, Patristic, Machiavellian and other atmospheres a great deal of doctrines happens to be common to one another. Thus considered, the doctrines of Hindu political philosophy may safely be referred indifferently, by way of interpretation or suggestive allusion, once to Aristotle, at another time to the Stoics, Schoolmen and Church Fathers, and then again to all the "moderns" from Machiavelli to Treitschke[1], especially on such questions as justice, law, authority etc.

The attempts at explaining the doctrines of different philosophers in the background of one another are very valuable in the history of science, In the first place they serve to throw light on the evolution

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1 See the chapter on "The Peers and Cognates of Śukra" in my *Pos. Back. Hind. Soc.*, Vol. II, Part I (Allahabad, 1921), where incidentally, Machiavellism has been sought to be placed in its proper sociological perspective. It will be noticed that some of the noblest sentiments ever expressed in political philosophy come from Machiavelli.

of the human mind. And secondly, simply as attempts at referential interpretation, they help forward the establishment of cultural perspectives. Altogether, a host of surprising identities and resemblances can be discovered between the most diverse bodies of thought, so far as the categories are concerned, and sometimes also in the realm of realities or substantial aspects of thought.

But a caution is noteworthy. The categories of thought in the world's philosophical literature have varied very little through the ages. Identities can be discovered even between Treitschke's *Politik* and Aristotle's *Politica*. For one thing, both consider the state to be the greatest and the highest instrument of human well-being. Treitschke, again, the Prussian Protestant, is as far removed from the Patristic conception of the Kingdom of God as Aristotle the Pagan could be from the Pauline world-view. And yet it would be popularising an absurdity if one were to treat Aristotle and Treitschke as representatives of one and the same philosophical system, or to believe that Treitschke is only preaching to Bismarckian Germany what Aristotle had done to the ancient world on the eve of the Hellenistic epoch.

To avoid such absurdities and childishnesses in comparative studies it would be necessary, not only so far as the present investigation is concerned, but also in regard to other cases, to postulate the position that almost every philosophical equation or parallelism is to be understood as valid within more or less wide limits. Such limits are then taken for granted by the present reviewer while accepting the Italian researches in Hindu *Machiavellismo* as substantially sound and reasonable.

2

By the light of these Italian contributions to the subject of Indian Machiavellis it would be interesting to inquire how Indian scholars are oriented to Machiavelli himself or to Machiavellism as a creed.

Two Indian publications each dealing with political theory have recently tried to handle the question of Machiavellism in Indian thought. These are *Les Theories diplomatiques de l'Inde ancienne et l' Arthaśāstra* (Paris, 1923) by Kalidas Nag[1] and *History of Hindu Political Theories* (Calcutta, 1923) by U. Ghoshal.

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11 Half of Nag's text deals with literary history in the course of which certain constitutional terms are discussed and a few political

Some of the moralisings in the *nīti* and *artha* literature have been put together by Nag on a page (112) of his book. And he says, "*Dans cette conception ethique Kauṭilya est bien loin de Machiavel avec lequel il a été comparé de facon superficelle* (In ethical concepts Kauṭilya is far removed from Machiavelli with whom he has been compared in a superficial manner).

But, which Machiavelli does Nag have before his mind's eye when he makes the above statement? Is Machiavelli a mere name to be execrated by those who have the least acquaintance with the person and by men like Frederick the Great and Metternich who in their lives were perhaps more Machiavellian than Machiavelli ever was as a human being? Is it not possible from the Machiavellian literature to quote an array of fine phrases and idealistic truisms?

Machiavelli is the author not only of *Prince* but of *Discourses on the First Ten Books of Livy's History of Rome* and *History of Florence* as well. He is, besides, the writer of a socio-political report on French affairs (*Ritratti delle cose della Francia*) which he prepared while he was

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passages reproduced at length. He speaks of the "spiritual communism of the Brāhmaṇas" and does not hesitate to bring in the relations of the "Roman Emperors" with the "Roman Church" while dealing with the primitive, tribal conditions as depicted in Vedic literature (pp. 18-19). An appendix gives a list of political terms such as are found in the inscriptions (pp. 123-132). This item represents a valuable attempt and is perhaps the first of its kind, but nothing has been done to set the theories and the inscriptions in the perspective of each other.

Altogether the work is archæological and antiquarian in character. Its chief value lies in the service it has done to French thought by translating some of the old Sanskrit texts, especially the *Arthaśāstra*, on the *saptāṅga* (pp. 65-74) and on the subject described in the title, namely, *maṇḍala* or international relations (pp. 74-111), the topic of Narendra Nath Law's *Inter-state Relations in Ancient India* (Calcutta, 1920). The constant references to the *Mahābhārata* and the *nīti* texts form a noteworthy feature.

There is no attempt to interpret the categories in the light of "laws of peace and war." Although a book on *diplomatie*, the contents do not betray any orientation to the problems of *droit des gens* (law of nations) or even to political science generally. With Machiavelli, as a consequence, Nag does not come to close quarters.

a political agent at the court of Louis XII, something like Megasthenes' *Indika*. A treatise on war, *L'Arte della Guerra*, also comes from Machiavelli's pen. He was, moreover, a poet, a writer of love-poems.

As for M's purely political writings, it is curious that people should single him out as the embodiment of tyranny, vice and vileness. As Ferrari observes in his brochure entiled *Machiavelli* (1849), the Florentine diplomat owes his bad name to the Catholic church and the Jesuits who considered him or rather his thoughts to be their mortal enemy. The reasons for this hatred are obvious.

M. was an advocate of the secularization of the state. He turned out therefore to be the inspirer of political movements against the Papacy among the ruling heads of Protestant countries (cf. Henry VIII of England). He was indeed another Luther and thus another enemy of the vested interests of the theological *status quo*.

But Catholicism has not been able to crush M. The Protestants in every country hailed him as a prophet. It may be added that the "nation-makers" of the times in their attempts at establishing the "new monarchy" found a great spiritual support in the ideas of M. Machiavellism is really the first clear formulation of "nationsalism", "nationality-principle," and so forth in European history.

To quote Ferrari, again, "under Richelieu the admiration for M. became more easy, under Louis XIV more natural". And in the eighteenth century Voltaire counted him amongst the "greatest inventors in the art of politics."

In a recent publication entitled *Le piu belle pagine di N. Machiavelli* (The most beautiful pages of N. M., Milan, 1925) by Prezzolini, there is recorded a number of opinions on M. by various thinkers and famous persons. We see that no less a democrat and revolutionist than Jean Jacques Rousseau considered M. to be "an honest man and a good citizen." And Vittorio Alfiero, the great Italian dramatist of the epoch of the *Risorgimiento* observes: "The *History of Florence* and *Discourses* breathe in every page grandeur of spirit, justice and liberty, which cannot be read without feeling enkindled in oneself the same sentiments".

The source of Nag's prejudice regarding M. is not evident. For, only the name Machiavelli has been mentioned by him and nothing else.

However, Machiavelli, we are to understand, is postulated to be the veritable Devil. And as a contrast Kauṭilya is even credited (p. 113) with *principes très liberaux* (very liberal principles). And these principles are said to raise his diplomacy quite above "*des intrigues cruelles et sordides*" (cruel and sordid intrigues).

If so, it is strange that Nag should take the pains to devote three pages of his peroration (119-121) in order to explain why it is that the entire *artha* literature,—Kautilyaism, so to say, came to be condemned and repudiated, as he believes, by the Hindu mind from Aśoka down to Mallinātha? He thinks that *l'esprit hindou est porté à s'ecarter du réel ou à l'idealiser* (the Hindu spirit tends to avoid the real or idealize it). *En général*, it is said to reject the philosophy *quil trouve cruelle* (which it finds cruel.)

What evidences N. possesses for his surmise about the alleged *esprit hindou* need not be inquired into for the time being. But if it is true that Kauṭilya is liberal, ethical, in one word, anti-Machiavellian why was it necessary, accepting N's contentions for the moment, that all through the ages for over 1600 years his teachings should be condemned by the Indians just because of immorality, cruelty and what not? N. proves in the same breath that Kauṭilya is anti-Machiavellian as well as Machiavellian. A piece of self-contradictory thesis, which might have been avoided only by sticking to the actual data and not being inclined to "*s'ecarter du réel*". If Indian culture had to defend itself, its purity, spirituality and lofty ideals from the ravages of Kautilyaism, this commodity must certainly have been the opposite of liberal and humane.

One may argue, however, that it is quite conceivable that a man should be both Machiavellian and anti-Machiavellian, supposing that Machiavellism implies immorality, inhumanity and cruelty. But then this will have to be understood in the manner that Winternitz does in his essay on "Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra" in the *Calcutta Review* (April, 1924). "Just as Kauṭilya," says W., "occasionally pays his respects to morality, you will find in all proclamations of the great political leaders of our days that the most abominable things are always done in the name of justice, humanity and civilisation." But of course N. does nothing of the kind. His Kauṭilya is quite liberal and humane and yet at the same time worthy of nothing but moral censure and expulsion from the *dharma-rājya.*

It has to be added that one does not become anti-Machiavellian simply because of moralisings. It is nothing inconsistent to find moralisings in Machiavellism. Moralism and Machiavellism can pull on very well together. Writers on world-conquest can also speak of democracy and self-determination and lecture on the virtues of a Shakespearian "model king" Henry V, or the *rājarṣi-vṛttam* of Kauṭilya.

The student of the objective history of political philosophy Nag's

arguments would appear to be fallacious on three vital points. First, the list of moralisms in the *artha* and *nīti* literature does not disprove that Kautilyaism is Machiavellism. In the second place, his assumption that there is such a thing as the "Hindu spirit" and that this Hindu spirit is "in general" used to such and such things and opposed to such and such other things is as false and erroneous as unfounded in history. And thirdly, there is no plausible reason for believing that every Hindu writer down to Mallinātha who cited words or phrases from *artha* literature, or for that matter Indian tradition as a rule was bent on minimising, deprecating and cursing it. A history of actual Indian political institutions and international relations would expose the hollowness of this interpretation.

But without going into the history of institutions we may examine N's thesis on the strength of his own documents.

Evidence against Nag has been furnished by himself. If Indian tradition is to be found anywhere it is certainly in the *Mahābhārata* to which he devotes a whole chapter. And what is the atmosphere of this work, described as having evolved during a thousand years *depuis l'epoque de Pāṇini jusque dans les Purāṇas et le Harivaṃśa* as the result of cumulative literary co-operation of the people (p. 30)? *Bien laique et même parfois laique avec exageration* (secular and even often secular with vengeance), says he (p. 33). *La veritable diplomatie des Kṣatriya sous une couleur brutale* (the veritable diplomacy of the Kṣatriya of a cruel dye) is to be found, as he believes, in the lecture of Kaṇika quoted by him (pp. 33-39). These principles are said to contain *l'experience de la science realiste.* The *Mahābhārata revèle une atmosphere etouffante de cruauté et d'intrigues de cour* (reveals a suffocating atmosphere of cruelty and court intrigues).

Evidently, then, Kautilyaism was not repudiated by the alleged idealistic spirit of the Hindu "people". Not only the sinister side but the "scientific" or dialectic aspect of *artha* philosophy is equally well represented in this "fifth Veda". N. himself quotes Nārada's lecture or rather *questionnaire* put, as it is, in a topical manner (pp. 40-42). Thus, so far as the folk-tradition is concerned, N. contradicts himself in toto.

So after all, if it is really true, that the *artha* sciences lost their independence and got swallowed up (*disparition*) in the epic (p. 119), they did not really disappear from the Hindu mind. Rather, as N. believes that the *Mahābhārata* (p. 32) is *une littérature des masses* (a literature of the masses) and possesses a *germe démocratique,* Kautilyaism became really the philosophy of the teeming millions. This is the exact opposite of "atrophy" (sic).

N. believes that Kāmandaka while summarizing the Kautilyan philosophy has suppressed *des elements caracteristiques* (p. 120). Not at all. As a summary, no paraphrased edition could be more faithful to the original in spirit. An Italian student of Kāmandaka had found this Hindu thinker genuinely Machiavellian even before he knew of Kauṭilya. This indicates all the more that *Kāmandaki-nīti* can pass for a genuine report on Kautilyaism.

The alleged spiritualitarianism of the Hindus did not militate against the success and popularization of *artha* and *nīti* literature. "*La partie positive*" (the positive portion) of Hindu philosophy did not sink into oblivion, as N. wants his readers to believe.

As N. has a false hypothesis, the traditional superstition of orientalists, to substantiate, he has chosen even to misinterpret Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṃśam* and rob this great work of its legitimate worth.

If anything, this epic is the embodiment of the exaltation of humanism. Kālidāsa was a *pucca* imperialist and chauvinist, an *avatār* of materialistic energism, an idealizer of the fullness of life.

The men and women of *Raghuvaṃśam* are not sheep and goats. The poet glorifies the achievements of *āsamudra-kṣitīśānām ānākaratha-vartmanām.* They are "lords of the lithosphere from sea to sea," aye, "commanding the skies by chariots of air".

One of them, Raghu, knows how to throw out such a challenge as the following to his adversary: *Na khalv anirjitya Raghum kṛtī bhavān* (Not without overpowering Raghu can you pose as a successful person, a world-champion, so to say).

But in N.'s literary criticism, *lui aussi accentue la note morale en faisant l'esquisse poetique du bon roi et du mauvais roi* (Kālidāsa also accentuates the moral note while rendering a poetic account of the good king and the bad king).

The statement, innocent as it looks, is quite objectionable in its context. N. seeks here to make out that the "moral" note is a speciality with Kālidāsa and that it does not exist in the *artha* and *nīti* literature. He evidently forgets that *rājarṣi*, the king-saint (cf. the "philosopher-king" of Plato) is an orthodox Kautilyan commodity and that the distinction between the "king as god" and "the king as demon" is almost a universal category in Hindu political thought, exactly as in the Christian politics of the mediæval Fathers. Kālidāsa could have got enough morals even in Kauṭilya.

Kālidāsa, perhaps a comrade of Kāmandaka (?), is here as elsewhere but Kauṭilya in verse (within the limits of art). The *digvijaya* ("world-conquest") of the Raghus, the prototypes of the Gupta emperors, is

a part of his grand theme. And he executes his task in the same nationalistic manner, with the same glow of idealism, romantic abandon, and love of human endeavour as Virgil, the nationalist poet of the early Roman Empire, who took the story of the mythical Aeneases in order to sing of and idealize the world-conquest of his contemporaries almost poetising, so to say, the patriotic prose of Livy's *History of Rome.*

To understand Kālidāsa without reference, nay, as a contrast, to Kautilyaism, as Nag seeks to do, is like appreciating Virgil as an antithesis to or disparager of Livy. It would be almost an attempt to prove that Kālidāsa was writing of imbeciles for an asylum of incurables. No, Kālidāsa was not versifying an expurgated, 'respectable' edition of Kauṭilya. Kālidāsa and Kautilyaism were not antipodes, partial or complete. Their relations were those of Milton and Cromwell, to cite better known instances, although, from a 'modern' and slightly different sphere.

Hariṣeṇa, the writer of the martial eulogy on Samudragupta's "world conquest" certainly knew how to exult over the actual military exploits of his hero. There is a vital Kautilyan touch in the inscription which bears the eulogy. And that atmosphere was not unknown personally either to Kāmandaka or to Kālidāsa. If there is such a thing as the "spirit of the age", it was dominated by the living *vijigīṣu* of the Kautilyan dialectic.

The successors of Kālidāsa in literature (p. 120), Bhāravi, Māgha and Bhaṭṭi, are said to have transformed the *Arthaśāstra en maximes morales et en bon mots qui ne sont plus ni de la science ni de l'art* (into moral maxims and sententious sayings which constitute neither science nor art). Perfectly natural, this is just as it should be. When Shakespeare cites Cicero and Seneca, we do not get in his dramas treatises on Stoic philosophy. Similarly if the *Cāṇakyaśataka* (or the hundred sayings of C.) be the only Kautilyan literature, which may have been known to the Tamil poet, Tiruvalluvar, one can well understand it without having to admit that Kautilya was being 'rejected.' It is but 'reminiscences' in words or phrases, and echoes often distant, in sentiments, in any case, nothing more than allusions that one as a rule expects in poets, dramatists and novel-writers when they have to deal with cultural tradition.

There are references to Tibet in Sudermann. But one does not study his plays to discover if Sven Hedin's *Trans-Himalaya* has been bodily incorporated in them. And if one is disappointed, one does not say that Sudermann, nay, Germany, has 'rejected' Sven Hedin.

It is but the "artist's method" in the exploitation of history and

philosophy that we see in the writings of Kālidāsa and other poets. Milton's 'classicisms' are mainly of this allusive character.

Not every poet of France, again, in the nineteenth century—nor even Victor Hugo in all his writings—has cared to idolize Napoleon. But this does not mean that *Code Napoléon* is defunct or that Napoleonism has ceased to be a word to conjure with among those Frenchmen whose business it is to cultivate the Napoleonic arts and crafts. N.'s fallacy consists in his making much capital out of silence, which, everybody knows, proves nothing.

Bāṇa in his *Kādambarī* may have described the Kautilyan philosophy as *maraṇātmaka* (pervaded by the spirit of death). But he does not 'reject' it. His *Harṣacarita* is an execution in the Kautilyan style, a romantic biography quite in tune with the glories of militarism and the ambitions of *vijigīṣu*.

According to N. it was only a few commentators of the Middle Ages, for instance, Medhātithi and Mallinātha, who continued to study the original text of *Arthaśāstra*. He is unconscious that he has here admitted a tremendous argument against himself. For it proves that Kauṭilya was a living force, at any rate, in the academies even in the fifteenth century.

The moral propaganda of Aśoka such as is found in the Edicts is then cited by N. as the "first official and effective protestation" against Kautilyaism. But how much of the Aśokan Edicts embodies the real "public law" (*droit public* or *droit constitutionnel*) of the Maurya empire? Fine phrases are to be found in Frederick the Great's *Anti-Machiavel* and Marcus Aurelius' *Meditations* as well. Moralizing rulers are not unknown in Europe.

Where is the evidence to prove that the Maurya empire even during the forty-one years of Asoka's reign was being actually administered on methods *opposed* to those indicated in *Arthaśāstra*? Here, of course, the question of the date of the Kautilyan literature is to be held in abeyance for the time being. It is assumed that the Kautilyans were at work during the third century B. C. The few terms that have been collected by N. from the Asokan inscriptions (pp. 123-124) indicate positively that Kautilyaism, at least on the formal side, was not unrecognized by the moralizing Emperor.

Besides, at any rate, a single swallow does not make a summer. If the lectures of Aśoka happen to be pacifistic, the inscription of Hariṣeṇa regarding Samudragupta is nothing but "positive" "*realistique*", militaristic. And certainly Samudragupta is not a negligible

After quoting the pious wishes of Aśoka, the author remarks that although as Buehler points out in the *Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (Journal of the German Oriental Society, vol. XLI) and the *Epigraphia Indica* (vol. II) that the *artha* and *nīti* institutions were inherited by Asoka together with the Maurya empire, the Emperor took care to Asokanize them. The process of Asokanization consisted, as it appears, in the distribution of the word *dharma* (duty, piety, humanity, etc.) right and left in the midst of the inscriptions.

On this Asokanizing N.'s comment, which at the same time concludes the volume (p. 121), is as follows : "History will say if India has lost or gained by making this choice. But the fact is that India has rejected the way pointed out by Kauṭilya-Cāṇakya to enter that of Dharmāsoka." This comment is as valuable as the one that a student of European philosophy might make in regard to "Western history" after reading a few pages from the Stoic, Early Christian and Neo-Platonic philosophers.

The previous discussion has already made it clear that N.'s position is untenable. But now since he is speaking of "history", let history speak.

Samudragupta has already been mentioned. The other Guptas were equally un-Asokan. They knew the *voie montrée par K. C.* (way shown by Kauṭilya-Cāṇakya) to administer sound doses of drubbing to the Huns. Both Harṣavardhana and Pulakeśin were Napoleonic in worldly ambitions and adventures. The Gurjara-Pratīhāras, Rāṣtrakūṭas and Colas were equally great world-conquerors such as would have gratified the Kautilyan professors.

Then there was Dharmapāla, a Buddhist, who had the word *dharma* attached to his very name perhaps even from birth. And which 'way' did he choose ? Not that of Dharmāśoka, as it seems. For he came with his Bengali legions all the way up to Kanauj and overran the whole of Northern India establishing his flag on the Himalayas and in the Deccan. Dharmapāla did not believe that Buddhism implied *ahiṃsā* (non-killing) and pacifism.

People with historic sense would then admit that whatever else may have been 'rejected' by the people of India, it was certainly not Kautilyaism.

What now is the verdict of history ? History says that the Hindus lived and moved on the earth exactly as other human beings of flesh and blood lived and moved in other parts of the world. In the tug of war that must have ensued between the Indian Kautilyas as in that between

the others, the lesser yielded the palm to the bigger. But Kautilyaism first, Kautilyaism second, Kautilyaism always has remained the motto of the Hindu as of other pillars of the state.

It may of course be readily admitted without lengthy dissertations that open cases of inhumanity and depravity created reactions against certain officials and perhaps also literary texts in the minds of one or more thinking sections of the community. But a general disparagement of the *artha* and *nīti* philosophy as such, during periods of Hindu India is *prima facie* inconceivable.

Nag has tried to write an impossible thesis. From top to bottom it is a tissue of inconsistencies so far as there are any philosophical or sociological interpretations in it. And he has succeeded only in proving, against himself, that Kautilyaism is an inveterate trait of the Hindu genius, and that this Kautilyaism is nothing but Machiavellism.

*(To be continued)*

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

# Two Seals from Cutch

The two seals, made of brass, published here, were found in 1897 by the late Dewan Bahadur Ranchodbhai Udayram, once the Dewan of Cutch State, during his search for antiquities in Cutch. They are at present in the possession of his son Mr. Kanaylal R. Dave in Bombay.

Excepting the coins of Kumāragupta and Skandagupta, and a fragment of an inscription[1] engraved in characters of the Gupta period (which gives us no connected or useful information) we have no records of the Gupta period found in Cutch. The present seals bearing characters of the Gupta period, will, therefore, be found interesting though they in no way give us information bearing on the political history of the province. They are, as will be seen below, private seals belonging to Brāhmaṇas learned in the four Vedas. It is well known to archæologists that a large hoard of such private seals was discovered in the excavations at Bhiṭā and Basārh.

The FIRST SEAL was found in the ruins to the north of the village Viñjhāṇā in Cutch. It is circular in shape, its diameter measuring $1\frac{1}{16}$ inches. Above the inscribed portion, which consists of one line and in fact of one word only, the figure of Brahmā is engraved. He is shown holding a *mālā* in his right hand and a *gourd* in his left hand. On either side of the figure there is an ornamental design.

[1] *Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. W. C.* 1905-6 : p. 55 : 1919-20, p. 5.

The characters used in the inscription, which measures 1½ inches, are Brāhmī of the 8th century A. D. The letters show rounded forms and not angular as in the other seal described below. The only point of orthography which requires to be noted is the doubling of the consonant immediately following *r*. The medial vowel *i* is expressed in two ways,—in one the stroke meant for *i* after being turned a little to the left is stretched below in a perpendicular line as in *pi* in *piśāca*, and in the other it is stretched to the left in a horizontal direction as in *rvvi* in *cāturvvidya(sya)*.

The inscription on this seal reads (1) Śrī Piśācacāturvvidya [sya] "(This seal is) of (a brāhmaṇa) named Piśāca, who is learned in the four Vedas". His name is certainly very curious. As a brāhmaṇa, it is but natural that he would have on his seal the figure of a Hindu god, and secondly as the brāhmaṇa seems to be a devotee of Brahmā, the figure of that god is engraved on his seal.

The SECOND SEAL was discovered in the ruins of the village Pāṭagaḍh at a distance of six miles to the east of Lakhpat in Cutch. It is oblong in shape, measuring 1⅝ by 1⅛ inches. Above the inscribed portion, which here consists of three lines, the figure of Nandin is engraved in the middle, in a sitting posture and facing to the left. On one side of the Nandin is shown the figure of a bow without a string and on the other side (in the rear) is engraved the figure of a gourd. The figure of the Nandin denotes that the brāhmaṇa was a devotee of Śiva and the gourd denotes that he who used the gourd was a Sanyāsin. I am not able to explain the presence of the bow. Below these figures are two lines, one continuous and the other dotted.

The characters used in this inscription also are of the eighth century A. D., but, as already remarked, they have distinct angular forms. A consonant following *r* is doubled as in °*nirggata* (I. 1) and in °*rvvidya* (I. 3). The inscription reads thus :—

(1) ṣu (su) manomukhavo (vi) nirggata
(2) vī (vi) dheyapuraśri (śrī) cātu
(3) rvvidyasya

The arrangement of the words in this inscription seems to be wrong. It ought to be, I think, thus :—

vidheyapuravinirggataśrī sumanomukhacāturvvidyasya

The inscription shows that the seal is that of a Caturvedi-Brāhmaṇa named Sumanomukha, (who) came from Vidheyapura.

The town Vidheyapura seems to be identical with Yaudheyapura named after the Yaudheya tribe.

D. R. Bhandarkar

# Indian Literature Abroad

## ( *In China* )

## III

Giles, in his introduction to '*The Travels of Fa-hsien*' (Cambridge, 1923), says, "What indeed must have been the cogent influence of that faith (Buddhism) which could impel several of its ministers to undertake, and one to carry through for the Faith's sake, a supremely dangerous expedition, in the glow of which the journeys of St. Paul melt into insignificance? For Fa-hsien, the hero of this adventure and the recorder of his own travels, practically walked from China across the desert of Gobi, over the Hindukush, and through India down to the mouth of the Hooghly where he took ship and returned to China, bringing with him what he went forth to secure—books of the Buddhist canon and images of Buddhist deities". In Ceylon "after repeated search he obtained a copy of the Disciplines according to the school of the 'Faith Prevailing', also copies of the long Āgamas on ecstatic contemplation, and subsequently of a collection of extracts from the canon, all of which China was without." The difficulties of the way and the danger of losing his books and icons are well known. After reaching China, he handed over to the monks of Nan-king the Sūtras and the Vinayas he had collected (*Fa-hsien*, p. 81).

The publication of Fa-hsien's travels caused a tremendous stir in the hearts of young and devoted Buddhists, and hundreds of Chinese left their home and followed Fa-hsien's footsteps to visit the land of the Blessed One, and to procure the sacred Buddhist books and images. We shall, however, see the result of this visit in the course of our study.

"The fourth century was a period of confusion in China, caused by a hopeless division of the country and by intrusion of invaders from the north. Yet Buddhist missions proceeded to cover the greater part of the land, and many of the contending rulers welcomed missionaries from Central Asia. One of these men, Fo-t'u-cheng, who came in 310 to Lo-yang from a 'western country', laboured not as a translator but as a social worker. It is said that he was 'well-versed in magic formulae and saved many people from diseases and sufferings by his supernatural attainment.' No fewer than 893 monasteries and sanctuaries were established by him, and his 'disciples' numbered 10,000. But his significance in Chinese Buddhism

**Fo-t'u-cheng and Tao-an.**

lay perhaps more on his having educated one of the most powerful thinkers, Tao-an, than in his actual works; though he laboured mostly in the north, his influence was later propagated to the south by his disciples".[1]

This Tao-an[2] was a very able man and he helped a large number of Buddhist scholars. He was a contemporary of Dharmanandin and wrote an account of him.

Dharmanandin was a man of Tokhāra or Tokhristhan. A monumental work of Dharmanandin's still exists in Chinese. It was his translation of *Ekotturāgama* in 50 fasciculi of fifty-two chapters. The text, which was presumably written in vulgar Buddhist Sanskrit, consisted of 2,50,000 ślokas, in verse or an equivalent number of syllables in prose; and there are 555 short Sūtras beginning with 'Evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye etc'. (Nanjio, 543). A contemporary preface to this work says that it was composed in 384-385 A. D. Nanjio in his Catalogue gives a summary of the contents with a literal translation of 52 chapters.

I have already referred to the political disintegration of China, and the lack of power of the Central Imperial Rule. The Former T'sin Dynasty, founded by Fu-Chien, had its capital at Chang-an. Fu-Chien was a patron of Buddhism and during the short period of 44 years (350-394 A. D.) when he and his successors ruled, six Indian śramaṇas translated 15 Sanskrit books. Most of these translators came from modern Afganisthan, which was then a great centre of Indian culture and formed a part of India.

Former T'sin Dynasty 350-394.

The Former T'sin Dynasty was destroyed by the Later T'sins, who retained their capital at Chang-an, so that the Indian culture continued to flourish under the new sovereigns, who became famous as the patrons of Kumārajīva. Kumārajīva was an Indian living in Eastern Turkisthan. We have already mentioned that Central Asia and Eastern Turkisthan were inhabited by Indians and we shall have occasion to go into a detailed history of those places in a subsequent study. Kumārajīva's forefathers were ministers of a certain prince in India. Kumārajīva's father had forsaken this office and went to Kucha, where he married Jīvā, a sister of the king of that country. Kumārajīva was born of this wedlock. He became a monk in his seventh year.

Kumārajīva, an Indian, living in Turkisthan.

1 Anesaki, *E.R.E.*, vol. 8, Missions (Buddhist).

2 Giles, *Chinese Biog. Dicty.*, sv. Tao-an.

Two years after, his mother Jīvā became a nun and she took her son to Kubha, where he became the disciple of Bandhudatta, a cousin of the king of Kubha. They went back to their native place of Kucha in 352 A. D., where he remained until 383, spending thirty years of his sojourn there and prosecuting his theological studies. He followed the school of Sarvāstivādins for some time under the instruction of Vimalākṣa mentioned above. But he became a Mahāyānist after getting instructions of Sūryasoma. In 383 when Kucha was captured by the Chinese General of Fu-Chien, he was carried off to China as a prisoner and from 401 onwards he laboured at Chang-an for about ten years. His fame as a scholar had preceded him; he established his reputation as a saint by overcoming a temptation thrown in his way by his Chinese captors, and was received by the T'sin Court with great honour. He was appointed Kuo-shih (Rājyaguru) or the Director of Buddhist study and lectured in a hall specially built for him. He is said to have had three thousand disciples. He translated 98 works in 421 fasciculi and fifty extant translations are still ascribed to him[1]. Pelliot says that "Kumārajīva is one of the greatest translators of Chinese Buddhism, though his mother-tongue was certainly neither Sanskrit nor Chinese". But an Indian by descent and education, he was familiar with all the twists and turns of Sanskrit; in Kucha he had to learn Chinese and Kuchari dialect.

Kumārajīva found, on examination and comparison, that the Chinese translations made hitherto were neither accurate nor elegant, and he himself undertook the task of revision. This work occupied him for the rest of his life-time, and was the joy and pride of his declining years. Indian monks always translated Sanskrit books with the help of some Chinese scholars, who could not always comprehend the subject-matter and translated the Sanskrit words with imperfect synonyms. The translations were generally mere paraphrases of Sanskrit books and therefore sometimes wholly unintelligible to Chinese readers. To produce them in a form more accurate and complete was the task undertaken by him at the desire of the king. More than eight hundred priests were called to assist, and the king himself, an ardent disciple of the new faith was present at the conference holding the copies in his hand as the work of correction proceeded.

1 Nanjio, App. II, 59; also Lévi, Le 'Tokharien B,' *J. A.*, 1923.

More than three hundred volumes were thus prepared[1]. Few foreigners have yet gained any distinction in writing Chinese but Kumārajīva obtained it, and to this date his translations are considered to be one of the best specimens of Chinese style. Kumārajīva translated various recensions of Prajñā-pāramitās. The *Pañcaviṃśati Prajñā-pāramitā* was a very popular book. It had been twice translated into Chinese and it was again done into it by Kumārajīva, along with *Daśa-sāhasrikā Prajñā-pāramitā*, which had been thrice translated before. *Vajracchedikā*, another equally important Buddhist philosophical book, was rendered into Chinese for the first time. The greatest work of Kumārajīva's was his translation of the *Mahā-prajñā-pāramitā Śāstra* which he did between 402 and 405 in 100 fasciculi. The Sanskrit text of this Sūtra consisted of 100,000 ślokas in verse or a corresponding number of syllables in prose. But Kumārajīva translated only the first chapter in 34 fasciculi, and gave the abstract of the remaining 39 chapters. This book is the commentary on some of the sections of the *Pañcaviṃśati Prājñā-pāramitā* by the great Nāgārjuna ; it was now for the first time made accessible to the Chinese readers. It is not possible to describe here the fifty books translated by Kumārajīva. His versatile genius extended over almost all the branches of Buddhist learning. Among the more important books, the following may be mentioned :—

(1) *Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka*, Nanjio, 134.
(2) Smaller *Sukhāvatī-Vyūha*, Nanjio, 200.
(3) *Sarvāstivāda Prātimokṣa*[2], Nanjio, 1160.
(4) *Sūtrālaṅkāra Śāstra*, Nanjio, 1182.
(5) *Madhyamaka Śāstra* (Jap. Churon).
(6) *Śata Śāstra* of Āryadeva, Nanjio, 1188 : Vasubandhu's commentary on the Sūtras (Jap. Hyaku-ron).
(7) *Dvādaśa-nikāya Śāstra* by Nāgārjuna (Jap. Jūni-mon-ron), Nanjio, 1186.

The last two books were composed by Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva to clear up the confusion arising in men's minds regarding the distinction between entity and non-entity. They gave an exposition of the teachings of Buddha and his life with special emphasis on the 'Twelve Nikāyas' that led to the inmost shrine of Perfect Enlightenment. They

1 Edkins' *Chinese Buddhism*, p. 90.

2 *Le Prātimokṣa Sūtra des Sarvāstivādins*, texte Sanscrit—M. Louis Finot avec le version chinoise de Kumārajīva, traduite en français par M. Ed. Huber—*J. A.* [illegible]

regarded the *Avataṃsaka*, the *Āgamas*, and the *Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka* as marking three periods in Śākyamuni's ministerial career, and considered the *Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka* as the crown of Buddha's personal teachings.

The *Sukhāvatī-Vyūha* has a far-reaching consequence on the history of Buddhism as it is one of the scriptures of the Jodo or Pure Land sect of Japan and China.

The smaller *Sukhāvatī-Vyūha*, brought to China by Kumārajīva soon after 400 A. D., was translated by him into Chinese. This shorter translation corresponds with a few omissions to the Sanskrit text, which has been published by Max Müller.

Sukhāvatī-Vyūha.

"It is taught in this Sūtra that if a man keeps in his memory the name of Buddha Amitābha one day or seven days, the Buddha together with Bodhisattvas will come and meet him at the moment of his death in order to let him be born in the Pure Land (Sukhāvatī), and that this matter has equally been approved by all the other Buddhas of the Universe"[1]. Another important branch of work was undertaken by Kumārajīva; it was the writing of biographies of the three great Bodhisattvas Aśvaghoṣa, Nāgārjuna, and (Ārya) Deva. I believe this is the first attempt on writing biography of saints, which art was afterwards greatly perfected in Buddhist literature. He also wrote a book called *Shih-hsiang-lun* as the Śāstra on the characteristics of Reality especially for Yao Hsing, the king, who revered him as a god[2].

In China and Japan Kumārajīva's version of the *Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka* is very popular, and Buniyo Nanjio, in his preface to the same work, says that *Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka* is almost worshipped by the followers of Tendai in both countries and Nichiren in Japan. They are used to repeat the seven characters *na-mu-myo-ho-ren-ge-kyo* i. e. *Namaḥ Saddharma-Puṇḍarīkāya Sūtrāya*, as their formula. This Sūtra is said to have been rendered into Chinese six times, but three of these translations were already lost by 130 A. D. when *Khai-yuen-lu* was compiled by Ch'-shang in the T'ang Dynasty. The dates of these six versions are about A. D. 255, 270, 286, 335, 400 and 601 respectively. The first two and the fourth are lost. The remaining three were translated by Dharmarakṣa, Kumārajīva, and Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta respectively. Nanjio has given a detailed comparison of these three versions in his

Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka.

1 Lloyd's *Wheat among the Tares*, p. 167.

Catalogue. The version of Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta is the latest and agrees more closely with the Sanskrit text. Besides these, two incomplete versions of 223 and 335 A. D. are mentioned by Ch'-shang in his Catalogue, but they were lost already in 730 A. D. But Kumārajīva's version for its elegant and idiomatic Chinese has been most popular ever since.

Bodhisattva Vasubandhu wrote a commentary to this book called *Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka-Sūtra-Śāstra*. It was translated by Bodhiruci and Ratnamati after it had become widely known through Kumārajīva's translation (Nanjio, 1232, 1233). There are as many as 19 books written in Chinese by the Chinese monks on *Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka*, and besides there are Japanese commentaries such as Hokke-gi-sho, well known in Japan (Nanjio, *Saddharama-Puṇḍarīka*, Intro.). This book has been translated into English by H. Kern in the Sacred Books of the East and long ago into French by E. Burnouf. It has been of late edited by S. Lévi.

The *Brahmajāla Sūtra* (Fan-méng-ching), which has always been considered in China as the chief code of law of the Mahāyāna schools, was introduced into China by Kumārajīva. The book in translation is only two fasciculi, but it is stated by Sang-chao, a disciple of Kumārajīva, that this work is the twelfth chapter on the *Bodhisattva-hṛdaya-bhūmi* ; it is a Sanskrit work of 120 fasciculi and 61 chapters (Nanjio, 1017 ; Tokyo ed. xvi, 1-9). But the rest of the work was never put into Chinese garb at all, nor has the original work ever been unearthed by European indologists.[1] The Pāli *Brahmajāla Sutta* in the Dīghanikāya has nothing in common with the Chinese code of law except the title. But we have found the Chinese version of the Pāli text in the 14th chapter of the *Dīrghāgama Sūtra* under the title *Fan-tung-ching* "Sūtra of Brahma's movements" which in Sanskrit would likewise give *Brahmajāla Sūtra*.

Brahmajāla Sūtra.

No commentary to it seems to have been written in Sanskrit but there is a commentary to it by Chi Chie, a Chinese monk of the 16th century.[2]

Kumārajīva rendered into Chinese another important Sanskrit Sūtra, a work which had inspired in a later age many Chinese monks to write on it. It was *Śūrāṅgama Samādhi* (No. 399) in three fasciculi, the sequel of which also occurs in Tibetan Kanjur. Kumārajīva transliterated the

1 De Groot, *T'oung Pao*, 1898.

2 Courant, *Catalogue du Livres chinois* [illegible]

name as *Shih-lêng-yen-sam-mei* as *Sūra* (hero) *aṅga* (limb) and *samādhi*.

Śūrāṅgama Samādhi.

Another recension of this Sūtra, but of much larger size, was done into Chinese in 10 fasc. by Pāramiti and Mikaśakya (No. 446) in the T'ang dynasty. The importance of the book can easily be gauged from the fact that three commentaries to it by Chinese monks were written in the Sung dynasty. In 1165 A. D. Hsien Kwei compiled these commentaries (No. 1818) and arranged one after the other under each sentence or passage of the Sūtra. This arrangement greatly helps us to study at once the text from three commentaries. I believe Kumārajīva was responsible, as he was for many others, for the introduction of this Sūtra, which became so popular in the centuries to follow him.

It is to Kumārajīva that we owe the first introduction of the master minds of Indian Buddhism into China, viz., Aśvaghoṣa, Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva and Vasubandhu. These are the four great patriarchs of Buddhism, who established Mahāyāna on a sound basis of philosophy. Aśvaghoṣa is the twelfth patriarch of the Buddhist church. One of his greatest works is the *Sūtrālaṅkāra*.[1]

First appearance of Aśvaghoṣa in Chinese.

It is a collection of pious legends after the model of the Jātakas and Avadānas which are narrated in prose and verse in the style of Sanskrit poetics. Many of these legends of old are known to us, such as the story of Dīrghāyus, of king Śivi. Others already show more of the spirit of the Mahāyāna or at best a reverence for the Buddha which is more Mahāyānic in its tendency. In two of the stories of the *Sūtrālaṅkāra* a part is played by king Kaniṣka. But it is much to be deplored that up to now we have only Chinese translation of Kumārajīva,[2] as the Sanskrit text so far has not been discovered. Not only is it a literary work of importance, the merits of which are apparent in the translation, but also of great significance for the history of Indian literature and culture inasmuch as it mentions the epics of the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa, it combats the philosophical doctrine of the Śāṅkhya and Vaiśeṣika schools just as forcibly as it opposes the

Sūtrālaṅkāra.

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1 This should not be confused with Asaṅga's *Mahāyāna Sūtrālaṅkāra*, which has been translated from Sanskrit into French by S. Lévi.

2 *Sūtrālaṅkāra* of Aśvaghoṣa translated by Kumārajīva (French

religious views of the Brahmins and the Jains and refers in a variety of ways to the scripts, the arts, and painting.[1] From the Chinese translation of *Sūtrālaṅkāra,* Huber was able to trace three stories to the *Divyāvadāna*[2].

Besides translating the *Sūtrālaṅkāra,* Kumārajīva translated a biography of the Bodhisattva Aśvaghoṣa (Nanjio, 1460), and thereby popularized the legendary life of the patriarch among the Chinese. Aśvaghoṣa (*Ma-ming,* horse-neighing) was born of a Brahmin family in Benares, and received his education at Pāṭaliputra. He had a sound Brāhmanical education before he embraced Buddhism. He was a great force in the country and many a legend is connected with his life. He was a great musician, a poet and a dialectician. His epic *Buddhacarita* has been mentioned elsewhere, which was introduced into China almost within ten years of the appearance of Kumārajīva's biography.

Nāgārjuna[3] the fourteenth patriarch was also introduced in China by Kumārajīva. Nāgārjuna was a great and versatile writer and was the founder of the Madhyamaka philosophy. The principal work of this school is Nāgārjuna's *Madhyamaka Śāstra.* Ts'ing-mu (Nīlanetra) wrote a commentary, *Prāṇyamūla-śāstra-ṭīkā* (Nanjio, 1179), which was translated by Kumārajīva into Chinese in 409 A.D. Nāgārjuna wrote several important Śāstras, among which the most compendious volume on Abhidharma was his *Mahāprajñā-pāramitā-śāstra* (Nanjio, 1169), which was a commentary on the *Pañcaviṃsati-Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (Nanjio, 1 b). This is the first book translated into Chinese explaining the Madhyamaka philosophy. Kumārajīva also gave a Chinese version of Nāgārjuna's life, which is full of miracles and legends (Nanjio, 1461).

Nāgārjuna.

A disciple of Nāgārjuna, and as great as his master, was Āryadeva[4] (Deva, Kāṇa-Deva). He too was introduced to the Chinese reader by Kumārajīva. Deva's *Śata-Śāstra* with Vasubandhu's commentary (Nanjio, 1188) was rendered into Chinese in 304 A.D. Traditionally Deva is the fifteenth patriarch and was an inhabitant of Southern India (some say Ceylon). He lived in

Āryadeva.

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1 Lévi, *J. A.*, 1908, pp. 77ff. translated by Nariman, p. 36; also Anesaki, *ERE.*, vol. 2, p. 159.

2 *BEFEO.*, 1904, pp. 709-726.

3 Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism,* p. 77.

4 Sogen, *Systems of Buddhistic Thought,* Cal. Univ., 1912, pp. 187-194; also Edkins, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

the third century A.D. Āryadeva's life was also made known in China by Kumārajīva.

The wonderful service done by Kumārajīva, for introducing these master-minds in Chinese, cannot be gainsaid. The subtle and critical mind of the Chinese Confucianists and Taoists wanted critical and philosophical writings from the pen of Indian Buddhists, and the introduction of the philosophies of Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva was the right thing for the hour. The real intellectual Buddhism was offered to China by Kumārajīva ; after him, as we shall see, hundreds of Abhidharma works of various schools of thought were introduced.

Buddhabhadra in S. China.

About the same time while Kumārajīva was preaching in the North China, there arrived by sea-route Buddhabhadra (Shantung), who has been mentioned above as the first translator of the *Avataṃsaka* (Nanjio, 87). By the purity of his life, his great discipline and meditation, he influenced deeply the people of south China. It was in the South that he laid the foundation of the Shan-no (Dhyāna) school of Buddhism, which was in later times greatly strengthened by Bodhidharma.

Other important Sanskrit works were also translated during this period by Indian monks. *Dīrghāgama* which is the Sanskrit version of the Dīghanikāya was rendered into Chinese by Buddhayaśa with the help of Chu Fo-nien in 412-413 A. D. It consisted of 22 fasciculi 4 Vargas, 30 Sūtras. He also translated a Vinaya and a Prātimokṣa of the Dharmagupta school, which was one of the four sub-divisions of the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda. Chu Fo-nien, who has already been mentioned as an assistant of Buddhayaśa, had helped many foreign translators of the Former T'sin Dynasty. He acquired knowledge of Sanskrit and himself translated 22 or 23 works from 374 A. D., till some time, under the Later T'sin Dynasty. Of his seven works only five are in existence. Dharmayaśa, another śramaṇa of Kubhā, translated 2 or 3 works in A. D. 407-415. In Wan-Chwang the Western T'sin established one of those ephemeral Tartar principalities mentiond previously. One Chinese śramaṇa Shih Shang-chien or Fa-chien translated about 14 or 15 works and today 10 of his works are still to be found in the collection of Tripiṭakas. During the reigns of the three T'sins in China (350-431 A. D.) 197 works were translated by known and unknown writers, but today only 124 of these works remain, others being lost. During the Eastern Tsin (317-420 A. D.) dynasty in 373 A. D., Tao-an, a Buddhist priest compiled the first Chinese catalogue of the Tripiṭaka. His Catalogue begins with books

is that he was a man of the North and probably the activities of the South were little known to him[1].

Nine translators flourished in the state of the Northern Liang (A. D. 397-439) which had its capital at Chang-ye and Ku-tsang. Of these translators Shih Tao-kung, Shih Fa-Chung-chü-ching-shang, Shih Chu-mang, Tao-thai were Chinese monks. The last named Shih Ṭao-thai went to the west of the Himalayas to obtain texts of the Vibhāṣā and some Sūtras and Śāstras. After having returned to China, he met one Buddhavarman with whom he translated Kātyayaniputra's *Abhidharma-Vibhāṣa-Śāstra* a book in 82 fasciculi, 3 khaṇḍas or divisions or 16 chapters. But this was an incomplete work. Afterwards he alone made the translation of *Mahā-puruṣa-śāstra* (Nanjio, 1242 ) and *Mahāyāna-Avatāraka Śāstra.* (Nanjio, 1243).

Shih Chu-meng deserves special note. He started from Chang-an towards India in A. D. 404 with fourteen friends. Nine of them were frightened at the sight of the Himalayas and returned, one having died on the way. Chu-meng with four other friends went as far as Pāṭaliputra, where he obtained the Mss. of *Nirvāṇa-Sūtra*, *Mahā-saṅghika Vinaya*, and some other texts, from the very house of a Brāhmaṇa, from whom Fa-hsien had obtained the *Nirvāṇa-Sūtra* manuscripts. On the way back to China in A. D. 424, he again lost three more friends, and arrived at Liang-chiu with only one surviving friend. In A. D. 433-439 he translated the *Nirvāṇa-Sūtra* in 20 fasciculi, but his translation was lost in 730 A. D.

Shih Chu-Meng.

The only great Indian translator who has left a lasting name was Dharmarakṣa, who is said to have translated 23 or 24 works, of which twelve are still extant. As many of these books are important, I shall mention them briefly :—

(1) *Mahāvaipulya-Mahā-sannipāta Sūtra* in four parts and 30 fasciculi (No. 61).

(2) *Mahā-parinirvāṇa-Sūtra* in 40 fasciculi, 13 chapters (No. 113).

(3) *Suvarṇaprabhāsa Sūtra*, which remained incomplete and was followed by a more complete version by I'tsing in a later age, and became very popular in China. It had two famous commentaries.

(4) *Karuṇā-puṇḍarīka Sūtra*, a well known extant Sanskrit book (No. 142).

(5) *Strīvivartva Vyākaraṇa-Sūtra.*

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1 See Pelliot, *Meou-Tseu ou les doutes Levés*, T'oung Pao, V, XIX. pp. 255 ff., also Giles' *Chinese Biog. Dicty.*

(6) *Bodhisattva-caryānirdeśa*, and a few others.

But the most important of these books, which has evoked great discussion among the western literati, is Dharma-rakṣa's translation of the *Buddha-carita Kāvya* (Nanjio, 1351) by Aśvaghoṣa. This is a metrical work on the life of Buddha from his birth till the division of his relics. This Chinese version has been translated into English by Mr. Beal and contains 28 chapters, whereas the original extant Sanskrit recension has only 17 chapters, the titles and contents of which agree with those of the first 17 chapters of the Chinese translation (except the titles of the 11th, 16th, and 17th chapters of the Chinese), which omits some verses. Beal in the translation of *Fo-shu-hsin-tsang-ching* (S. B. E., vol. xlix) and Cowell in his *Buddha-carita*[1] have compared these two versions and various Sanskrit originals. Dharmarakṣa however so amplified and transposed the original verses that the result can hardly be called a translation, although it must have been so intended. I believe the greatest achievement under this Dynasty was the translation of the *Buddha-carita* and the blackest spot of the rulers is the way in which its translator was treated and eventually murdered by Tsin-chin-meng-suh (413-433) and the second ruler of the Northern Liang Dynasty.

Buddha-carita.

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1 According to a more critical study of the Sanskrit text of the *Buddha-carita*, the last four cantos of the Epic are held as spurious and are decidedly known as composition of Amṛtānanda, a Nepalese poet of no mean order. It has been further demonstrated by Leumann and others that the first 25 ślokas of the 1st canto are presumably composed by Amṛtānanda, as they do not occur either in the Chinese or the Tibetan versions. The Sanskrit text of the work was first known to the literati in 1893, when the late E. B. Cowell published the Sanskrit text in the Anecdota Oxoniensia (Aryan Series, part VII, Oxford, 1893).

The English translation of the *Buddha-carita* by Cowell appeared in the S.B.E., vol. xlix, 1894. Since the publication of these two works almost all the Indologists have taken part in the discussion that followed, and each has helped to elucidate the text. Below we give the bibliography on Aśvaghoṣa :

Böhtlingk, Otto von und H. Kern : *Kritische Bemerkungen zu Aśvaghoṣa's Buddha-carita*—Kong. Sach. Gesel. d. Wiss. zu Leipzig, Phil-histor. Klasse, 1894 ; II, 1895, pp. 160-198.

Dahlmann, J : *Das Mahabharat als Epos uud Rechtsbuch*—Berlin, 1895, pp. 141-152

In 420 a new Dynasty known as the Earlier Sung was founded in the south with Chien-yeh or modern Nanking as its capital. In the north, there were many Tartar principalities which were more or less favourable to Buddhism, but all except Wei perished before 4co A. D. Wei then split up into Eastern and Western kingdoms, which lasted for about a hundred years. In the south, the Earlier Sung gave place to these short dynasties, Chi, Liang, and Ch'en, until at last the Sui (589-605) united China (Eliot's *Hinduism and Buddhism*, vol. III, p. 252).

The Emperor Wen-Ti ( 424-454 A.D.) of the Earlier Sung Dynasty, although a patron of Confucianism, was not wholly inimical to Buddhism. The rapid advance of Buddhism in China roused the jealousy of the official and literary circle, who had great influence in the Chinese court. They wanted imperial interference to prevent the multiplication of monasteries and the growing expenditure

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Finot, L : *Notes sur le Buddha-carita*—J. As., Paris, 1895, pp. 512-545.

Hopkins, E. W., *Buddha-carita*, J.A.O.S., vol. xxii, 1901, pp. 387-388.

Kielhorn, F., *Zu Aśvaghoṣa's Buddha-carita*—Kong. Gesel. d. Wiss. zu Gottingen, Phil-histor. Klasse, 1894, pp. 364-374.

Leumann, E., *Some Notes on Aśvaghoṣa's Buddha-carita*—W.Z.K.M., Band viii, 1893, pp. 193-200.

———, *Zu Aśvaghoṣa's Buddha-carita*—Kong. Gesel. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen, Phil-hist. Klasse, 1896, pp. 83-90.

Lévi, S., *Buddhacarita d'e Aśvaghoṣa*—J. As., 1892, pp. 201-236.

Lüders, H, *Zu Aśvaghoṣa's Buddha-carita*—Köng. Gessl. d. Wiss. zu Gottingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse, pp. 1—15.

Speyer, J. S., *Kritische Nachlese zu A's Buddha-carita*—Amsterdam, 1895.

Windisch, E : *Māra und Buddha*, Leipzig, 1895.

Formichi, Carlo, *Aśvaghoṣa Poeta del Buddhismo*—Bibliotheca di cultura Moderna—G. Laterza, Bari, 1912, p. 409 (The book contains a learned introduction, Italian translation, notes, and the above bibliography : The author, who is the greatest authority on *Buddha-carita*, gives in several places his own reading which has greatly helped to clear up hitherto obscure and apparently meaningless passages. Since the publication of this book, Hultzsch and Cappellar have written two articles in the *Z. D. M. G.* and *Z. Ind. Iran.*, 1922.

on superstitious ceremonies. This marks the beginning of the desire to curb Buddhism by restrictive legislation. A similar reaction took place in the Wei kingdom where great persecutions were done, alternately favoured by some benevolent princes. The force of Buddhism was too strong to be curbed and in Wei we find as many as 13,000 Buddhist temples. In the Sung kingdom much restriction was placed on the Buddhists by certain kings, amply compensated by a succeeding one. For fifty-nine years good progress was made in the translation of Sanskrit books, for as many as twenty translations from China, India, Ceylon and Central Asia are said to have existed in earlier times of which nine only remain.

Reaction against Buddhism.

A remarkable feature of this period is the tendency of Chinese Buddhists to go on pilgrimage to India; since Fa-hsien's return in 414, Chinese students felt romantic pleasure to wend their way to In-do or India. Thus in 420 A. D. a band of 25 Chinese monks started on a pilgrimage to India.

During this Earlier Sung rule, we hear of two translations into Chinese of works of the Mahiśāsaka school. These translations were done by Buddhajīva, a śramaṇa of Kubhā, who arrived in China in 423 A.D. Besides Buddhajīva, there were Kālayaśa, Dharmamitra, Īśvara, Guṇavarman, Saṅghavarman, Guṇabhadra, Guṇaśīla (?), and others who came from India. Shih Chu-yen, Shih Pao-yun, Fa-yung, Tsü-chü-chin-shang, a layman, Hwui-kien, Siang-kung and others were Chinese translators.

Of the Indian monks of this period Guṇavarman[1] had international reputation. He was a native of Kubhā, a younger son of the king of the country. He visited Ceylon in 400 A.D. and it is said that he converted a country called Cho-po, which is identified with Java where he founded the first Buddhist monastery. The fame of the monk spread all over the Buddhist world and he attracted the attention and admiration of the Chinese scholars, who got the Emperor to invite Guṇavarman to China. The Indian monk came to China in 431 A. D., worked incessantly and died the same year. He translated ten works but only five

Guṇavarmaṇa.

1 Of the details of the life of Guṇavaraman, we have ample materials furnished by M. Ed. Chavannes in an article in the *T'oung Pao*, 1904, which has already been abridged by Mr. P. N. Bose in his *Indian Teachers in China.*

remain, one of them being a book called *Dharmagupta Bhikṣuṇī-karman*, which is evidently the *Bhikṣuṇī-Prātimokṣa* according to the Dharmagupta school.

Guṇavarman completed another important work known as *Saṃyukta-abhidharma-hṛdaya-Śāstra* (Tsa-a-phi-hsin-lun), which had been done up to the tenth fasciculus by a śramaṇa named Īśvara. The book had 13 fasciculi ; but it was lost very early (Nanjio, App. II. 78). This *Saṃyukta-abhidharma* of Dharmatrāta (Nanjio, 1287 ; 16 fasc.), which was a commentary on Dharmajñāna's *Abhidharma Hṛdaya*[1], was also translated by Saṅghavarman another Indian bhikṣu who arrived in Nanking in 433 A.D. Saṅghavarman's other important translations were *Sarvsātivāda-Nikāya-Vinaya-Mātṛkā* which in Chinese is transliterated as Sa-po-to-pu phi-ni moto-lo-chia (Nanjio, 1132), and *Nāgārjuna-Bodhisattva-Suhṛllekha* (Nos. 1440, 1441). The latter was a book of verses on the importance of the Law, composed by the Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna. It-sing says that the *Suhṛllekha* or letter to a friend was written by Nāgārjuna to his old Dānapati, a great king of the south Śātavāhana. He also says that the Buddhists in the five parts of India first commit these verses to memory when they begin to study their religion. So it is not unlikely that such a popular book should be translated into Chinese.

Guṇabhadra called Mahāyāna.

Guṇabhadra, another translator of versatile genius, arrived in China in 435 A. D. He was a native of Central India, Brahmin by caste and was nicknamed Mahāyāna for his deep knowledge of the doctrines of Mahāyāna. He is said to have translated 78 works, but only twenty-eight of them remain to this day. He translated *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, a well-known Sanskrit Book on Yogācāra, still read and revered by people. Many other Sūtras and Dhāraṇīs of indifferent merit and value were rendered into Chinese. Although a staunch Mahāyānist, he translated the Hīnayāna *Saṃyuktāgama-Sūtra* in 50 fasciculi. Almost half the sūtras of *Saṃyuktāgama* occur in the *Dirghāgama* and *Ekottarāgama*, which are partly equivalents of the Pāli *Dīgha Nikāya* and *Aṅguttara Nikāya*. Another important work on philosophy viz. Vasumitra's *Abhidharma Prakaraṇapāda* (12 fasc.) was rendered into Chinese by Guṇabhadra in collaboration with an Indian paṇḍit named Buddha-

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1 Trans. into Chinese by Gautama Saṅghadeva in 391 A. D. (Nanjio, 1288).

yaśas. Guṇabhadra's style of writing in Chinese was of a high order, and his books became very popular in China.

This Guṇabhadra was also responsible for a translation of a very important Pāli work, *Milinda-pañha*, but it was unfortunately lost by 664 A. D. There were three versions of the *Milinda-pañha* in Chinese :

(1) *Na-sien* (*Nāgasena*) *pi-yu-ching* or the Sūtra of comparisons by Nāgasena. This version was translated in the third century A. D. but was already lost in the 5th century.

(2) *Na-sien pi-chiu ching* (Nāgasena Bhikṣu Sūtra) or *Na-sien ching* (Nāgasena Sūtra)[1] was first translated during the Eastern Tsin dynasty (317-420 A. D.). This version is anonymous ; its original was probably redacted in a dialect of India, in two or three fasciculi. To the Chinese scholars one recension in two fasciculi was known.

(3) A version of the second, probably incomplete, was translated by Guṇabhadra ; but his translation has not come down to us as stated above.

A comparison of the Chinese and Pāli versions of the book shows wide divergences in the preliminary part, and almost perfect agreement in the principal part. The two texts of the Chinese versions were held by Sprecht and Lévi to be different works, but they have since been proved by Pelliot[2] to be two recensions of one and the same work. Between these recensions it is difficult to decide which is the more ancient and the more exact. The Chinese text is much shorter than the existing Pāli one[3].

Pāli Nikāyas and Sanskrit Āgamas.

In connection with Guṇabhadra's translation of the *Saṃyuktāgama-sūtra*, a very important problem presents itself : "What is the relation to the Pāli canon of the Chinese texts bearing titles corresponding to *Dīrgha, Madhyama, Saṃyukta* and *Ekottara* ? These collections of Sūtras do not call themselves *Nikāya* but A-han or Āgama : the titles are

1 Nanjio, 1358.

2 Pelliot, 'Les noms propres dans les traductions Chinois du Milinda-pañha', *J. A.*, 1914, No. 2, pp. 379-420.

3 Takakusu, 'Chinese translations of the Milinda-pañha', *J.R.A.S.*, 1896, pp. 1-21. For a detailed discussion of the Chinese versions of Milinda-pañho, see Paul Demiéville, 'Les versions Chinois du Milinda-pañha', *BEFEO.*, 1924, Nos. 1-2, pp. 1-255.

translated as 'Long', 'Medium,' 'Miscellaneous' and Tseng-i, representing Ekottara rather than Aṅguttara[1]. There is hence *prima facie* reason to suppose that these works represent not the Pāli canon, but a somewhat similiar Sanskrit collection. That one or many Sanskrit works may have co-existed with a somewhat similar Pāli work is clearly shown by the Vinaya texts, for here we have the Pāli canon and Chinese translations of five Sanskrit versions, belonging to different schools, but apparently covering the same ground and partly identical. For the Sūtra Piṭaka no such evidence is forthcoming, but the Sanskrit fragments of the *Saṃyuktāgama* found near Turfan contain parts of six sūtras which are arranged in the same order as the Chinese translation and are apparently the original from which it was made. It is noticeable that three of the four great Āgamas were translated by monks who came from Tukhāra or Kabul. Guṇabhadra, however, the translator of the *Saṃyuktāgama* came from Central India, and the text which he translated was brought from Ceylon by Fa-hsien[2]. It is also certain that though the Chinese Āgamas and Pāli Nikāyas contain much common matter, it is differently distributed". (Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, III, pp. 296-7).

During this Liu Sung period a few Chinese scholars learnt Sanskrit and translated many books into Chinese. One of them, Shih-Fa-Yung had been so much attracted by Indian culture that he took the name of Thāsa-wu-Chia which is transliterated as Dharma-vikrama or Dharmaśūra. He had been to India with the group of twenty-five monks, who had started for India in 420 A. D. and came back in 433 A. D. He translated only one work. Shih Hwui-Kien, another Chinese śramaṇa, whose native place is not known, translated 10 or 15 works in A. D. 457 ; but today only six works remain, and in 730 only seven works were in existence. We find the names of other Chinese śramaṇas, who translated a few books, but most of them are lost.

It is not always that the Buddhist monks alone laboured on translation of works. Even laymen took great interest in the work. Tsü-Chü Chin-Shang, a Chinese Gṛhapati or householder, was a cousin of the second ruler of the Northern Liang Dynasty, who had killed Dharma

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1 Anesaki, 'Traces of Pāli Texts in a Mahāyāna treatise', *Le Muséon*, 1905.

2 Lévi, 'Saṃyuktāgama Sanskrit' *T'oung Pao*,, 1904, p. 297.

rakṣa mentioned above. Tsü-Chü-Ching-Shang in his youth had gone to Khotan, where he had met an Indian priest named Buddhasena, from whom he probably learnt Sanskrit. Having returned to the kingdom of the Northern Liang, he translated one work in 2 or 3 fasciculi, entitled 'an important explanation of the Law of Meditation' in A. D. 433-439, but it was lost before 730 A. D. After the destruction of the Northern Liang, Dynasty, he went southward and took refuge under the Sungs, where he continued his work of translation with great vigour. By 455 A.D. he translated 28 or, some say, 35 works, of which sixteen only are in the Ming collection (Nanjio, App. II, 68, 83).

A lay Chinese translator.

The work of translation went on in the South in spite of the change of rulers. For in 479 A. D. the Lin Sung Dynasty was replaced by the Ch'i Dynasty, which retained the capital in Nanking as before, so that the culture of the Buddhists did not get any rude shock from the change of masters. In the reign of Wu-ti, the first emperor of this Dynasty, one of the imperial princes, named Tzu-Liang cultivated the society of eminent monks and enjoyed theological discussions. From the specimens of these arguments which have come down to us, we see that the explanation of the inequalities of life as the result of Karma had a great attraction for the popular mind and and also that it provoked the hostile criticism of the Confucian literati[1]. During this period of 23 years, we find mention of eight monks namely Dharmajāta-yaśa, Mahāyāna (Mo-ho-Shêng), Saṅgha-bhadra, Dharmamati, Guṇavṛddhi (?), Shih Fa-tu, Shih Than-Ching, Shih Fa-hwa, who translated 14 Sanskrit books, out of which only six are mentioned in the Tripiṭaka of today.

The Ch'i dynasty.

The Ch'i Dynasty in the South was followed by the Liang Dynasty of the Siao Family (A.D. 502-557), founded by Wu-ti, who alone ruled from 502 to 549. Although successful as a warrior in the beginning of life, he lost all interest in war and politics after he had embraced Buddhism, and died miserably in the hands of his opponents the Wei of the North. Wu-ti forbade sacrifice of animals, even representations of animals in embroidery on the ground that people might cut up such figures and thus become callous to the sanctity of life. He imitated Aśoka and rivalled him in

Emperor Wu-ti, a Chinese Aśoka.

1 Eliot, *op. cit*, III, p. 253.

pious enthusiasm, if not in power and prosperity. He expounded sūtras in public and wrote a book on Buddhist ritual.

It was during the reign of Wu-ti that the first Chinese edition of the Tripiṭaka in manuscript and not in print was made in 518 A.D. The Emperor paid great honour to Buddhism and he made a large collection of the Buddhist canonical books, amounting to 5,400 volumes, in the Hwâ-lin garden. The Shāman Pao-Chan compiled the Catalogue in fifty-four fasciculi'[1]. According to the Khai-yuen-lu, this Catalogue was compiled by Pao-chan under the Imperial order in 4 fasciculi, in A. D. 518; but it had been lost in 730 A.D. The total number of the sacred books that were translated from Sanskrit into Chinese between 67-518 A.D., that is, about four hundred and fifty years, is said to have reached about 1432 distinct works in 3741 fasciculi, arranged under 20 classes. This was the first collection of Buddhist sacred books made by an Emperor of China. But this Catalogue is lost. The one that is proved was compiled by a Chinese priest Sang Yien about 520 A.D. It was a private collection and consisted of 17 fasciculi (Nanjio, 1476). Its title was *Chu-San-tsang-tsi* or a collection of the records of translation of the Tripiṭaka.

First Catalogue and Chinese Tripiṭaka.

*(To be continued)*

PRABHAT KUMAR MUKHERJI

1 Max Müller quoted by Nanjio, p. xvii.

# MISCELLANY

## The date of Kaniska and Mr. Kimura

I have taken a keen interest in the question about the date of the famous Indo-Scythian emperor Kaniṣka, and I therefore at once turned to Mr. Kimura's paper, when I received the third part of the Indian Historical Quarterly. It seemed evident that the learned author is in possession of Chinese scholarship, since he quotes directly from the source, and I therefore thought that he might perhaps have come across some new information, which had escaped notice up till now, and apparently he had.

He brings the following extract from the Hou Han-shu: "In the year *yûanch'u* of emperor Anti, king Ankon of Sākala got offended with his uncle and prime minister Pan and exiled him as a hostage to the king of the Yueh-chi. The Yueh-chi king very much loved him *i. e.* Pan. Now when king Ankon died without son, his mother became regent. The people of Sākala then put up as their king the son of the brother of Pan. When Pan (the minister of the Sākala king) heard of this, he appealed to the king of the Yueh-chi on the ground that though the people have made his brother's son king, yet he ought to be made king in his place because he was the uncle. The Yueh-chi king was satisfied and sent Pan to Sākala with an army. The people of Sākala showed respect to Pan as they were afraid to disobey the Yueh-chi king; they then took away the seat of Pan's nephew and made Pan their king."

Mr. Kimura compares this account with a passage from Hiuen Tsang in which Kaniṣka is mentioned in connection with Sākala and some hostages, and draws the conclusion that Kaniṣka's date can be settled from this comparison. It must be subsequent to the period *Yûan-ch'u* (114-116 A.D.), and an examination of certain details mentioned by Hiuen Tsang shows, he says, that it must fall between A. D. 140 and 180.

This argument looks very convincing. But there is one difficulty: the quotation from the Hou Han-shu is not correct.

I shall not lay any stress on the fact that the name of the "Sākala" king is wrongly given as Ankon instead of An-kuo, older pronunciation An-kwak, because this may be a mere slip of the pen. More serious is, however, the misstatement that An-kuo was king of Sākala.

The passage quoted by Mr. Kimura is found in the chapters of the Hou Han-shu which deal with the kingdom Su-le in the Western Countries. The account of So-kü, *i.e.* Yarkand, ends with the remark: going from So-kü, if one turns to the north-east one arrives in Su-le. Su le is accordingly a kingdom in Eastern Turkistan, to the north-east of Yarkand and I fail to understand why Mr. Kimura does not accept the usual identification of Su-le and Kashgar, which is, as a matter of fact, beyond every doubt.

If he had not made this mistake, he would probably have seen that the history of Kashgar, as it is narrated in Chinese and Tibetan sources, seems to include events which may prove of interest in connexion with the date of Kaniṣka.

In his Tableaux historiques de l'Asie, p. 166, M. Klaproth states that according to some Chinese source, the king of Kashgar was deposited by the Yueh-chi about A.D. 120, and that his subjects on that occasion embraced Buddhism. We are not told where he has found this statement, but Mr. Kimura will perhaps be able to trace it. It evidently refers to the same events which are mentioned in the passage from the Hou Han-shu quoted by him about the installation of the ruler whom Mr. Kimura calls Pan, but whom the Hou Han-shu name Ch'en-p'an on the throne of Kashgar. Now we are told in the Li-yul-gyi Lo-rgyas-pa[1] that the wife of the Khotan king Vijayasiṃha was instrumental in propagating Buddhism in Shu-lik. Shu-lik is evidently the same word as is rendered Su-le by the Chinese, for the ancient pronunciation of this name was *Shiwo-lek*. We must therefore draw the conclusion that the Khotan king Vijayasiṃha was on the throne about A.D. 120.

Now we learn from another Tibetan source[2] that Vijayakīrti, the son of Vijayasiṃha, led an army to India together with king Kaniṣka and (?) the Guzan king and others. Though Tārānātha distinguishes between Kanika and Kaniṣka, just as Mr. Kimura speaks of two kings Kaniṣka, there cannot be any doubt that we have here a reference to Kaniṣka, whose date would accordingly be subsequent to A.D. 120.

If the Tibetan notice about the expedition to India can be relied on, it further raises a certain presumption in favour of the theory that Kaniṣka started on his campaign from Khotan and in this connexion it may be useful to remind the reader of certain facts which point to the same conclusion.

1 Rockhill, Life of the Buddha, p. 240.

2 Cf. Dr. Thomas, Indian Antiquary, xxxii, 1903, p. 240.

Mr. Kimura quotes the notice in the Sūtrālaṅkāra about the king whom he calls Candra Kaniṣka. The Chinese text does not, however, speak of *Candra*, but of *Chen-t'an* Kaniṣka, and Professor Sylvain Lêvi has long ago[1] suggested to explain *Chen-t'an* as "king of Khotan". Also the late Dr. Fleet[2] thought that "Kaniṣka belonged to a separate clan, sept, or ruling house of the Kuṣāṇa tribe which made its way from Khotan into Kashmir, and thence into India."

It is further of importance that Kaniṣka and his successors, in their coin legends, use the Iranian language which later on became the language of trade and administration in the Khotan kingdom and which had been spoken then in the first centuries of the Christian era[3]. They are there designated as belonging to the *Kuṣa* tribe and not by means of the derived word *Kuṣāṇa*, just as the Chinese texts quoted by Mr. Kimura speak of Kaniṣka as a king in the race of the *Kuṣas* and as king Kaniṣka of the Mahārājakanikalekha[4] is said to be of the *Kuṣa* race.

Moreover, if Kaniṣka hailed from the Khotan country, it becomes necessary to follow the Russian scholar Storel Holstein[5] in assuming that he belonged to the Little and not to the Great Yueh-chi.

It follows from what I have said above that I cannot accept Mr. Kimura's dictum that the "evidence does not leave the smallest doubt that there were two Kaniṣkas, one of older times and another a contemporary of Aśvaghoṣa." There were no doubt two Kaniṣkas, the great and famous protector of Buddhism and another one, probably his grandson, who is mentioned in the Āra inscription, but they were not separated by a long interval. The Chinese accounts of the interval between Kaniṣka and the Nirvāṇa are too inconsistent to be relied on, and the statements about the original composition and authorship of Buddhist books must be received with critical scepticism.

It will be seen that I roughly accept Mr. Kimura's date of what he calls Kaniṣka II for the great Kaniṣka. And I still think that the evidence collected in the paper written by my Dutch friend de Wijk and

1 See Indian Antiquary, xxxii, 190, pp. 384f.

2 JRAS., 1903, p. 337.

3 Cf. my papers in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, 68, pp. 85 ff. and in the Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, viii, pp. 220 ff.

4 Dr. Thomas, l.c., p. 348.

5 In the Transactions of the Berlin Academy, 1914, pp. 643 ff.

myself[1] strongly points to A. D. 134 as the initial year of the era, instituted by him. In B.C. 57 there was no Kuṣāṇa empire. That follows from the Chinese annals and also from the history of North-western India, which was then under the dominion of Śaka kings, Moga or one of his predecessors.

STEN KONOW

## A Note on Excavation-work by Mediæval Bengalees

Towards the end of the Pathan rule and during the reign of the Mughals, Bengal did not only survive the shock of foreign occupation, but her life-forces also shaped out a new civilisation. The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were marked by a general cultural upheaval which was effective in many directions. The work of reconstruction, which was suddenly stopped after the Senas, was now taken up in right earnest. Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Śāktism were the dominant forms of the Neo-Hinduism of the age. Both art and literature connected with these faiths were cultured to a great perfection. In order to reconstruct they had to fall back on artistic and literary traditions and vestiges of the past. Thus a regular investigation was carried on for bringing old Mss. and sites to light. A few references in contemporary literature are here collected in order to show that the work of excavation was not unknown in those days.

At the very outset we should observe that the underlying motive of those mediæval explorers was not at all archæological, but only to secure and restore the old images or sites. These old religious souvenirs had, through the ravages and political vicissitudes of Muhammadan rule and owing to the desertion of the places of pilgrimage, been gradually hidden in out-of-the-way places. Only the class of religious mendicants, who wandered through the length and breadth of the country, had any real knowledge of the old relics. They were sometimes known to have carried small images with their all but scanty belongings. They were thus an agent in the migration of idols. It was not uncommon that they often left the images with some fortunate householders who were eager to arrange for their regular worship. But the story of those images, which were buried underground, is differently told. As the folk-lores have it, the village cowboys, while tending their herds at some deserted spot overgrown with jungles, suddenly came by some old

1 Acta Orientalia, Leiden, 1924, pp. 52 ff.

images and when the neighbouring villagers heard of it they took them over to a public place of worship. We are sometimes asked to believe stories in which certain lucky persons received an *ādeśa* in their dreams that such and such deities are willing to favour them if they only dig up their images from particular spots.

Thus we find that some sort of excavation-work was being carried on in mediæval Bengal, though the fact was not recorded. We are not sure, for the paucity of any reliable mention in the contemporary works, whether old architectural remains were restored in the same way as the images. But we have come across some pointed references as to the restoration of some well-known images in the 16th century from some old sites excavated for the very purpose. And these images were different in style and execution from the newly sculptured ones. Again the old building materials which the excavations divulged were sometimes freely utilised to give the images a new habitation.

মথুরার লুপ্ত তীর্থের করিহ উদ্ধার।
ভক্তি-স্মৃতি-শাস্ত্র করি করিহ প্রচার॥ চৈতন্যচরিতামৃত—মধ্য—২৩শ অঃ
ব্রজের রসশাস্ত্র তুমি কর নিরূপণ।
তীর্থ সব লুপ্ত, তার করিহ প্রচারণ॥ চৈতন্যচরিতামৃত—অন্ত্য—১ম অঃ

Caitanyadeva, who revived and remodelled the Vaiṣṇavism of Bengal, had the farsightedness to place the activities of his Church on a sound foundation. He noticed with remorse that the holy places of Vaiṣṇavism as well as the Vaiṣṇava Śāstras were almost forgotten or extinct. He himself travelled to the farthest of the holy places and was anxious to revive the splendours of the Brindabans which were traditionally connected with the life-history of Kṛṣṇa. On the authority of the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* we know that while travelling in Southern India he procured manuscript copies of rare Vaiṣṇava works, such as the *Brahma-saṃhitā* and the *Karṇāmṛta*. Again, he enjoined on the Vaiṣṇava apostles Sanātana and Rūpa Gosvāmins while he met the former at Benares and the latter at Puri :—

সর্ব্বত্র প্রমাণ দিবে পুরাণ বচন। চৈতন্যচরিতামৃত—মধ্য—২৪শ অঃ

In the case of the holy sites, and specially the Brindabans which were hidden in the jungles far away from human habitation, the Vaiṣṇava apostles had to proceed with the greatest care and observation. They studied the old Śāstras on the subject.

নানা শাস্ত্র আনি লুপ্ততীর্থ উদ্ধারিলা। চৈতন্যচরিতামৃত—অন্ত্য—৪র্থ অঃ
লুপ্ত তীর্থ ব্যক্ত করি শাস্ত্রপ্রমাণেতে। ভক্তিরত্নাকর (বহরমপুর সং) পৃঃ ৮৮

Many of the old sites were restored. But a difficulty arose. It was recorded in the Śāstras that the image of the important deity Govinda [illegible] with the spot called Yogapitha which was

somewhere in the Brindabans. Now, Rūpa Gosvāmin, perhaps after surveying the sites, ascertained that the Gomāṭīlā was the old Yogapīṭha. And here, regular excavation being performed, his calculation was authenticated, and the image of Govinda was really found out,—

শ্রীরূপ গোসাঞির এক চিন্তা হৈল চিতে ॥
শ্রীবিগ্রহ শ্রীগোবিন্দ ব্রজেন্দ্রকুমার।
সদা যোগপীঠে স্থিতি শাস্ত্রে এ প্রচার ॥
গৌমাটীলা খ্যাতি যোগপীঠ বৃন্দাবনে।
গোমাটীলা যোগপীঠ জানিলু এখনে ॥
যত্নে যোগপীঠ ভূমি খননের কালে।
* * *
যোগপীঠ মধ্যে প্রভু ব্রজেন্দ্র নন্দন। ভক্তিরত্নাকর, পৃঃ ৮৮-৯
* সর্ব্বতীর্থ প্রকাশিল।
মদনগোপাল গোবিন্দের সেবা প্রচারিল ॥ চৈতন্যচরিতামৃত—মধ্য—১ম অঃ

It is also recorded in the *Bhakti-ratnākara* (Ibid. p. 93) that at the Brindabans Sanātana Gosvāmin procured the image of Madanamohana but, we are not told whether any excavation-work had to be undertaken for the purpose. In this very old Vaiṣṇava work (Ibid. pp. 128-29) we get another reference to excavation at Biraloka by the celebrated Abhirāma Gosvāmin. The image of Gopināth was thus restored after excavating another old site. Now, the details of those operations were beside the aims of the Vaiṣṇava leaders. They were concerned only with the religious side of the thing. But the evidence of the orthodox Vaiṣṇava tradition embodied in the *C.-C.* and *Bhakt.-Rat.* which were written in the early years of the 17th century may fairly be reckoned as established.

Besides the Vaiṣṇavas, the Śāktas of the period seem to have launched a propaganda for excavation. But unfortunately we have no contemporary accounts of it. Only one instance may be taken as proved beyond doubt. The well-known and important image of Yaśoreśvarī was restored by Pratāpāditya by excavating an old site (Prof. S. C. Mitra's Yaśohara-Khulnār Itihāsa, vol. II, p. 128). As most of the Śākta images are very old, at least some of them have been unearthed by means of excavation. We hope further research may reveal other instances of regular excavation.

RAMES BASU

## Perumal's Apostacy

This is a subject about which much has been written by eminent scholars, and they seem to be generally agreed in discarding the view that a Perumal embraced Muhammadanism, mainly because the traditional date assigned to this incident, as expressed in the chronogram, *Kurudhih Samasrayah* is centuries before the period of the Prophet. They hold that if a Perumal did turn apostate it was to accept Buddhism. They also held that the Muhammadan colour was introduced into the tradition by the Portuguese. But no explanation has as yet been offered as to how they misunderstood it. An explanation can be offered for this misunderstanding.

Buddha is a common name applied by Malayalees to the followers of all religions except Hinduism, and we do use the term in this sense even now to refer to Christians and Muhammadans. Originally it must have been applied only to Buddhists, that being the only alien religion in the land. Again the script, current here at the time of the Portuguese advent and for centuries before that, was the Vaṭṭeḻuttu script which have no symbols to denote aspirates and sonants. If the term *Magadha* was written in this script, it could be read only as *Makata*. To the foreigner it is easier to identify *Makata* with *Mecca* than with *Magadha*. Thus might have arisen the wrong interpretation of the tradition. This, therefore, once again supports the accepted view that the last of the Perumals who turned apostate become a convert not to Muhammadanism but to Buddhism.

In this connection a few more considerations deserve to be noticed. The interpretation of the apostacy, as accepted by scholars, necessarily raises the question as to what was the Perumal's religion before his conversion. Secondly, if there was an apostate Bhāskara Ravi Varmā, who is the Perumal of the same name whose statue is set up and worshipped at Tiruvanśikuḻam temple? Surely, an apostate Perumal would not be accorded such honour. Thirdly, if the tradition of the apostacy is to be accepted, one must be prepared to accept the other statements also connected with it. Thus the same tradition makes the apostate Bhāskara Ravi Varmā the last of the Perumals who divided up his kingdom, and assigns him to the close of the fourth century A. D. If this also be accepted who is the Perumal of the same name who is the donor of the Jewish plate and who is assigned to the eighth or the ninth century by Epigraphists. These considerations do not appear to have been raised and answered. No definite answer can be given in the present imperfect state of our historical researches,

and if any solution is attempted here, it is only to court discussion and thus elicit truth.

The points raised above can find a satisfactory solution if two Bhāskara Ravi Varmās may be presumed. The earlier, or the traditional, Bhāskara Ravi Varmā might have been the last of that noble line of Imperial Suzerains, the last Emperor to actively wield the Kerala sceptre, to exercise the royal prerogatives appertaining to that high office in their fullest and highest measure and finally to divide up his kingdom amongst his relatives, accept Buddhism and go on a pilgrimage to Magadha. There might have been a revival of Hinduism in the land during his time and the Emperor might have forsaken the religion of his predecessors and accepted the new faith; but in his declining years he might have given up his new religion and went back to the religion of his youth and of his family, namely Buddhism.

The second or the historical Bhāskara Ravi Varmā, the donor of the Jewish plate, might not have been a Perumal, exercising all Kerala political supermacy; but only a chief invested however with complete religious supermacy over the whole land and hence entitled to the honorific title Perumal. That the historical Bhāskara Ravi Varmā lived after the break up of the Perumal's empire is to a certain extent borne out by the number of chieftains cited as witnesses to the Jewish deed. It is also certain that this king held his court at Tiruvanśikuḷam.

If this view appears tenable, it deserves to be argued as to which family this spiritual head belonged. Certain clues are indeed available and in the light of these we are led to believe that the donor of the Jewish plate was one of the greatest kings of the family now known as the Cochin Royal Family. The omission of the Chief representing this family may be accounted for by supposing not that he was a nephew of the donor as is commonly done, but that he was the donor himself. That the Jews have shown a decided partiality for the Maharaja of Cochin, that His Highness has always take them under his protection and scrupulously respected the rights and privileges granted to them by Bhāskara Ravi Varmā may be adduced as a second argument in support of our view. Thirdly, to none else is the historic temple at Tiruvanśikuḷam so dear as to His Highness. The Maharaja of Cochin, who even to this day carries honorific title 'Gaṅgādhara Tṛkkoil Adhikarikal Vera Kerala etc'. thereby suggesting that *Vanśuḷesa* was and is the patron deity of the Royal Family and that His Highness derives his sovereign powers from being the *Guardian* of that sacred

shrine. Fourthly, His Highness constitutes the highest tribunal in all spiritual matters for all Kerala, a position more or less conceded even now at least implicitly by all Malayalee chiefs. This position corresponds to that of the Pope in Europe, who, though, theoretically nothing in temporal affairs, could yet command the homage of all Christian powers and hence was practically everything. Similarly, the Maharaja of Cochin might not originally have been a great political power, but by virtue of the religious suzerainty he was very powerful and was able to exact the homage of all Malayalee princes. Tradition also seems to favour the view that His Highness was the spiritual head. For the last of the Perumals is said to have made his nephew the heir to his religious supremacy and hence gave him the crown. In the light of these it does not appear to be very far-fetched to find in the historic Bhāskara Ravi Varmā, one amongst the glorious ancestors of the Royal Family of Cochin.

Such an explanation, namely, that the historical Bhāskara Ravi Varmā represented mainly the highest spiritual and not political authority naturally fits in with the date assigned to the document on epigraphical grounds and is to some extent consistent with the nature of the document itself. The period, generally accepted for the document, was indeed a troublous time for religion. Buddhism and Jainism were gradually sinking under the vigorous strokes of the Mīmāṃsakas. Through the efforts of these and the advent of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya Hinduism was asserting itself. Christianity was receiving a greater impetus and Muhammadanism was making its appearance and its mark. It was a time for a religious head to make his name felt and the historical Bhāskara Ravi Varmā might have asserted his rights to the full and established Hinduism once and for all on a firm basis. Thus he might have earned the gratitude of the leaders of the Hindu religion who in return might have deified and worshipped him by enshrining a statue of his in the historic temple at Tiruvançikuḷam,

This is a new point of view and for want of materials it has to be suggested only as a tentative theory. According to this it has to be presumed that the Perumpaṭappil Muppil, i.e. the head of the Cochin Royal Family, held his court at Tiruvançikuḷam, the traditional capital of the Perumals for many centuries after the downfall of the Perumal's supremacy. If the Maharaja's coronation ceremony was conducted at Citrakūṭam in Vanneri it was only out of respect for the family tradition and not out of his official position, spiritual and political. What were the circumstances which forced the king to shift his

capital and where and when he first shifted are matters which cannot now be satisfactorily explained.

K. R. PISHAROTI

## A Note on the Evidence of Pāṇini on Vāsudeva-worship

Mr. U. C. Bhattacharjee has tried very hard to controvert the opinion of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar by attempting to understand the true spirit of the sūtras of Pāṇini but he has not been successful.[1]

It is very easy to maintain the view held by Bhandarkar that the sūtra IV, 3, 98 of Pāṇini could be taken as evidence of Vāsudeva-worship in his times. First let us take the Mahābhāṣya passage under the sūtra. It runs thus :

Kim artham Vāsudevaśabdād vun vidhīyate na gotrakṣatriyākhyebhyo bahulaṃ vuñ ity eva siddham. Na hy asti viśeṣo Vāsudevaśabdād vuno vuño vā. Tad eva rūpaṃ sa eva svaraḥ. Idaṃ tarhi prayojanam—Vāsudevaśabadsya pūrvanipātaṃ vakṣyāmīti. Athavā naiṣā kṣatriyākhyā, saṃjñaiṣā tatra Bhagavataḥ.

"As the word Vāsudeva is commonly known as the name of a Gotra or of a Kṣatriya and as the form kept in view is not different from that contemplated in the next sūtra it could as well come under the operation of the next sūtra ; and its mention here should naturally be considered redundant. Further, there is no difference in accentuation as in the case of other suffixes, to differentiate the two formations. Then it might be that words denoting the names of respectful persons should be placed in the order of their respectability. Or (as it is unsatisfactory) it might be that the word Vāsudeva is the name of the Lord".

Here we see Patañjali discussing all the possibilities, and finding no other way he comes to the conclusion that the word in question should be the name of the Lord. In this connection it would be worth while to refer to the words of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita on the Mahābhāṣya passage (Śabdakaustubha, Chowkh. S.S., vol. II, p. 182) :

Tathā ca neyaṃ gotrākhyā nāpi kṣatriyākhyeti yukta eva vun vidhiḥ.

To literally translate, it would mean : "Thus this word (Vāsudeva) is neither the name of a Gotra nor the name of a Kṣatriya (so as to come under the influence of the next sūtra), and so it is proper

1 Vide I. H. Q., vol. I, No. 3, pp. 483 ff.

to ordain the addition of (a different suffix) *vun.*" He means that as the word Vāsudeva denoted the name of the Lord, Pāṇini ordains a special suffix. So according to him also there could be no doubt that Vāsudeva-worship was prevalent in the times of Pāṇini as evidenced by the sūtra IV, 3, 98.

It is rather engaging to go through the arguments against taking the word " Bhaktiḥ " in the sense of religious adoration. He says (p. 487),—" The sect-names of the worshippers of other well-known gods, such as Śiva or Viṣṇu, are not really derived under these rules (IV, 3, 95-100). These are derived under rule IV, 2, 24 (Sā asya devatā). The names indicating the god worshipped by any one are the true index of a man's religious adoration. Rule IV, 2, 24 and Rule IV, 3, 95 cannot possibly mean the same thing : for in that case, Pāṇini would be guilty of an unpardonable redundancy from which Patañjali is labouring so hard to save him. Now, if rule IV, 2, 24 obtains derivatives to indicate the god worshipped, and if the derivatives under rules IV, 3, 96-100 also meant the worshippers of particular objects, then surely, the interposition of the rule IV, 3, 95 (Bhaktiḥ) giving the meaning in which these latter derivatives are to be obtained, was clearly unnecessary. Instead of giving this new rule about the meaning, rules 96 to 100 might easily be grouped under IV, 2, 24. But this has not been done. We have, therefore, to distinguish the meaning given in IV, 3, 95 from that given in IV, 2, 24 ; and if religious adoration is to be the meaning anywhere, surely it must be where the names are indisputably the names of gods, i. e., rule IV, 2, 24."

It will be seen that the above arguments are based on a thorough misinterpretation of the rule IV, 2, 24. The word "devatā" here has nothing to do with religious adoration or the "sect names of worshippers of well-known gods. It has been rendered by the Vṛttikāra in his Kāśikā thus :—

Yāgasampradānaṃ devatā deyasya puroḍaśādeḥ svāminī, tasmin abhidheye pratyayaḥ.

He means that the word "devatā" is the deity to whom the oblations are dedicated in sacrificial rites, and the words meaning "such oblations" take the following suffixes when such oblations are named after the deities to whom they are dedicated. Thus it is clear that the word "devatā" has nothing to do with religious adoration. Pāṇini is not at all "guilty of any unpardonable redundancy" in framing the sūtra IV, 3, 95. And Patañjali does not at all dream of any such redundancy. The absurdity pointed out as the result if the sūtra IV, 3, 95 were to be applied to the rule IV, 3, 96 in the sense of religious adoration is only

imaginary; while in fact, it would really lie in applying the leading rule IV, 2, 24 to the rules it governs, in the sense of "sect-names of worshippers of well-known gods." Further, the fact that Pāṇini has mentioned the word "Vāsudeva" in the rule in question is sufficient argument to show that the word "bhakti" in the rule IV, 3, 95 should be taken to have been used in both its senses of religious adoration and "anurakti".

As regards the word "arjuna" there is nothing to infer its being also the name of a god. The form "arjunaka" could not be got by any other rule of Pāṇini and so its mention here could not give rise to any ingenious interpretation. We have seen that Patañjali does not at all interfere wih the use of the word here.

Thus it can be established that Pāṇini's rule IV, 3, 98 is surely an evidence of Vāsudeva-worship as conceived of by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and that the other word is not used in the sense of god.

K. G. SUBRAHMANYAM

## Progress of Archæological Research in Mysore

The Report on the working of the Archæological Department of the Mysore State during the year 1923-24 was recently published together with the government's review-order passed thereon. The Director of Archæology is the talented scholar, Dr. R. Shama Shastri, and his present Report is as full of varied interest and informing as the one that he brought out last year. As regards the work of a detailed monumental survey resolved upon, a beginning was made in 13 villages in the Hunsur, Arkalgud and Hassan Taluks, where the most important monuments surveyed are the twin temples of Mosale in the Hassan Taluk which are very good specimens of the Hoysala style of architecture and testify to the catholicity of the Vaiṣṇava Hoysala rulers in the matter of religious patronage. Besides repairs done to the Buceśvara Temple in the village of Koranangala in the Hassan Taluk which is a unique monument and architecturally as important as the temples of Somnathpur and Halebid, Government appointed a committee to submit a detailed report on the repairs and restoration work to be done to the great temples of Belur, Halebid and Somnathpur. There was also started in the course of the year an Archæological Museum as an adjunct to the office of the Department "with a view to make the study of Indian History realistic and interesting, and also to link up the Archæological

Department with the Department of History in the Mysore University. The Museum exhibits coins, copper-plate grants, ancient utensils and implements, views of ancient monuments and estampages of inscriptions.

The Ānjaneya temple at Bettadapura in the Hunsur Taluk is interesting, because of the figure of Ānjaneya carved on a huge slab measuring about 15′×5′; and facing to the right with the left hand holding a mace and being placed on the waist; and with the figure of Lakṣmaṇa fighting with Indrajit carved higher up on the slab; while below the Ānjaneya figure are carved a tiny figure similar to Ānjaneya called *Makaradhvaja* and also a fish and a tortoise. The name of the image is *Vīra Hanumanta*. There are *liṅgas* in a cave in the vicinity of the temple which are very interesting. On the top of the bigger of the two *liṅgas* are carved five tiny *liṅgas* in a circle, while the figure of Pārvatī is carved within a slit in the smaller *liṅga*. The *pīṭha* has got figures carved on all its four sides. A figure of the head and face of a female with ear-rings, necklace and other ornaments and surmounted by a serpent of seven hoods is prominently carved on the side of the *pīṭha* opposite to that through which the water poured over the *liṅga* flows out. On the *pīṭha* above the figure there is prominently carved out the name *Subrahmaṇyadeva*. This novel figure should attract the attention of all students of iconography. To the left of the serpent hoods a figure of *Śakti-gaṇapati* is carved, as well as a nude squatting figure with the name *Jina* written below. Such liṅgas or the coupling of such figures are not found anywhere else, nor are they described in any of the well-known *āgama* works.

There are also near the village of Sompura, a number of earth-mounds surrounded by one or two circles of stones which are locally designated as *Pāṇḍu Gutti* similar to sites elsewhere in the state called *Pāṇḍu kuḷi* or *Moryara Dinne* and traditionally connected with the epic Pāṇḍava heroes. In reality these might be either artificial caves of some aboriginal tribes or tombs of some early peoples; and a complete excavation may bring to light the relics buried in them.

With regard to manuscripts and books brought to light, there are some very noteworthy finds. Of these the first is *Mallisena's Nāgakumāracarita* which purports to be an abridgment in Sanskrit of what Jayadeva and others of old wrote partly in prose and partly in poetry in Prākṛt. It is the story of Nāgakumāra, the son of a Magadha king by a princess of Girinagara, who had to fight out the machinations of his half-brother Śrīdhara and encountered numerous adventures

living a thousand years in the epoch of the Jain Tīrthaṅkara Nemi. The story connects the hero with the Śakas and the Pallavas—Kīrtivarmā, a Śaka prince of the city of Śupratiṣṭhā, Meghavarṇa, king of Madura in the Pāṇḍya country and the Pallava king of Kāñcī. The Śaka and Pallava names are rather the names of dynasties than of individual kings—so the Director remarks— but still the mention of these names definitely marks the period of the adventures of the Nāgakumāras. All the kings in the story are described as having given their daughters in marriage to Nāgakumāra except the Pallavas, and it is probable that as the Pallavas had married Nāga princesses, the Nāgas, conforming to the Hindu custom of not exchanging daughters, might have declined to marry the Pallava princesses in return. Such names as Rudrasena, Candragupta and Pravarasena are the names of kings who played an important part in the period of the Śakas and the Pallavas *viz.*, the Śaka Rudrasena II, Candragupta I of the Gupta dynasty and Pravarasena I of the Vākāṭaka line. Rudrasena II is dated *cir.* 258 A.D. The Director would give the date *cir.* 250 A. D. for Candragupta I ; (*vide* his *Report* for 1922-23) ; and he would now fix the period of the Nāgas as falling between 200 and 300 A.D. Nāgakumāra is the name of one of the nine Nāgas mentioned along with the Guptas in the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa.* This new piece of evidence is only a tentative basis for further investigation and cannot be regarded as conclusive as it is not supported by epigraphical or numismatical evidence. Another work of some historical importance is the *Gadyakarṇāmṛta* of Sakala-vidyā-cakravartin—a historical prose-work in Sanskrit after the model of Bāṇa's *Harṣa-carita.* The subject is about the 90 days battle between Narasiṃha II, Hoysala and the Pāṇḍya and his allies with the object of restoring the fallen Cola fortunes about 1234 A.D. The information supplied by this unfortunately incomplete manuscript regarding the part played by the Hoysalas in putting down the Pāṇḍyas and rendering the Cola power stable is confirmed by numerous Hoysala inscriptions.

Somacaritragaṇi's *Gurugaṇa-ratnākara* throws a flood of light on the history of Gujarat in the latter half of the 15th century ; it treats of the life of the Jain monk Lakṣmīsāgaragaṇi of Tapagaccha who was of the Prajñāta line. This monk was a *sūri* ; and under his influence all the Hindu chiefs of Gujarat abandoned their policy of mutual quarrels and formed a circle (*maṇḍala*) of kings. The academy of Tapagaccha monastery conferred various degrees on students of Jaina religion and philosophy according to the standard of learning

they had acquired. The names of a number of scholars on whom the degrees were conferred are mentioned in the book and include women also. We also note that according to this book the relations between the Muhammadan conquerors of Malwa and Gujarat and the Hindu chiefs were most cordial. The book supplies a genealogy of the Prajñāta line of kings who ruled from Samadhika in Gujarat.

Among the epigraphical finds of the year, there are four copper-plate grants of the early Western Ganga kings ; and six are of the Vijayanagara kings. Two important stone inscriptions relate to the Ganga kings, Sivamara and Śrīpuruṣa ; and seven to the Nolamba rulers of the 9th and 10th centuries. The Western Ganga Plates supplement the important information derived from the Penukonda Plates of Mādhava (JRAS., 1915) ; they are the Chūkuttūr grant of the Ganga king Siṃhavarmā and the Kodanjeruvu grant of the Ganga king Avinīta and possibly engraved by the same person who engraved the Penukonda Plates. "On palæographic grounds and also on the evidence furnished by the name of the engraver they (the two latter) must necessarily be assigned to the same period as that of the Penukonda Plates (A. D. 400-500). But all the three vary in respect of the genealogies they furnish, after Karkanivarmā and Mādhava I ; and there can be no doubt that the three plates belong to three different branches springing from Mādhava I, the son of Karkanivarmā. With the help of these, Dr. Shama Sastri recasts the Ganga genealogy and says that "chronological considerations based upon the synchronism of the Ganga kings with the Pallavas, the Kadambas and the Guptas lead to the conclusion that the three kings, Mādhava II of Penukonda branch, Siṃhavarmā of the Cūkuttūr branch, and Mādhava II or young Avinīta of the main line must be contemporaries." He fixes on the basis of the synchronism established by Siṃhasūri's *Lokavibhāga* between Siṃhavarmā of the Pallava line and Mādhava II, Avinīta's date of anointment as a child-king may be taken to be about A.D. 475. The Nallāla grant of Durvinīta, son of Avinīta, seems to be equally genuine, as the Chūkuttūr and the Kodanjeruvu plates ; and it supplies a genealogy of the main line as distinguished from the other two branches. The Ālur grant of the Ganga king Marasiṃha, also discovered during the year is suspicious in some points ; but the genealogy of kings and synchronistic and other historical matters mentioned in it cannot be doubted ; because so far as these matters are concerned, the grant is merely a copy of other genuine grants.

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI

## The Cerebralization of the Dental Nasal in Pāli

The rules regarding the cerebralization of the dental nasal, *n*, in Sanskrit (*Pāṇini*, VIII. 4. 1 ff.) have nothing to do in Pāli, though both the nasals, cerebral and dental, *ṇ* and *n*, are freely used in it. In P. (= Pāli) there is neither *ṛ* nor *ṝ*; consequently they have no connection whatever with *n*; and though there is the use of *r* it does not much affect *n* (or *s*) as in Skt. (= Sanskrit)

There are a few rules in our ancient P. grammars in regard to the cerebralization of *n*, but they are not sufficient. Let them be mentioned here.

It is said[1] that the *n* of the suffixes *-ana* and *-anīya* after the roots ending in *ra* (or *r*) and *ha* (or *h*) is changed to *ṇ*; *e.g. karaṇa*, *karaṇīya* from √kara (= √kṛ), *gahaṇa*, *gahaṇīya* from √*gaha* (= √*gṛh*).[2]

It is further said (*Mahārūpasiddhi*, p. 21) that *n* becomes *ṇ* after

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[1] *Kaccāyanavutti*, Satyasamuccaya Press (Ceylon), 1904, iv. 1. 26; *Mahārūpasiddhi*, Vidyāsāgara Press (Ceylon), 1897, p. 221, *Sūtra* 536; *Mahāsaddanīti* (Colombo), 1909, p. 742, *Sūtra* 1135. The *sūtra* as read in the *Kaccāyanavutti* referred to runs as follows: "*Rahādito ṇa.*" In the Calcutta edition by Satis Chandra Vidyabhusan, 1901, the reading is "*Rahādito no ṇa.* The same reading is found also in the "*Mahārūpasiddhi*, loc. cit. Both the readings seem to be defective. One should read "*Raḥādito ṇo*" and "*Rahādito no ṇo*" respectively. The *Sūtra*, given in the *Mahāsaddanīti*, loc. cit., is accurate and quite clear: "*Rahādito anassa ṇo.*" By the word *-ādi-* in "*Rahādito*" the author of the *Mahārūpasiddhi* takes the roots *rama* (√*ram*), *āpa* (√*āp*), *ñā* (√*jñā*) and *tā* (√*trā* or *trai*) adding again *-ādi-* 'and others' though no other root is cited in the examples given by him. The *Kaccāyanavutti* with the *Mahāsaddanīti* says that this rule is with reference to the suffix *-ana* while the *Mahā-rūpasiddhi* adds to it the suffixes *-anīya* and 'others' (*- ādi*).

2 But we have *gahana* 'a wood' or 'thick' with *n*. Seeing this the author of the *Mahāsaddanīti* adds here one *sūtra* more (1137, p. 743) for its exclusion. Evidently he wrongly takes the word as derived from √*gaha* of which the Skt. equivalent is √*gṛh*). The fact is that it is derived from Skt. √*gah* (= √*gabh*, √*gāh*).

the prefixes *pa-* (Skt. *pra-*), *pari-*, and others[1] e. g. *paṇidhāna*, Skt. *praṇidhāna*; P. & Skt. *pariṇāma*; *oṇata*, Skt. *avanata*[2]; *uṇṇata*, Skt. *unnata*.The author of the *Mahāsaddanīti* gives another rule (p. 548, *Sūtra* 91): "*Ṇo nassa*" ; 'there is *ṇ* in the place of *n*' e.g. *paṇidhāna*, Skt. *praṇidhāna* ; *paṇidhi*, Skt. *praṇidhi* ; *paṇipāta*, Skt. *praṇipāta*. Then he goes on to say in the next *Sūtra* (92) "*Ṇassa ca no*" ; 'also there is *n* in the place of *ṇ* ; and gives the following examples : *taluna* and *taruṇa*, *kaluna* and *karuṇa*. With regard to this as well as some other changes dealt with in the chapter he says (p. 546, *Sūtra* 70) that such substituted forms (*ādeśas*) are to be known according to the uses found in the sacred texts (pāvacana).[3] This shows that there is hardly any fixed rule in regard to the cerebralization of *n* in Pāli.

Let us, however, try to discuss it a little more. Speaking generally, whenever there is in Skt. a cerebral nasal in a *stem* it will be found also in the corresponding P. words : *e.g* Skt. *varṇa*, P. *vaṇṇa* ; Skt. *dīrṇa*, P. *diṇṇa* ; Skt. *tṛṇa*, P. *tiṇa* ; Skt. *tīkṣṇa*. P. *tiṇha* ; Skt. *lakṣaṇa*, P. *lakkhaṇa* ; Skt. *grahaṇa*, P. *gahaṇa*.

There is, however, exception, but not much. For instance *nisinna*, Skt. *niṣaṇṇa*. Let us take another word : *nibbāna*, Skt. *nirvāṇa*. According to the above rule it is to be written with *ṇ* and is actually found so in such grammatical works as the *Mahāsaddanīti*, pp. 57, 547 and *Mahārūpasiddhi*, pp. 84, 234.[4] It is, however, written also with *n* and not unfrequently. In the publications of the Pāli Text Society as well as in some of the works edited by European scholars *n* is

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1 *Ṇo nassa pa- pari- ādito.*

2 It is, therefore, against the opinion of the author of the *Mahārūpasiddhi* that *onata* is used in the *Abhidhammattha Saṅgaha*, v. 12 in some of its editions, viz., the edition published by P. D. Fernando and G. S. Andris de Silva, Colombo, 1898 (p. 97, §251) ; that of the Sarasvati Press, Colombo, 2nd ed. 1908 (p. 21), and that of the Merusamudaya Press, Ratmalam, 1909 (p. 67). The same reading is given, I know, also in a Burmese edition. We have, however, *oṇata* in the editions of the PTS. (p. 25), the Thudammavadi Press, Rangoon, 1921 (p. 27), the Mahāmukuṭa Rājavidyālaya, Siam, 2466 B (p. 31), and the Gujrat Purātattva-Mandira, 1979 V. S. (p. 28).

3 *Yathā pāvacanaṃ vidhi. Imasmiṃ pakaraṇe pāvacanānurūpen' eva ādesādi vidhi hoti.*

4 But in the edition of Dhammakitti S. Dhammārāma, Vidyāsāgara Press, Colombo, 1915, pp. 94, 251, it is with *n*.

used. The books issued from Burma and Siam have, so far as my information goes, have *n* and not *ṇ*. But in the works printed in Ceylon both *ṇ* and *n* are employed. Even in the same book both of them are found.[1]

It seems to me that something may be said in favour of both the sides. When the P. word is derived direct from Skt. *nirvāṇa* (*nir* + √*vā* + *ana*) in which there is *ṇ* it is also in its P. form, *nibbāṇa*, in accordance with the rule enunciated above. On the other hand, if it is derived from P. √*vana*, Skt. √*van* 'to desire, long,' with the prefix *ni*, Skt. *nir*, as optionally suggested by native commentators,[2] the form *nibbāna* with *n* is also possible (**nivāna* being changed to *nibbāna*). It is to be noted that in **nivāna*, there is nothing for cerebralizing *n*.

Note the following words which are equally used in both the languages *guṇa*, *gaṇa*, *vīṇā*, etc.

In Skt. where there is a cerebral nasal, *ṇ*, in a case-ending and *not* in a stem, P. uses there the dental one, *n* ; e. g. from *cira* in Skt. we have *cireṇa*, while in P. it is *cirena* ; from *ākāra* Skt. *ākāreṇa*, P. *ākārena* and so on. Similarly from *dharma* Skt. *dharmeṇa*, P. *dhammena* ; from *puruṣa* Skt. *puruṣeṇa*, P. *purisena*. The above examples are all in the instrumental case ; let me cite a few words also in other cases where the dental nasal is cerebralized only in Skt. ; from *dharma* we have in Skt. *dharmāṇām* but in P. *dhammānaṃ*. So from *puruṣa* Skt. *puruṣāṇām*, P. *purisānaṃ* ; from *rūpa* Skt. *rūpāṇi*, P. *rūpāni*. All these dental nasals are in case-endings and not in stems and hence are not cerebralized in P.

Here the non-cerebralization may be explained in the following way:

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1 For instance, see *Abhidhānappadīpikā*, ed. H. Subhuti, Colombo, 1900, vv. 6. 800, 1015, p. 235 ; *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, Colombo, 1898, pp. 4, 53, 120.

2 "Bhavā bhavaṃ vinanato saṃsibbanato *vāna*saṃkhātāya taṇhāya *ni*kkantaṃ, nibbāti vā etena rāgaggi-ādiko'ti nibbānaṃ." *Vibhāvanī Ṭīkā* on the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha*, I, verse 2.

"Yasmā pan'esa catasso yoniyo, pañca gatiyo···aparāparabhāvāya vinanato, ābandhanato, saṃsibbanato *vānan* ti laddhavohārāya taṇhāya *ni*-kkanto, *nis*saṭo, visaṃyuto, tasmā *nibbānan* ti vuccatīti." *Visuddhimagga*, PTS., vol. I, pp. 293-294.

It may be observed here that the word *vāṇa* meaning *taṇhā*, Skt. *tṛṣṇā* cannot be disputed as the root √*van* in the sense of 'to desire' is used in the Vedic language. cf. *vanánā*, RV. ix. 86. 40.

P. *dhammena, purisena,* and *rūpāni* are not derived direct from their Skt. equivalents, *dharmeṇa, puruṣeṇa,* and *rūpāṇi* respectively (in that case there was the possibility of the cerebralization), but are from the P. words themselves, viz. *dhamma, purisa,* and *rūpa* respectively which are borrowed from Skt. adding to them the case-endings also borrowed from Skt.

Deviation from this rule is found but rarely. For instance, Skt. *padākṣarāṇām,* P. *padakkharāṇaṃ* and not *padakkharānaṃ* in the *Mahāsaddanīti,* p. 31. But it is difficult to ascertain as to whether this and such other cases are due to the mistake committed by scribes, printers, or editors themselves.

In verbal forms Skt. is followed ; e. g. Skt. *krīṇāti,* P. *kiṇāti* ; Skt. *gṛhṇāti,* P. *gaṇhāti* ; Skt. *śṛṇoti,* P. *suṇoti* ; but *dhunāti* is in both of them.

There are some words in P. in which the cerebral nasal is due solely to Prakritic influence as in Skt. ; e. g. Skt. *jñāna,* P. *ñāṇa* ; Skt. *avanata,* P. *oṇata.* There is no special rule about it and so the old uses are to be followed.

Sometimes the dentalization in P. of the cerebral nasal in Skt. already referred to as in *taluna,* Skt. *taruṇa,* etc. may be due to the influence of the Paiśācī dialect, the connection of which with P. cannot be denied.

VIDHUSEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

## Calcutta Imperial Library

There is a rumour afloat that the Imperial Library will be removed from Calcutta to Delhi. The scholars, journalists, and the educated public in the city have become naturally agitated at the idea that they are about to be deprived of the facilities for reading and research that the Library has been conferring on them since its foundation in 1902 by Lord Curzon. For the purposes of research, the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal alone is not sufficient, because there are many books which are available in the Imperial Library but not in that of the Asiatic Society, and therefore for scholars engaged in historical researches, the existence of both the libraries in this city is a necessity. The new capital at Delhi will no doubt require a library worthy of the metropolis of the Indian continent, but this does not mean that Calcutta should be deprived of its library to

furnish Delhi with one of the type. In the construction of the new capital, crores of rupees have been spent and will yet be spent, and therefore the cost of ten or fifteen lacs for the establishment of a new library there does not present any difficulty at all, specially as it can be distributed over a number of years. The number of scholars prosecuting researches at Delhi is at present very small, and several years would elapse before there will be scholars there in large numbers for whom a library of the type will be needed. Hence, there is no immediate necessity at Delhi for the existence of a full-fledged institution like the Imperial Library, though of course we have every sympathy with the immediate foundation there of a library which would in the course of a few years develop into an institution like the one in Calcutta.

Pursuant to the request of Mr. Nripendra Nath Basu the well-known councillor of the Calcutta Corporation, letters have been addressed by the Corporation to the Government of India and the Government of Bengal for having information on certain points relating to the financial aspect of the process by which the Library came into existence, and developed since its foundation. So far as we have been able to gather such information from the official records, we give it here briefly: In 1840, a fund was raised for pepetuating the memory of Sir Charles Metcalfe (afterwards Baron Metcalfe) Governor-General of India. To this fund the Agri-Horticultural Society of India and the Calcutta Public Library made contributions. At a meeting of the subscribers to the fund, it was resolved that a two-storeyed building called the Metcalfe Hall should be erected for accommodating the Agri-Horticultural Society in the lower storey and the Calcutta Public Library in the upper. The site (1 Bigha 2 Cottahs and $2\frac{2}{3}$ Chittacks[1]) on which it stands was furnished by the Government of India subject to the condition of its reverting to the Government in case of failure of the purpose for which it was given. Both the Society and the Library were registered under Act XXI of 1860. In 1900 when negotiations were commenced for the transfer of the building and of the collection of books in it to the Government of

1 Bounded on the North by Hare Street, on the East by the messuage and godowns belonging to Doorga Churn Law and Chundy Churn Law in the occupation of Messrs. Ralli Bros., on the south by the premises occupied by the Govt. Stationary Office, and on the West by Strand Road.

India for the establishment of the Imperial Library, it was found that there had been 58 proprietors of the Calcutta Public Library [ i. e. holders of the original shares (in the Institution) which came into existence prior to the end of the year 1849 ]. Some of them may be mentioned here : Honourable Mr. J. G. Apcar, Mr. Nilmoney Dey of Cossipur, Mr. Ashutosh Dhar, Mr. J. C. Dutt, Mr. Protab Chandra Ghosh, Mr. Joygobind Law, Maharaja Narendra Krishna Deb Bahadur, Mr. Kalichurn Palit, Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar, Maharaja Jotindra Mohan Tagore Bahadur, Hon. Sir John Woodburn, Sir Romes Chunder Mitra, Mr. Kally Kissen Tagore.

There was doubt as to whether the two bodies registered under the Societies Registration Act of 1860 had the power of transferring the properties under their management and therefore a Bill had to be introduced in the Indian Legislative Council to validate the transfer. The Government of India paid Rs.29000/-to the proprietors of the Public Library (Rs. 500/- for each original share), and Rs. 25000/- to the Agri-Horticultural Society plus an unconditional permanent annuity of Rs. 6000/- to this body. The proprietors of the Public Library were also given the personal privilege of taking out of the Imperial Library for perusal at their places of residence 6 books or 12 volumes at a time out of the collection of books transferred by them, and should any books belonging to the collection be found unnecessary for the Imperial Library, they would be made over to a library, which might be founded by them in Calcutta.

The Calcutta Corporation had the right of electing two out of the twelve members of the Managing Committee of the Public Library so long as it continued its grant-in-aid to the institution. The grants received by the Public Library from the Calcutta Corporation were as follows :—Rs. 8000 in each of the three years from 1890-91 to 1892-93, and Rs. 4000/- in each of the 6 years from 1893-94 to 1898-99. The total amount received by the Library was Rs. 48000/- exclusive of the amount of Rs. 2000/- contributed by the Corporation on the 14th May, 1896, for repairs to the building.

The removal of the library should not be effected in ruthless disregard of the opinions and feelings of the scholars and the educated public of this city. If the proposal of removal be based on the ground that the Library should be a provincial charge, a position which is not very reasonable,—ways and means should be found to retain it by a reduction of the recurring expenses of the institution if necessary. An idea of its present annual expenditure may be formed from the Budget Estimate for 1925-26 containing the following items :—

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| *Non-Voted.* | Librarian (1000-1500) ... | Rs. 17810 | | |
| | Leave Salary ... ... | Rs. 1000 | | |
| | | | | Rs. 18810 |
| *Voted.* | Superintendent (200-300), Assistants and Clerks (at rates varying from Rs. 50 to 300) ... ... | Rs. 21860 | | |
| | Sorters and servants (at rates varying from Rs. 13 to 45)... ... | Rs. 9040 | | |
| | Leave Salary ... ... | Rs. 1500 | | |
| | | | | Rs. 32400 |
| | Freight on European Stores ... | | | Rs. 200 |
| | Rents, Rates, and Taxes ... | Rs. 3420 | | |
| | Purchase of books | Rs. 18000 | | |
| | Other contingent expenditure | Rs. 4120 | Rs. 25540 | |
| | | | | Rs. 76950 |

We think there is scope for economy and retrenchment.

Ed.

## Ownership of the Soil in Ancient India: The evidence of certain texts discussed

In Hindu Polity (Part II, pp. 173-188) Mr. K. P. Jayaswal has presented us with an elaborate discussion relating to the question of ownership of the land in Ancient India. In the course of this discussion he examines a number of important passages from the literature of Mīmāṃsā, Smṛti, and Arthaśāstra, and concludes that there is no evidence for ascribing to the king the right of property in the soil. In the present paper, we propose to consider three of these passages to show how far J. has succeeded in proving his case:

I. We shall first take the passage (VIII, 39), wherein the Manusmṛti gives the rule of law relating to the king's share in ancient treasure as well as metals hidden underground. It runs as follows:— nidhīnān tu purāṇānāṃ dhātūnām eva ca kṣitau/ arddhabhāg rakṣaṇād rājā bhūmer adhipatir hi saḥ

Bühler in his English translation of the Manusaṃhitā took the last

*pāda* to mean "(and) because he is lord of the soil", and pointedly drew attention to this distinct recognition of the principle that the ownership of all land is vested in the king" (S. B. E. vol. xxv, p. 260 and n.). He claimed to find support for his interpretation in the concluding portion of Medhātithi's commentary on the above which he translated in the following way : " he [the king] is lord of the soil (*bhūmi*) ; it is just that a share should be given to him of that which is found in the soil belonging to him." This explanation is altogether rejected by J. who substitutes for it a highly original interpretation of his own. He first renders the phrase " bhūmer adhipatir hi saḥ" as " the king is the protector of both the upper and the sub-soil (sic.)". Then he proceeds to quote and interpret in his own way what he thinks to be the "real portion" of Medhātithi's commentary.

'atra hetū rakṣaṇād iti yadyapi kṣitau nihatasya (sic.) kenacid ajñānān na rājakīyarakṣopayujyate tathāpi tasya balavatāpahāraḥ sambhāvyate ato'sty eva rakṣāyā arthavattvam etadarthamevāha bhumeradhipatir hi saḥ.'

"Medhātithi...says that although no one knows what is there in the land and the government has to do very little guarding there, yet as there is a likelihood of the whole land being taken away by a strong enemy, the king is entitled to his 'share' for this constructive protection." (*H.P.*, part II, pp. 173-174 and note.)

These statements are open to objection on more than one ground. For, in the first place, even if we follow J., in taking the phrase '*bhūmeradhipati*, as consisting of three distinct words' *bhūmeḥ*' '*adhi*' and '*pati*' and understand the last term to mean 'protector", how is it possible to render the whole, as J. does, in the sense of 'protector of both the upper and the sub-soil'. The natural meaning of *adhipati* would seem to be *adhikaḥ pati*, 'superior protector' or 'lord.' And does Medhātithi, after all support the theory of the king's protectorship, as distinguished from the ownership, of the soil. In the extract quoted above from his commentary, the point that is sought to be explained is evidently the use of the word '*rakṣaṇāt*' with reference to what is hidden underground. J. understands Medhātithi to assert the king's protectorship of the whole land (cf. his translation " as there is likelihood of the whole land being taken away by a strong enemy, the king is entitled to his 'share' for this constructive protection"). But he overlooks the fact that the word '*tasya*' in the extract '*tasya balavatā*' is in the masculine gender and cannot therefore possibly stand for the preceding '*kṣitau*' which is feminine. Medhātithi, indeed, does not leave us in doubt as to his meaning. For in the lines immediately

following those quoted by J., we read *prabhur asau bhūmes tadiyāyā bhuvo yallabhdham tatra yuktam bhāgadānam*. Here the mention of 'prabhu', lord or sovereign as a synonym for '*adhipati*' is decisive as to the meaning of the latter term. As Mr. K. P. J. has thought it fit deliberately to ignore this extract, it is difficult to resist flinging back in his teeth the charge which he has unjustly brought against Bühler, that of quoting a mutilated passage of Medhātithi to justify an unwarranted interpretation of the commentator.

II. The second passage would seem to involve a still more decisive answer to the question of ownership of the soil than the passage first quoted, for it apparently contrasts the rights of the king with those of his subjects. Here, however, J. has criticised the reading of the text as given by another scholar and has advanced a correspondingly different interpretation. The passage is a verse quoted by Bhaṭṭasvāmin in the course of his commentary on Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra (II. 24). It was originally translated by Dr. Shamasastry (Arthaśāstra, tr. p. 144) as follows :—"Those who are well versed in the *śāstras* admit that the king is the owner of both land and water, and that the people can exercise their right of ownership over all other things excepting these two". This explanation was accepted with avidity by the late Vincent Smith (Early History of India, third edition, p. 131 n ; Oxford History of India, p. 90) in justification of his thesis that the native law of India has always recognised agricultural land as being crown property." Against this view J. has poured forth the vials of his patriotic indignation. He begins by giving the reading of the text which he claims to be based upon a copy of the original manuscript which is now deposited in the Madras Museum :—

rājā bhūmeḥ patir dṛṣṭaḥ śāstrajñair udakasya ca ।
tābhyām anyatra yad dravyaṃ tatra sāmyam kuṭumbinām ॥

Then he proceeds to translate it in the following way :—'The king is the protector (pati), according to the opinion of the learned in the śāstras, of the bhūmi (land) and water. Excepting these two whatever property there may be, his family members have sameness of right therein". This, according to J., is "in effect the theory of Mīmāṃsā and the law and constitution" "retold in connection with the rights of the family of a ruler." It involves, in other words, the doctrine that the king is only a protector (and not owner) and hence there is no co-parcenary of his family members therein. Now it is not a little significant that another scholar who has had the advantage of drawing upon the original manuscript has furnished a reading which fully agrees with Shamasastry's translation given above.

We refer to Mr. Ganapati Sastri who reads (Arthaśāstra ed., vol. I, p. 287) the second *caraṇa* as 'tābhyām anyatra yad dravyaṃ tatra svāmyaṃ kuṭumbināṃ'. In view of the long and brilliant record of the last-named scholar as an editor of Sanskrit texts, the question of the king's ownership of the soil may be considered, in so far as the present passage is concerned, to be definitely set at rest. But let us admit for a moment the correctness of J.'s reading 'sāmyam' instead of 'svāmyam'. Would the above passage still bear the sense attributed to it by J.? Our answer would depend upon the meaning of the terms 'pati' and 'kuṭumbināṃ.' We shall best discover this by considering the evidence of parallel passages, if any, and of the context. In the case of '*pati*,' we have already seen how Medhātithi renders '*adhipati*' in the verse of Manusaṃhitā (VIII, 39) as 'prabhuḥ', 'lord' or 'master.' Another corroborative testimony is found in a work which is one of the latest publications of the Gaekwad Oriental Series. In the Mānasollāsa attributed to King Someśvara (III) of the (Western) Calukya dynasty, of which the first volume appeared in 1925, the author has the following verses at the end of his chapter on 'nidhi' :—

samuddharen nidhiṃ rājā nijādhykṣapuraḥsaram,
evaṃ siddhyanti sarvāṇi nidhanāni na saṃśayaḥ.
dhanānām īśvaro rājā brahmaṇā parikalpitaḥ,
bhūgatānāṃ viśeṣeṇa yato'sau vivudhādhipaḥ.

Mānasollāsa, p. 61.

Here, it will be observed, the king is declared to be the lord (*īśvara*) of all wealth, especially of that which is stored inside the earth. No ingenuity can twist this explicit testimony into a plea for the king's being merely the protector. As for the term '*kuṭumbin*,' it may be taken to mean a family member as J. has done or else the head of a family. But the context in which the present passage is quoted by Bhaṭṭasvāmin, namely the payment of irrigation dues by the subjects, would suggest the use of *kuṭumbināṃ* in the latter sense. If the above arguments were to be accepted as correct, the sense of the whole passage even with the reading (sāmyam) would be as follows:—"The king is described by those who are learned in the Śāstras as the lord of the soil and water: the house-holders have the same (right of property) in all things other than these two." Thus even assuming the correctness of J's reading we have here an unequivocal declaration of the king's right of property in the soil.

III. The third and the last passage which we propose to consider in the present place is a quotation from the Rājanītiprakāśa of Mitramiśra (p. 271). Let us quote the original extract :—

Kātyāyanaḥ :—

'Bhūsvāmī tu smṛto rājā nānyadravyasya sarvadā,
tatphalasya hi ṣaḍbhāgaṃ prāpnuyān nānyathaiva tu.
Bhūtānāṃ tannivāsitvāt svāmitvaṃ tena kīrttitam
tatkriyābaliṣaḍbhāgaṃ śubhāśubhanimittajam' iti.

Asyārthaḥ rāja bhuvaḥ svāmī smṛtaḥ anyadravyasya bhūmisambaddhadravyasya eva svāmī anyathā bhūmisvāmyābhāve bhūtānāṃ prāṇināṃ tannivāsitvāt bhūnivāsitvāt svāmitvaṃ rājña iti śeṣaḥ ityataḥ tatkriyābaliṣaḍbhāgaṃ prāpnuyāt.

The plain meaning of the above passage is not far to seek. It contains a categorical affirmation of the doctrine of the king's ownership (*svāmitvam*) of the land (which it explains and justifies by his levy of $\frac{1}{6}$th share of the produce thereof), and it proceeds to derive therefrom what may be called a theory of the king's constructive lordship over his subjects whence again arises the king's right of collecting the usual sixth. But let us see how J. understands this passage. His translation of it which betrays his useful ingenuity is as follows :—

"When the king is called the *svāmin* (master) of the land and in no case of any other wealth, he only becomes entitled to receive the one-sixth share of the produce (from it), not [that he is master] in any other way. The mastership which is connected with him is due to the habitation thereof by living beings and is the one-sixth share arising from their acts whether good or bad."

"Its meaning is [this]: king is called the *svāmin* of land, not of other wealth connected with land. 'Not in any other way' is [laid down] as there is want of mastership in land. 'Living beings' are those having life; 'habitation thereof' is habitation of the land; 'mastership,' that is, mastership of the king. Hence he can only receive $\frac{1}{6}$th from their acts" (*H. P.*, part II, p. 179).

Now the above translation is open to the following objections :—

1. The word 'only' has nothing corresponding to it in the original text of Kātyāyana.
2. In Kātyāyana's verse above-quoted '*smṛtaḥ*' is evidently taken by J. to signify the subjunctive and '*prāpnuyāt*' the present tense. This involves an unnecessary forcing of the sense.
3. J. evidently understands '*nānyathā*' in Kātyāyana to stand for something like '*nānyathā svāmī smṛtaḥ*'. But the natural connection of '*anyathā*' is with '*prāpnuyāt*'. Besides how can '*svāmī*' be detached from the compound '*bhūsvāmī*'?
4. If the words '*anyathā bhūsvāmyābhāve*' in the commentary were meant to be understood in J.'s sense, Mitramiśra would

have added a corresponding verb like 'smṛtaḥ' to explain his meaning (cf. his explanation of the phrase 'tatkriyā°' in the same extract as '*tatkriyābaliṣaḍbhāgaṃ prāpnuyāt*') and 'bhūmi svāmya°' would have had the fifth and not the seventh case-ending (*vibhakti*). As it stands, it can only be taken to signify the commentator's sense that '*anyathā*' 'otherwise', means 'if the king were not the owner of the land'.

The result of the discussion in the foregoing pages would seem to show that three out of the texts quoted by J. to disprove the king's ownership of the land do not support his case, but prove just the contrary. On the other hand the evidence of the Mīmāṃsā text (VI. 7. 3) which J. quotes along with the commentaries thereon is no less decisive as to the denial of the king's proprietory right. There is nothing surprising in this contradiction. We have here evidently to deal with two distinct schools of legists, one advocating the king's right of ownership and the other based on the authoritative Mīmāṃsā as emphatically denying the same. The seeker of truth need not indulge in the hasty generalisation doubtless prompted by political prejudices that agricultural land in India has always belonged to the Crown, nor should he consider it a 'sacrilege' to be told that the theory of the king's ownership of the land was not altogether unknown to some schools of Hindu legal opinion.

U. N. GHOSHAL

# REVIEWS

THE HISTORY OF RAJPUTANA (in Hindi), Part I. By Rai Bahadur Pandit Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha. Royal 8vo, 400 pp. (Price Rs. 6/- for permanent subscribers only).

Those who take interest in the history of the Rajputs will be glad to welcome the present volume. There is a distinct want keenly felt by the students of Indian history for an authoritative work dealing with the history of this warlike community, for, since the publication of Tod's 'Annals of Rajasthan' about a hundred years back, no serious attempt has been made to tackle this problem, although it was everywhere admitted that progress in oriental scholarship long necessitated a revision of the story told in Tod's pages. This book is therefore quite welcome and the more so as the author's name is a guarantee that all available information must have been utilised in its preparation.

The present volume divides itself into two sections. The first section, containing four chapters, deals with preliminary matters. The first chapter (35 pages) under the title "Geographical Notes" supplies information about such a wide range of subjects as "Origin of the name', 'Rivers', 'Climate', 'Rain', 'Soil and Produce', 'Mines', 'Forts' 'Railway,' 'Population,' 'Religion,' 'Castes,' 'Occupation,' 'Dress,' 'Education,' 'Dialects,' 'Arts,' 'Painting' and 'Coinage'.

The second chapter (pp. 36-81) deals with a matter of great interest, viz., "Rajputs—their origin". It is well-known that some of the most prominent Indian and European scholars maintain that some of the Rajput clans are descended from foreign, especially Scythian, stock. The most recent pronouncement on this subject is that by the late Mr. Crooke, who in his editlon of Tod's 'Annals of Rajasthan' says, "the general thesis that some of the nobler septs are descended from Gurjjars or other foreigners, while others are closely connected with the autochthonous races, may be regarded as definitely proved" (Tod's 'Annals of Rajasthan', edited by W. Crooke, vol. I, Introduction, p. xxxv). This view has been misunderstood by some Indian scholars inasmuch as they impute to the former the opinion that *all* of the Rajput clans are descended from foreign tribes—a view which is certainly not advocated by them as will be clear from the quotation cited above. Even Pandit Gaurishankar Ojha seems to have fallen into the same mistake. At p. 38 in the book under review he remarks :—"Some of the European scholars of the present time as

well as some scholars of this country relying on the opinions recorded in their writings maintain that the Rajputs are not the old Aryan Kṣatriyas, but are Scythians and Śakas who came from the north or thereabout." Pandit Gaurishankar Ojha's view on the point at issue is clearly expressed at pp. 37-38. "From the Vedic times there has been in this country the caste called Kṣatriya.....the same Kṣatriya caste came to be known as Rajputs from the Mahomedan times." This contention—that the Rajputs are the lineal descendants of the Kṣatriyas of the Vedic times—is however hard to reconcile with certain well-established facts in Indian history. It has been ascertained that at least three foreign tribes migrated into India in early times—the Śakas, the Kushans and the White Huns. It has also been proved that the Śakas (certainly of Western India) came to be Hinduised in course of their stay in this country and married into well-known Indian royal families. The Kushans did in the same way. And as for the Huns, it is quite certain that they contributed to make one of the various clans among the Rajput community. Pandit Ojha is thus compelled to reconcile these facts with his own theory and the way in which it is done, although not convincing, is certainly ingenuous.

He begins by saying that the Śakas, the Kushans and the White Huns were all Kṣatriyas and he cites a passage from the Manu Saṃhitā (x, 43-4) in his favour as well as a tradition preserved in the Viṣṇupurāṇaṃ. Hence, according to the Rai Bahadur, the amalgamation of these tribes with the Hindu society is not an amalgamation of "foreign elements" into their social fabric, but only anadmixture between the different branches of the Vedic Kṣatriya people, some of whom lived in India, and others outside it. That this argument is erroneous is easy to see. The tenth chapter of the Manu Saṃhitā has been proved to have been quite late in origin, and, moreover, that no serious weight is to be attached to this Manu Saṃhitā text will be clear when it is found that the passage cited also regards the Yavanas and the Cinas as Kṣatriya races who had lost their social status like the Śakas. Now, there is no doubt that the Greeks and the Chinese were certainly distinct from the *Vedic* Aryans and thus the passages quoted stand self-condemned. For a similar reason the tradition in the Viṣṇupurāṇaṃ should also be regarded as of no value.

The third chapter in the first section contains an account of *all* the ancient ruling families of Northern India. It has increased considerably the bulk of the volume since 164 pages are devoted to it, although one fails to understand what purpose is served by the inclusion of such irrelevant matters in a history of Rajputana.

In the fourth chapter (pp. 247-304) of the first section, the author describes the relations between the Muhammadanas, the Marathas and the British Government with Rajputana.

The second section of the book deals with the history of the Udaipur State. It is also divided into chapters, the first of them under the title "geographical notes" contains matters of such wide interest as population, religion, castes, occupation, dress, language, trade, festivities, post office and others. In the second chapter is given a dissertation on the origin of Guhilotes. This is again a controversial matter. The author, as is to be expected, maintains that the Guhilotes are descended from the old Solar race of the Kṣatriyas and criticises Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar's view, published in *J.A.S.B.* 1909, to the effect that the Guhilotes are, in their origin, Nāgar Brahmins. Rai Bahadur Ojha seems to lay much store by the coin of Rājā Bāppā (ascribed to Rāwal Bāppā of Mewar) which contains the figure of the Sun "indicating that Bāppā belonged to the Solar race." Even admitting that the coin refers to Rāwal Bāppā (regarding which there is grave doubt) it does not appear how the figure of the Sun (quite a common figure in coins) could lead to the conclusion that the prince issuing it belongs to the Solar race. Again, he relies too much upon the Eklingji Stone Inscription (J. Bo. R. A. S. xxii, 166-7) which is *supposed* to refer to the Guhilotes as Raghuvaṃśiya. It may be mentioned that the stone upon which the inscription is written was discoverd in a broken condition so that a large part of it is lost. It is impossible, therefore, to come to any distinct conclusion upon detached words whose context is not clear.

The Rai Bahadur seems to have taken great pains to prove his position, but inspite of his attempts it will be admitted that all available evidence is against him. The clear statement in the Āṭpur Inscription of 977 A.D. (*Ind. Ant.* 1910 pp. 186 ff.,) that Guhadatta was a Brahmin (Mahideva) who hailed from Anandpur, supported by the Chitorgaḍh Inscription (1274 A.D.) which says that Bāppā was a Brahmin (vipra), leaves hardly any room for doubt. Another inscription of the same time makes an interesting statement, namely that Bappaka cast off his Brahminhoodand received Kṣatriyahood. Again, it should also be remembered that, even the traditions recognised that the Guhilotes were originally Brahmins who came to be laterly known as Kṣatriyas (cf. the quotation from Mutā Neṇsi's Khyāt, cited at p. 382.)

The Rai Bahadur has not been able to demolish the strong reasonning of Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar and his argument strikes one as being far-fetched and apologetic.

A word must be said about the plan of the book. The reader who

compares Tod's 'Annals of Rajasthan' with the present volume will be astounded by the closeness with which its writer is following in the footsteps of the celebrated annalist in so far as the plans of the books are concerned. In doing so, he has brought in matters which have no concern with the history of Rajputana and should better have been left unnoticed.

It must be said to the credit of the writer that he uses a facile pen. The easy style makes the book quite an interesting reading, although he has to trench upon many dry subjects. It remains to be seen how he develops the history of the different Rajput States in the succeeding volumes.

SUBIMAL CHANDRA DATTA

MĀNASOLLĀSA, Vol I, edited by G. K. Shrigondekar. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. XXVIII, (pp. xvi+146).

The Mānasollāsa is a voluminous treatise professing to be the work of King Someśvara, surnamed Bhūlokamalla, of the Western Calukya dynasty whose reign lasted approximately from 1126 to 1138 A. D. An interesting statement in the course of the work (p.34) seems to show that it was composed 'when one thousand and fifty one years of the Śaka era, had elapsed, i.e. in 1129 A.D. The Mānasollāsa consists of five sections (*viṃśatis*), each comprising twenty chapters. These are concerned respectively with the means of acquiring the kingdom and of preserving the same, and the description of the royal enjoyments, recreations, and games. The encyclopædic nature of the work justifies the author in describing it (p. 2) as the instructor of all things and as the preceptor of the whole world (*śikṣakaḥ sarvavastūnām jagadācāryapustakaḥ*).

In the volume under notice are comprised only the first two sections called *rājyaprāptikāraṇaṃ* and *rājyasthairyakāraṇaṃ*. The first section, which is by far the shorter one, contains among other things the interesting direction that the king should perform the five domestic sacrifices and the other sacrifices beginning with *jyotiṣṭoma* and ending with *Aśvamedha*, should dig wells and tanks, should construct places for the free distribution of water and provisions, and should erect temples in accordance with the rule of Viśvakarman, the science of Maya, and the rules of Matsya and Piṅgalā (pp. 7-8). We have also a short list of sacred places where the king is directed to take his

bath (p. 13). This is followed by a long chapter on medicine (*vaidyaka*) pp. 13-27.

The second and the longer section contains many interesting details. Thus the king is asked to take the *elixir vitæ* whose method of preparation is described in accordance with the precepts of *pūrvasūris* (pp. 29-34). We have then a series of chapters on elephants wherein the author describes the eight haunts of these animals and the four methods of catching them, the signs of good and bad elephants, their various classes, and the methods of training them (pp. 44-58). In this connection the author states that the elephants of Kaliṅga, Vedikāruṣa, and Daśārṇa forests are the best, those of the East and the Aṅgireya forest comprising Śrīkṣetra, Gauḍa, and Baṅgāla are intermediate, and those of Aparānta and Pañcanada forests are the worst.[1] It is interstting to compare with this the view of Kauṭilya (II. 2) who describes the elephants of Kaliṅga, Aṅga, the East and Kāruṣa to be the best, those of Daśārṇa and Aparānta to be intermediate and those of Surāṣṭra and Pañcanada[2] to be the worst. Another interesting chapter of the Mānasollāsa is occupied with the description of various kinds of gems and precious stones which may be compared with the corresponding chapters in Varāhamihira's Bṛhatsaṃhitā, the Garuḍa Purāṇa, the Yuktikalpataru of Bhoja and other works. Peculiar to the Mānasollāsa seems to be the view that the king should replenish his treasury by processes of alchemy (pp. 63-64), while in connexion with the sources of the gems it is noticeable that ruby is said to be found in the country of the Turuṣkas near the sea-shore and on uneven ground (p. 74). In connexion with the author's description of the threefold power of the king, it may be remarked that he mentions on the authority of persons versed in *Nīti*, three classes of kings,—those depending upon self, those depending upon ministers, and those depending upon both—a dictum recalled by Cāṇakya's address to Candragupta in Act III of the Mudrārākṣasa drama. The author of the Mānasollāsa quotes the authority of Bṛhaspati, Śukra as well as Cāṇakya and others in the chapter on *mantraśakti* (p. 92). Turning to the author's account of the six kinds of

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1 Elsewhere (p. 85) the author says that victories are won by means of elephants born in the Kaliṅga forest, of the Bhadra class, well-trained and equipped, and valorous.

2 For 'pañcanada' in the text of Kauṭilya, Shamasastry and Jolly read 'pañcajana' which is wrong. Ganapati Sastri gives the correct reading.

king's policy (ṣaḍguṇas) we notice that he mentions, in his chapter on marching, a long list of good and bad omens (*śakunas*). The last group of topics is concerned with the four forms of policy, and contains among other things, the interesting direction that the king, who is devoid of strength, should apply to his enemy three methods of killing, viz., by poison, by secret assassination and by black magic.

We await the publication of the second volume with great interest.

U. N. G.

THE VISION OF VĀSAVADATTĀ. Edited with an Introduction, English translation, and notes by Dr. Lakshman Sarup, M.A., D.PHIL., Lahore, 1925.

The book under review belongs to a group of thirteen plays originally published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. Its importance lies in the fact that the identification of the thirteen plays with the '*Bhāsa-nāṭaka-cakra*', the lost dramas of the old poet Bhāsa mentioned by Kālidāsa and other Sanskrit writers, depends mainly on the identification of the play under review with the *Svapnavāsavadatta* referred to in Rājaśekhara's well-known statement that "when the whole lot of dramas by Bhāsa (Bhāsa-nāṭaka-cakra) was thrown into fire, the one that survived was *Svapnavāsavadatta*." As it is the most important of the group, it has already appeared in several editions. This new edition has been prepared from 'a hitherto unutilised palm-leaf Ms. written in old Malayalam character.'

The text is almost the same as that of the Trivandrum play. The colophon at the end of this edition or rather the Ms. of this edition supplies, we learn from the introduction of the work, the full title 'Svapnavāsavadattam' instead of 'Svapnanāṭakam', the title found in the Trivandrum Ms. If it be so, it strengthens the position of those scholars, who regard the drama as the genuine *Svapnavāsavadatta* of Bhāsa for the reason that their theory can no longer be assailed simply on the ground of difference in the title. But unfortunately, perhaps through oversight, the name 'Svapnanāṭakam' has been printed at the colophon instead of 'Svapnavāsavadattam.'

In the Introduction as well as in what may be called Appendices there are ample indications of the industry of the editor. In the former he discusses elaborately the most controversial question about authorship of the thirteen Trivandrum plays. Whether the ancient poet Bhāsa can be the author of these dramas is the main subject of con-

troversy, its corrolaries being whether or not the whole group comes from the pen of one and the same man, and what is the probable time of their composition. Dr. Sarup is a pro-Bhāsa scholar, and inclines to the theory of Mm. Dr. Ganapati Sastri that the *Svapnavāsavadatta* and the rest belonging to the group are the genuine works of Bhāsa. He has tried to meet all the objections raised against the pro-Bhāsa theory. But following Winternitz and others, he differs from Mm. Sastri in assigning the poet to the 2nd century A. D. instead of to the 4th century B. C. The editor also points out in this Introduction the excellences of the stanzas that are ascribed to Bhāsa in the current anthologies, and gives an account of the legends of Udayana, the hero of the *Vision of Vāsavadattā* as found in their Jaina, Buddhist and other versions. A section in the Introduction deals with the essentials of a drama and after reviewing the opinions of Aristotle, Hegel, Schlegel, Coleridge and Brunetiere shows the present play to be a dramatic masterpiece.

Stanzas attributed to Bhāsa in various anthologies and extracts from the *Ślokasaṃgraha*, the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* and the *Kathāsaritsāgara* bearing on the legend of Udayana are appended to the text. Then comes the English translation of the play and also of the stanzas and extracts mentioned above. The notes at the end of the work are, as the editor himself says in his preface, 'elementary' and necessary only for those who are beginning to learn Sanskrit.

D. BHATTACHARYYA

JAINA JĀTAKAS or Lord Ṛṣabha's *Pūrvabhavas* being an English translation of Book I, Canto I of Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita* originally translated by Prof. Amūlyacharaṇ Vidyābhūṣaṇ, revised and edited with notes and Introduction by Prof. Banarsi Das Jain, M. A. Published by Messrs. Moti Lal Banarsi Das, Lahore, pp. xxiv+118. No. 8 of the Punjab Sanskrit Series.

Credit is due to the proprietors of the Punjab Sanskrit Series for publishing an English translation of a portion of one of the important and voluminous works of the great Jaina scholar Hemacandra. In the introduction Prof. B. D. Jain has given a short sketch of his life but it is too scanty to satisfy the curiosity of the readers.

The present work, as the descriptive title shows, contains the translation of only a small fraction of the huge work *Triṣaṣṭiśalākapuruṣacarita* (or "the history of the sixty three persons of eminence")

describing in 211 ślokas the twelve previous births of the first Tīrthaṅkara Ṛṣabha. The translation has not, it must be admitted, come up to the standard demanded by the critical oriental scholars, e. g., "an embodiment of...penance rolled into a ball" (p. 14); "he was a hoar-frost for the bush of passions" (p. 14); "I made a useless fuss like the roaring of an autumnal cloud"; "please forgive my neglectful conduct" (p. 15). Prof. Jain refers in his introduction (p. vi) to the difficulties of translating a Jaina work on account of its bristling with technical terms, but a complaint of this nature can no longer hold good after the publication of the *Abhidhāna Rājendra* in which such terms have been explained. Prof. Jain has enhanced the value of the book by contributing an introduction, pointing out the verses containing a popular exposition of the principal tenets of Jainism, and also an appendix dealing with the Jaina cosmography.

The English title of the book is misleading. Without glancing through the title page nobody can understand what is signified by the 'Jaina Jātakas.' The term 'Jātaka' is usually associated with the birth-stories of Buddha. The appropriate expression from the Buddhist standpoint for the work like the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākapuruṣacarita* would be 'Avadāna' and not 'Jātaka,' for the latter term signifies exclusively the stories of previous births of Buddha corresponding to a Jaina Tīrthaṅkara, whereas the present work contains previous birth-stories not only of Tīrthaṅkaras but also of persons who are lower in rank to the Tīrthaṅkaras, viz. 19 Cakravartins, 9 Vasudevas, 9 Baladevas and 2 Prativāsudevas. Hertel in his paper 'On the Literature of the Svetambaras of Gujarat' had dealt with the various points of difference that exist between a Jaina *Aupadesika* and a Buddhist *Jātaka*, though unfortunately he has made wrong statements and under-estimated the historical and literary value of the Buddhist Jātakas in his zeal to extol the Jaina *Aupadesikas*, e. g., he attaches no importance to the "*Paccuppannavatthu*" which, in fact, supplies an account of Buddha's missionary life; he also remarks that the Jātaka tales are 'not edifying,' and makes a startling find that 'to a Bauddha the study of Arthaśāstra or political science is a sin' (for arguments against this inference see Law's *Studies in Indian History and Culture*, pp. 259-261).

The get-up of the book is good and the price is moderate. We hope the proprietors will keep up their present zeal and earnestness in the publication of oriental works and place before the readers the translation of the succeeding cantos of the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākapuruṣacarita*.

KACCĀYANA

THE BIRHORS: A Little-known Jungle Tribe of Chota Nagpur by Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M. A., M.L.C., 1925 (pp. vi+608).

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy is now an ethnographist of international repute and this is the third monograph from his pen about the Chota Nagpur tribes. This volume is specially interesting and valuable as we knew so little of the Birhors before and the great Dalton even confused the Kherias with the Birhors in his Ethnology of Bengal. There are twelve chapters giving (1) earlier accounts of the Birhors, (2) a general view of Birhor life, (3) social system with tribal and kinship organizations, (4) kinship system, (5) marriage customs, (6) birth, childhood and puberty customs, (7) death and funeral customs, (8) religious beliefs and practices, (9) magic and witchcraft, (10) folk-tales and (11) science and natural history. Lastly, conclusions have been drawn.

The two chapters on social system are the cream of the book. The rich collections of folklore and the descriptions of ceremonies are the Rai Bahadur's *forte* and make this work invaluable to all anthropologists. A map and a little more attention to the physical and linguistic aspects, dismissed in two pages, would have brought the book well-nigh to perfection. It is I believe too late in the day to talk of these peoples as Dravidians when we have got now the group of pre-Dravidians by Haddon or Proto-Australoids by Dixon. But the physical aspects have really been left undiscussed and the 17 measurements of cephalic and nasal indices are a very scanty though useful addition to our knowledge where nothing is known.

The kinship terms are very valuable and we expected more thorough and systemetic deductions and a few actual genealogies as in the *Todas* would have been of inestimable value. Cross-cousin marriage leaves more traces on terminology than is mentioned. Some very interesting conclusions have been drawn: 'Familiar modes of speech still in use between grand-parent and grand-child are survivals of the same social regulation which Dr. Rivers met with in the island of Pentecost and Mr. Howitt amongst the Dieri of Australia which might at one time have been in vogue amongst the Birhors in Chota Nagpur.' We found traces of such a system amongst the Hos; a comparative study of kinship terms and their social correlates amongst the several Proto-Australoid tribes of Chota Nagpur with the tribes with similar organisation beyond India would have been of unique interest. The Indo-Australian culture-complex, if there be any, is worth studying in all details in social and material culture-order to shed light on an obscure corner of the history of primitive humanity.

The term 'Naya' has been derived from Sanskrit 'Nāyak.' The same term occurs amongst the Santals meaning the same i.e. 'priest.' If this important culture-word is borrowed—which evidently and emphatically it is not—would it not follow that one of the most important culture-personages of these tribes is due to Indo-European influence. The vernacular words given in italics for items of dress, toilet and ornaments such as kaupin, ḍāṇḍā-ḍor, chimṭā, chūnauṭi (p. 523) are Hindi and required mention as such and may be borrowed culture-elements. It is interesting to find the same wooden-top used as a toy amongst the Birhors as in Melanesim. We collected a similar specimen from amongst the Hos.

In fact a more detailed treatment of technology with exhaustive illustrations as in Smithsonian Institute publications is expected in modern works. An autobiographical account from a Birhor about his life, manners, clans, socio-religious customs would also have added immensely to the interest of the book. As it is, the book is one of the best monographs for Indian students of Ethnography.

P. MITRA

SĀDHANAMĀLĀ, vol. I. Edited by Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, M.A., Central Library, Baroda. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. XXVI. (pp. xxiii+342).

We welcome the publication of the first volume of the *Sādhanamālā*, the importance of which for the history of the later phases of Buddhism has already been shown by the present editor in his *Buddhist Iconography*. The editor has reason to infer that this work belongs to the school of Vajrayāna and states that he will deal with the subject in detail in his Introduction to the forthcoming second volume of the *Sādhanamāla*. The description of the work, as given by the writer, that "it is a collection of short works called Sādhanas or rituals for worshipping deities" is not adequate. The Sādhanas, in fact, are so many practical directions for mystic *bhāvanās*, from among which an initiate, aspiring to rise higher and higher in mystical trances, is to select a few best suited to his mentality for his purposes. This work therefore is a collection of Sādhanas without any premeditated arrangement, which had led the editor to remark that "the work is a heterogenous collection of Sādhanas, composed by different authors without any definite plan."

Each of these Sādhanas gives directions to the initiates to cogitate particular deities of particular forms and colours by sitting in a certain posture (*mudrā*) and intoning the requisite mantras. We have also, in the works relating to early Buddhism, similar directions (e. g. kammaṭṭhānas) but the objects of cogitation and the methods followed are different, though the forms and colours of the objects, and the *mudrās* had their usual place in the practice.

The immense benefits, which the oriental scholars will derive from this work, are threefold : first, it will carry us farther in our attempts to solve the puzzling problem as to how far the Tāntric cult has been influenced by Buddhism and place before the readers in a clear light the pure and serious side of Tantrikism. Secondly, it will enlighten us on the later developments of Buddhism which gained so wide a popularity among the Tibetans, Chinese, etc. And thirdly, it will help us to identify many of the Buddhist images, the identification of which rests at present on surmises.

The editor has well accomplished his task and deserves praise. This edition is in no way inferior, if not superior, to many of the European and Asiatic editions of the Buddhist Sanskrit works. For the excellent get-up of the work, we must thank His Highness the Gaekwad of Baroda for making liberal provisions for the publication of Oriental books in his Series.

N. DUTT

## Select Contents of Oriental Journals

**Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute,** 1925-26, vol. vii, pts. i & ii.

R. N. APTE.—Some Points connected with Constructive Geometry of the Vedic Altars. Illustrated with diagrams.

G. N. MUJUMDAR.—Kālidāsa and Music. Shows by means of quotations Kālidāsa's knowledge of vocal and instrumental music as well as dancing. App. I contains a list of technical terms on music occurring in K.'s works. App. II gives a list of songs in K.'s plays.

C. R. DEVADHAR—The Plays ascribed to Bhāsa, their Authenticity and Merits. Holds that the common imagery, expressions, scenes, dramatic devices etc. of the 'Bhāsa' group of plays show them to come from the same pen, while a comparison of B.'s Cārudatta with the Mṛcchakaṭika shows that the former "represents a very crude abridgment" of the latter.

D. R. BHANDARKAR.—Date of Kauṭalya. Disproves the well-known view of Jolly and Winternitz about the late origin of K.'s Arthaśāstra. Propounds the theory that "the Kauṭalīya was originally metrical in form and came to be reduced to the Sūtra (form) in the fourth century B. C. without however any violence to its internal contents". This alone explains the "puzzle" that the Arthaśāstra in respect of its style and form goes back to the "early century of the Christian era," while its contents reflect a phase of society which cannot be later than the fourth century B. C.

P. V. KANE.—The Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya. Analysis of style, composition and contents of the A. show its agreement with the traditional date of 300 B. C. and "no evidence has yet been brought forward that would compel us to assign it to a later date." [In p. 100 the author writes, "K. lays down that in the midst of the fort were to be constructed the temples of Śiva, Vaiśravaṇa, the Aśvins, Lakṣmī, and Madirā (wine ?)" !!! ].

P. V. KANE.—Dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha-Likhita. A collection of quotations from S. and L. occurring in later works with the object of reconstructing the lost Dharmasūtra. These quotations show the date of the Dharmasūtra to lie between 360 B. C. and 100 A. D.

HARAN CHANDRA CHAKLADAR.—The Geography of Vātsyāyana.

N. G. MAJUMDAR.—A Śuṅga Inscription from Ayodhyā. Shows K. P.

Jayaswal's date for the above, which is based upon his own interpretation of 'Puṣyamitrasya ṣaṣṭhena' to be wrong. The true date is the 1st century A. D.

U. N. G.

## Asia Major, vol. ii, pt. ii

H. GOETZ.—Indian Historical Portraits (Muhammadan Period).—(Ger.)

F. W. THOMAS.—The Language of Ancient Khotan.

E. LEUMANN.—The Buddhist Canon on a Marble-slab [found in Mandalay (Burma)].—(Ger.). It contains a passage of the 12th book of the *Cullavagga*.

E. A. VORETZSCH.—Indian Sculptures in Portugal.—(Ger.). Specially noteworthy are two stones found in the old summer residence of the king of Portugal at Cintraberg, Lisbon. These are being used as decorative items in the park which was laid out by Joao de Castro. There are really four stones; two of these bear inscriptions. These latter were mentioned for the first time by James Murphy in his 'Travels in Portugal' in 1795. One of these stones comes from a temple in Somnath Patan in Kathiawar. It deals with gifts to temples and bears the date 286 A.D. (Vaghela Sarangadeva). It is black marble. The other one was not yet deciphered. The inscription is reproduced here. It is supposed that this stone comes from Elephanta Temple and perhaps it is the same as that mentioned by the historian Diogo Couto in his 'Decades d' Asia' which deals with the period 1535-1600. A photograph of the inscription is published. The inscription bears the date of Caitra Sudi 12 of the Śaka year 1059 in the reign of Śilāhāra prince Aparādityadeva.

## Eastern Buddhist, vol. iii, No. 4

D. T. SUZUKI.—Development of the Pure Land Doctrine in Buddhism. This article divides itself into two sections; in the first section the writer explains 'what is meant by the Pure Land Doctrine' generally; in the second section he traces the germs of this doctrine in the literature of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna Buddhism and suggests the various lines on which this religion has developed from the original ones. He concludes the article by saying that "the Pure Land is not

a world existing in space-time but an idealistic world of enlightenment" and quotes from the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra* the line "Wherever your hearts are pure there is Pure Land."

B. PETZOLD.—The Teaching of Śākyamuni. The writer's contention is that as we have not got Śākyamuni's *ipsissima verba*, our attempt to make out his teaching has been and will be fruitless. He, however, concludes by saying that "the teaching of Buddha coincides with the development of Buddhist religious philosophy during the last 2000 years. A clear view of these various and seemingly conflicting theories can only be obtained by harmonisation and strictest systematisation, as the Tendai school of Buddhism has done it in an unsurpassable way."

H. IDUMI.—English translation of Vimalakīrti's 'Discourse on Emancipation,' chapters vi-vii.

C. AKANUMA.—A Comparative Index to the Saṃyutta Nikāya and the Saṃyukta Āgama (Mahāvagga).

**Epigraphia Indica**, vol. xviii, pt. i

E. HULTZSCH.—Kondanaguru Grant of Indravarman.
—Bahur Plates of Nripatungavarman.

T. A. GOPINATHA RAO.—Kanyakumari Inscription of Vira-Rajendra Deva.

**Ibid.**, vol. xviii, pt. ii

E. HULTZSCH.—Niduparu Grant of Jayasimha I.
—Ipur Plates of Vishnuvardhana III.

L. D. BARNETT.—Vappaghoshavata Grant of Jayanaga.

K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AYYAR.—Nidur Inscription of Kulottunga-Chola.

V. NATESA AIYAR.—Inscribed Buddhist Image from Gopalpur.

N. BHATTASALI.—The Ghugrahati Copper-plate Inscription of Samachara-Deva.

K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYER.—Pattattalmangalam Grant of Nandivarman.

DAYA RAM SAHNI.—Deogarh Rock Inscription of Svamibhata.
—A Kalachuri Stone Inscription from Kasia.

S. V. VISVANATHAN.—Srirangam Copper-plates of Devaraya II.

**Indian Antiquary**, January, 1926

S. M. EDWARDES.—A Manuscript History of the Rulers of Jinji. The main facts, set forth in a Ms. in the India Office Library, purport-

ing to be a record of the rulers of Jinji in a district of Madras Presidency, have been discussed in this short paper.

RAMSING SAKSENA.—Moslem Epigraphy in the Gwalior State. In this article, which is to be continued, two Persian inscriptions of Muhammad III Ibn Tughlaq of Delhi have been edited and their English translation given.

RAM RATAN HALDER.—Idar and Mahārāṇā Hammīra of Mewār. This is an account of the main exploits of Hammīra, the first Mahārāṇā of Mewār, including in it his conquest of Idar or Iladurga.

**Ibid.,** February, 1926

UMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE.—External Evidences about the Teachers in the Upaniṣads. In his article entitled 'Teachers of the Upaniṣads' published in the Proceedings of the Madras Oriental Conference, 1924, the writer wrote against the theory that Brahmavidyā arose originally among the Kṣatriyas. In the present article he has added from Paurāṇic sources some instances in which the 'Upaniṣadic cult' may be mistaken as originating from the Kṣatriyas while in reality there are grounds for the conclusion that the Brāhmaṇas were its originators. It may be noted that the main theme of these articles, viz., the origination of Brahmavidyā by the Brāhmaṇas and not by the Kṣatriyas had been discussed by Dr. N.N. Law in his paper, 'the Origin and Development of the Brahmavidyā,' which appeared in the Indian Antiquary, 1923, pp. 244ff.

**Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society**, January, 1926

W. H. MORELAND.—Akbar's Land Revenue Arrangements in Bengal.

S. K. DE.—A Note on the Sanskrit Monologue-Play (Bhāṇa) with special reference to Caturbhāṇī. In this survey of the Bhāṇa form of composition of the Sanskrit play, all the published Bhāṇas, specially the newly discovered four plays of that kind have been described.

**Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society,** January, 1926

A. A. KRISHNASWAMI AYYANGAR.—The Mathematics of Āryabhaṭṭa. By referring to the contribution and pioneer work of Āryabhaṭṭa in the field of Hindu mathematics, the writer shows the extent of indebtedness of the later Indian astronomer-mathematicians to the *Āryabhaṭīya.*

KALIPADA MITRA.—The Bird and Serpent Myth. In this continued article, a common belief in the bird and serpent myths of various countries, viz., India, Babylonia, Crete, Egypt, Germany, Scandinavia, Scotland, Britain, Arabia, China, Japan, Polynesia, Central America and Mexico has been pointed out, which, according to the writer, is 'a cultural drift disseminated from India in historic or pre-historic times by land or sea.' This theory seems to rival the opinion of scholars that the coincidences found in these myths of different peoples are due to their common inheritance from their ancestors of the Neolithic stock, who had Northern Africa as their area of characterization.

R. SHAMA SASTRI.—A Brief Translation of Mahāvīra's 'Sūrya Prajñapti' or the knowledge of the Sun.

# Obituary Notices

## Robert Sewell

ROBERT SEWELL, I.C.S. born June 4, 1845 ; died December, 30, 1925. He was the son of Robert Burleigh Sewell, was educated at Radley and was in the Madras Civil Service in the years 1868-1894 in the course of which he was Judge and then Collector of Bellary District. Even as early as 1870, he published an *Analytical History of India.* He also evinced a keen interest in the archæological monuments of the land, particularly the Amarāvatī Stūpa. When Dr. Burgess was appointed to supervise the Archæological Survey of Madras without prejudice to his duties under other Governments, the Government of Madras put as a preliminary measure Mr. Sewell on special duty from January 1881 to April 1883 to collect and arrange as complete lists as possible of all the antiquarian remains in the Presidency. His *Lists of the Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras* furnishes not only lists of antiquities for each District for the use of the Archæological Surveyor, but also general information for the guidance of the ordinary reader. Vol. II of this book consists of a list of copper-plate grants sent to him for examination, a chronologically arranged list of inscriptions as yet known in the Presidency, another list of them dynastically arranged and lastly a very useful historical sketch of the dynasties of South India with copious supplementary notes. This was in 1884. Even before this he had commenced preparing chronological tables in order to enable an approximate date A. D. to be given for all Indian dates mentioned in inscriptions ; he was conscious of the very trouble-some calculations involved in this task, but considered it the first desideratum for obtaining an accurate history of the country. He brought out the *South Indian Chronological Tables* in 1889 and the *Hindu Calendar* in collaboration with Pandit S. B. Dikshit. He was always ready to appreciate and work with Indian talent, as is evidenced by his grateful acknowledgment of the help given to him by Pandit S. M. Natesa Sastri in the preparation of the 2nd volume of his Lists.

He was closely associated with the Royal Asiatic Society on whose council he also served. Numerous and varied were his contributions to its Journal—among them being *Hiouen Thsang's Dhanakacheka* (1880) —*New discoveries in South India* (1884)—*Early Buddhist Symbolism* (1886) and (1888)—*Buddhist Remains at Guntupalle* (1887)—*The Kistna Alphabet* (1891)—*Buddhist Bronzes and Relics of Buddha* (1895)—*Pishta-*

*pura* (1897)—*The Indian Boomerang* (1898)—*The Text of the Mahābhārata* (1898)—*Cinder-mounds of Bellary* (1899)—*Prehistoric Burial Sites in S. India* (1901)—*Roman Coins in India* (1904)—*Antiquarian Notes in Java* (1906)—*Archæology in South India* (1907)—*The Keladi Rajas of Ikkeki and Bednūr* (1910)—*A Correction in the Indian Calendar* (1915)—*Kings of Vijayanagara* (A.D. 1486-1509) (1915)—*Merutuṅga's Prabandhacintāmaṇi.* He also contributed to the columns of the *Indian Antiquary* five chronological articles and wrote on the subject of coins as well.

His *magnum opus* was *A Forgotten Empire* (*Vijayanagar*) published in 1900 on the basis supplied by the two Portuguese chronicles of Nuniz and Paes, first brought to light by Senhor Lopes and translated first into English by himself assisted by Mr. Donald Ferguson. These chronicles give a vivid and graphic account of personal experiences at the great Hindu capital at the period of its highest magnificence. The book became deservedly popular among scholars, and inspite of large supplementary epigraphic and literary material on Vijayanagara gathered since then, has continued to be so. Messrs. George Allen and Unwin Ltd. brought out a reprint of it in 1924, as copies of the original edition had become very scarce—the author preferring on some grounds to retain the form of the book as it was. He had also gathered material for a comprehensive dynastic and inscriptional history of South India and even forwarded the manuscript to Madras where arrangements were made to have it published under the auspices of the University. His unfortunate death has necessitated other arrangements ; and we hope that the work of editing the book will go to the capable hands of the Professor of Indian History at the University, than whom no better choice can be made for this task.

Besides being the joint-author of the *Hindu Calendar*, Mr. Sewell brought out in 1898 a book entitled the *Eclipses of the Moon in India.* Long before this he had published the *Amarāvatī Tope and the Excavation on its site* in 1887 ; and a *Sketch of the Dynasties of South India* in a separate book form. His books have been used by many scholars in the course of their own labours ; and Sir Walter Elliot in his *Coins of Southern India* acknowledges in several places the helps derived by him from Sewell. We have lost a ripe scholar of eminence almost unrivalled in his knowledge of South Indian antiquities and history. The example of what Mr. Sewell did for South Indian antiquities as a whole has been followed and done for inscriptions in particular by Mr. V. Ranga Acharya ; we regret the passing away, though at a ripe age, of the pioneer of these studies.

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI

## Mm. Dr. T. Ganapati Sastri

We regret to announce the death of Mm. Dr. T. GAṆAPATI ŚĀSTRĪ. In 1860, he was born in a family famed for Sanskrit learning. He was the son of Ramasubbayyar of Taruvai (a village in the Tinnevelli District), and a descendant of the famous Sanskrit scholar Appayya Dikshita, who lived in the 16th century. Having spent his boyhood in his native village, he came in his 16th year to Trivandrum and studied under my grandfather Karamanai Subrahmaṇya Śāstrī of his own village, who was then the Dharmādhikārin of the State, and under Subba Dikshita of Kaḍayam (another village in the same district). Even as a student, he was noted for his scholarship and intellectual acumen, and his first work, composed when he was only 17 years old, was a Sanskrit drama named *Mādhavī-vasantam*, in appreciation of which the then first Prince Viśākham Tirunāḷ presented him with a diamond ring. Among his other early works, which all remain unpublished, I may mention the *Artha-citra-maṇimālā*, an *alaṅkāra* work, with illustrative stanzas of his own composition, the *Setu-yātrānuvarṇanam*, a prose work, and a Sanskrit translation of the *Merchant of Venice*. He was noted even then for his ready skill and felicity in composing verses in any style, ancient or modern, and in writing simple and elegant Sanskrit prose.

When he was only 18 years old, his *guru* Subba Dikshita secured for him a post in the Travancore High Court, but shortly after, Viśākham Tirunāḷ, who had now become Mahārāja, and ruled gloriously for the short period of only 5 years (1879-1884), placed him in charge of the Palace Sanskrit Library. This opportunity, combined with close intercourse with such Sanskrit scholars as Kerala Varmā, Valia Koyil Tampurān, and Elathīr Rāmasvāmi Śāstrī, made him acquainted with the modern methods of critical research as applied to the study of ancient manuscripts. When in 1889 the Trivandrum Sanskrit College was founded, he was appointed Professor of Sanskrit Literature, and Headmaster thereof, and in 1899 he became its Principal. At the same time, he continued to be in charge of the Palace Library, and, in the latter capacity, he published the first few volumes of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. He also found time to compose devotional poems, including the *Aparṇā-stava*, and to compile several Sanskrit readers, which are still popular in the schools of Travancore. He also wrote at he request of Dr. Sylvain Lévi, a manual of Indian culture in Sanskrit, named the *Bhāratānuvarṇanam*. The Travancore Government, soon appreciating the need for utilising his valuable services

in promoting Sanskrit learning, organised a department in 1908 for collecting and publishing rare and valuable Sanskrit manuscripts, in which Travancore, with comparative freedom from foreign invasions, is particularly rich. Since then, under his able guidance, nearly 1400 manuscripts have been collected, and 87 volumes published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, covering a wide range of subjects and practically the entire field of Samskrit learning.

The most noteworthy of these publications are, of course, the long-lost plays of Bhāsa, by discovering and editing which with helpful commentaries, he has laid the world of Sanskrit learning under a deep debt of obligation. Their ascription to Bhāsa, it is true, is strongly contested by some scholars, but even they must admit that these plays, whether they are Bhāsa's or not, are among the most precious of the world's literature.

His learning, energy and enthusiasm now met with the appreciation and reputation they deserved, and honours came pouring heavily on him. Scholars, eastern and western, vied with each other in their grateful appreciation of his labours. His works were prescribed as text-books in Universities. He was elected President of the Third All-India Sanskrit Conference held in Allahabad. An address was presented to him by the Joint Conference of Orientalists held in Paris in 1920. He was made an honorary member of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, and a Ph. D. of the German University of Tübingen, and the Government of India conferred on him the title of Mahā-mahopādhyāya.

But such honours, far from spoiling him, only whetted his appetite for greater services, and he published his monumental commentary on the *Arthaśāstra,* and Bhoja's work on architecture, the *Samarāṅgaṇa.* The latter was included in the Gaekewad Oriental Series. His luminous commentary on the *Arthaśāstra* made it possible for the first time for scholars to grasp its meaning thoroughly. The magnitude and difficulty of the task may be easily imagined, when we bear in mind the fact that it is a highly technical work, full of obscure technical terms, and representing an entire world of a now lost political literature, and that none of the extant commentaries cover more than a small portion of the work. This great work occupied him fully for 3 years, and was the cause of illness in one who before had never known what it was to be unwell. He was strong of body and mind, and his habits were healthy and simple to the verge of austerity. But his great work proved too much for him, and the death of his generous patron, His Highness the Mahārāja, Mūlam Tirunl, combined with his own retirement in

1925 from an active life of nearly 50 years, prostrated him completely, and those of us, who moved with him closely, could see him visibly declining, though he himself continued to the last to labour and plan for his great passion,—Sanskrit learning. Shortly before his death, he had completed a commentary on the *Bālā-carita*, which will be published in due course. The Government of Travancore, in grateful appreciation of his services, had granted him a money present, and this was announced to him shortly before his peaceful death on the 3rd April 1926. He leaves behind him his wife, 2 sons and 4 daughters, to whom it may be some comfort to know that the world will continue to remember his services with grateful appreciation, so long as Indian culture is of the best value in the eyes of the world.

K. G. SANKAR

Printed and published by Mr. R. N. Seal, B. A., at the Calcutta Oriental Press.
107, Mechuabazar Street. Calcutta.

dhānā ti ādikā paramattha-kathā nāma. Tattha yo sammutidesanāya satto ti vā poso ti vā devo ti vā brahmā ti vā vutte vijānituṃ[1] paṭivijjhituṃ niyyātum arahattaddhajagāhaṃ[2] gahetuṃ sakkoti tassa Bhagavā ādito va satto ti vā poso ti vā devo ti vā brahmā ti vā katheti. Yo paramatthadesanāya aniccan ti vā dukkhan ti vā ti ādīsu aññataraṃ sutvā vijānituṃ paṭivijjhituṃ niyyātum arahattaddhajaggāhaṃ[3] gahetuṃ sakkoti tassa aniccan ti vā dukkhan ti vā ti ādīsu aññataram eva katheti. Tasmā sammuti-kathāya bujjhanaka-sattassāpi[4] na paṭhamaṃ paramattha-kathaṃ katheti, sammuti-kathāya pana bodhetvā pacchā paramattha-kathaṃ katheti, paramattha-kathāya bujjhanaka-sattassāpi na paṭhamaṃ sammuti-kathaṃ katheti paramatthakathāya pana bodhetvā pacchā sammuti-kathaṃ katheti. Pakatiyā pana paṭhamam eva paramattha-kathaṃ kathentassa desanā lūkhākārā hoti tasmā Buddhā paṭhamaṃ sammuti-kathaṃ kathetvā pacchā paramattha-kathaṃ kathenti, sammuti-kathaṃ kathentā pi saccam eva sabhāvam eva amusā va kathenti, paramattha-kathaṃ kathentā pi saccam eva sabhāvam eva amusā va kathenti.

Duve saccāni akkhāsi Sambuddho vadataṃ varo,
sammutiṃ paramatthañ ca tatiyaṃ nūpalabbhati ;
saṅketavacanaṃ saccaṃ lokasammuti-kāraṇaṃ.
paramattha-vacanaṃ saccaṃ dhammānaṃ bhūtalakkhanan ti.

*Yāhi Tathāgato voharati aparāmasan ti* yā hi lokasamaññāhi lokaniruttīhi Tathāgato taṇhāmānadiṭṭhiparāmasānam abhāvā aparāmasanto voharatī ti, desanaṃ vinivattetvā arahatta-nikūṭena desanaṃ niṭṭhāpesi, sesaṃ sabbattha uttānattham evā ti.

Iti Sumaṅgalavilāsiniyā Dīghanikāyaṭṭhakathāya POṬṬHAPĀDA-SUTTA VAṆṆANĀ niṭṭhitā[5].

1 Si. te jānituṃ
2 & 3 Si. jayaggāhaṃ 4 Si. omits api 5 S. adds navamaṃ

## X. SUBHA SUTTA VAṆṆANĀ

1. *Evaṃ me sutaṃ*...pe...*Sāvatthiyan*[1] ti Subhasuttaṃ. Tatrāyaṃ anuttānapadavaṇṇanā.

*Aciraparinibbute Bhagavatī*[2] ti aciraṃ parinibbute[3] Bhagavati, parinibbāṇato uddhaṃ māsamatte kāle. Nidānavaṇṇanāyaṃ vuttanayen' eva[4] Bhagavato pattacīvaram ādāya āgantvā khīravirecanaṃ pivitvā vihāre nisinnadivasaṃ sandhāy' etaṃ vuttaṃ.

*Todeyyaputto* ti Todeyya brāhmaṇassa putto. So kira Sāvatthiyā avidūre Tudigāmo nāma atthi. Tassa adhipatittā Todeyyo ti saṃkhaṃ[5] gato. Mahaddhano pana hoti pañcacattālīsakoṭivibhavo paramamaccharī 'dadato bhogānam aparikkhayo nāma natthī' ti cintetvā kassaci kiñci na deti. Puttaṃ pi āha[6],—

> añjanānaṃ khayaṃ disvā vammikānañ ca sañcayaṃ,
> madhūnañ ca samāhāraṃ, paṇḍito gharam āvaseti[7].

Evam adānam eva sikkhāpetvā kāyassa bhedā tasmiṃ yeva ghare sunakho hutvā nibbatto[8]. Subho taṃ sunakham ativiya piyāyati, attano bhuñjanaka-bhattaṃ yeva bhojeti, ukkhipitvā varasayane sayāpeti. Atha Bhagavā ekadivasaṃ nikkhante māṇave taṃ gharaṃ piṇḍāya pāvisi. Sunakho Bhagavantaṃ disvā bhukkāraṃ[9] karonto Bhagavato samīpaṃ gato. Tato naṃ Bhagavā avoca, 'Todeyya, tvaṃ pubbe pi maṃ bho bho ti paribhavitvā sunakho jāto, idāni pi bhukkāraṃ[10] katvā Avīciṃ gamissasī' ti. Sunakho taṃ kathaṃ sutvā vippaṭisārī hutvā uddhanantare chārikāya nipanno. Manussā ukkhipitvā sayane[11] sayāpetuṃ nāsakkhiṃsu. Subho āgantvā 'kenāyaṃ sunakho sayanā oropito' ti āha. Manussā na kenacī ti vatvā taṃ pavattim ārocesuṃ.

Māṇavo sutvā 'mama pitā Brahmaloke nibbatto, samaṇo pana Gotamo mama pitaraṃ sunakhaṃ karoti, yaṃ kiñc' esa mukhāruḷhaṃ bhāsatī' ti kujjhitvā Bhagavantaṃ musāvādena codetukāmo vihāraṃ gantvā taṃ pavattiṃ pucchi. Bhagavā tassa tath' eva vatvā avisaṃvādanattham āha, 'atthi pana te māṇava pitarā anakkhātaṃ dhanan' ti. 'Atthi pana bho Gotama satasahassagghanikā suvaṇṇamālā satasahassagghanikā suvaṇṇapādukā satasahassagghanikā suvaṇṇapāti, satasahassañ ca kahāpanan' ti. 'Gaccha' taṃ sunakham appodakaṃ madhupāyāsaṃ

1 & 2 Si. omits it
3 Si. puts parinibbute twice
4 Si. omits it
5 S. & B. saṃkhyaṃ
6 Si. vuttaṃ hi
7 Si. āvase ti
8 S. nibbatti
9 & 10 Si. huṃkāraṃ
11 Si. omits it

bhojetvā sayane āropetvā īsakaṃ niddam okkantakāle puccha, sabban te ācikkhissati, atha[1] naṃ jāneyyāsi pitā me eso ti'. So tathā akāsi. Sunakho sabbam ācikkhi[2] . Tadā naṃ pitā me ti ñatvā Bhagavati pasannacitto gantvā Bhagavantaṃ cuddasapañhe pucchitvā visajjanapariyosāne Bhagavantaṃ saraṇaṃ gato. Taṃ sandhāya vuttaṃ 'Subho māṇavo Todeyyaputto' ti.

*Sāvatthiyaṃ paṭivasatī* ti attano bhoga-gāmato āgantvā vasati.

2. *Aññataraṃ māṇavakam āmantesī* ti satthari[3] parinibbute Ānandatthero kir' assa pattacīvaraṃ gahetvā āgato mahājano taṃ dassanatthāya[4] upasaṅkamatI ti sutvā vihāraṃ kho pana gantvā mahājanamajjhe na sakkā sukhena paṭisanthāraṃ vā kātuṃ dhammakathaṃ vā sotuṃ, geham āgataṃ yeva naṃ disvā sukhena paṭisanthāraṃ karissāmi, 'ekā ca me kaṅkhā atthi taṃ pi naṃ pucchissāmī' ti cintetvā aññataraṃ māṇavakam āmantesi.

*Appābādhan* ti ādīsu ābādho ti visabhāgavedanā vuccati. Yā ekadese uppajjitvā cattāro iriyāpathe ayapaṭṭena[5] ābandhitvā viya gaṇhāti, tassā abhāvaṃ pucchā ti vadati. *Appātaṅko* ti kicchajīvitakaro rogo vuccati. Tassāpi abhāvaṃ pucchā ti vadati. Gilānass' eva ca uṭṭhānaṃ nāma garukaṃ[6] hoti, kāye balaṃ na hoti, tasmā niggelaññabhāvañ ca balañ ca pucchā ti vadati[7]. *Phāsuvihāran* ti gamana-ṭṭhānanisajja[8]-sayanesu catūsu iriyāpathesu sukhavihāraṃ pucchā ti vadati. Ath' assa pucchitabbākāraṃ dassento Subho ti ādim āha.

4. *Kālañ ca samayañ ca upādāyā* ti kālañ ca samayañ ca paññāya gahetvā upadhāretvā ti attho. Sace amhākaṃ sve gamanakālo bhavissati, kāye balamattā c' eva pharissati, gamanapaccayā ca añño aphāsuvihāro na bhavissati ; ath' etaṃ kālañ ca gamanakāraṇasamavāya saṃkhātaṃ samayañ ca upadhāretvā api eva nāma sve āgaccheyyāmā ti vuttaṃ hoti.

5. *Cetakena bhikkhunā* ti Cetiyaraṭṭhe jātattā Cetako ti evaṃ laddhanāmena. *Sammodanīyaṃ kathaṃ sārāṇīyan* ti bho Ānanda Dasabalassa ko nāma rogo ahosi, kiṃ Bhagavā paribhuñji, api ca Satthu parinibbāṇena tumhākaṃ soko udapādi, Satthā nāma na kevalaṃ tumhākaṃ yeva parinibbuto, sadevakassa lokassa mahājāni. Ko 'dāni añño maraṇā muccissati yatra so ca sadevakassa lokassa aggapuggalo parinibbuto? Idāni kam[9] aññaṃ disvā maccurājā lajjissatī' ti? Evam ādinā nayena maraṇa-paṭisaṃyuttaṃ sammodanīyaṃ kathaṃ sārāṇīyaṃ vītisāretvā therassa hiyyo pītabhesajjānurūpam āhāraṃ datvā bhattakiccāvasāne ekam antaṃ nisidi.

1 S. pana 2 Si. dassesi 3 S. satthā 4 Si. dassanāya
5 S. -paṭena 6 Si. garu 7 Si. omits ti vadati 8 Si. nisajjā
9 Si. kim

*Upaṭṭhāko santikāvacaro* ti upaṭṭhāko hutvā santikāvacaro va na randhagavesī. *Samīpacārī* ti idaṃ purimapadassa vevacanaṃ. *Yesaṃ so bhavaṃ Gotamo* ti kasmā pucchati. Tassa kira evam ahosi, yesu dhammesu bhavaṃ Gotamo imaṃ lokaṃ patiṭṭhāpesi, te tassa accayena naṭṭhā nu kho, dharanti nu kho, sace dharanti Ānando jānissati 'handa naṃ pucchāmī' ti tasmā pucchati[1].

6. Athassa thero tīṇi piṭakāni tīhi khandhehi saṃgahetvā dassento *tiṇṇaṃ kho* ti ādim āha. Māṇavo 'saṃkhittena kathitam asallakkhento vitthārato pucchissāmī' ti cintetvā 'katam esaṃ tiṇṇan' ti ādim āha. Tato therena *ariyassa sīlakkhandhassā* ti tesu dassitesu puna 'katamo pana so bho Ānanda ariyo sīlakkhandho' ti ekekaṃ pucchi. Thero pi 'ssa Buddhuppādaṃ dassetvā tantidhammaṃ dassento anukkamena Bhagavatā vuttanayen' eva sabbaṃ vissajjesi.

30. Tattha *atthi c' ev' ettha uttariṃ karaṇīyan* ti ettha Bhagavato sāsane na sīlam eva sāro kevalañ c' etaṃ patiṭṭhāmattam eva hoti. Ito uttariṃ pana aññaṃ pi kattabbaṃ atthi evā ti dasseti. *Ito bahiddhā* ti Buddhasāsanato bahiddhā.

**2.** 1. *Kathañ ca māṇava bhikkhu indriyesu guttadvāro hotī* ti idam āyasmā Ānando 'katamo pana so bho Ānanda ariyo samādhikkhando' ti evaṃ samādhikkhandhaṃ puṭṭho pi ye te sīlasampanno indriyesu guttadvāro satisampajaññena samannāgato santuṭṭho ti evaṃ sīlānantaram indriyasaṃvarādayo sīlasamādhīnam antare ubhinnaṃ pi upakārakadhammā uddiṭṭhā, te niddisitvā samādhikkhandhaṃ dassetukāmo ārabhi. Ettha ca rūpajjhānān' eva āgatāni, na arūpajjhānāni ānetvā pana dīpetabbāni. Catutthajjhānena hi asaṃgahitā arūpasamāpatti nāma natthi yeva.

19. *Atthi c' ev' ettha uttariṃ karaṇīyan* ti ettha Bhagavato sāsane na cittekaggatāmattaken' eva pariyosānuppatti nāma atthi, ito pi uttariṃ puna aññaṃ kātabbaṃ atthi yevā ti dasseti.

37. *Natthi c' ev' ettha uttariṃ karaṇīyan* ti ettha Bhagavato sāsane ito uttariṃ kātabbaṃ nāma natthi yeva, arahattapariyosānaṃ hi Bhagavato sāsanan ti dasseti. Sesaṃ sabbattha uttānattham evā ti.

Iti Sumaṅgalavilāsiniyā Dīghanikāyaṭṭhakathāya SUBHA SUTTA VAṆṆANĀ niṭṭhitā.

1 B. pucchi

## XI. KEVADDHA SUTTA

1. *Evam me sutaṃ*...pe...*Nālandāyan* ti Kevaddha[1]-suttam. Tatrāyam anupubbapada-vaṇṇanā[2]. *Pāvārik' ambavane* ti Pāvārikassa ambavane. *Kevaddho* ti idaṃ tassa gahapatiputtassa nāmaṃ. So kira cattālīsa-koṭimattadhano[3] gahapatimahāsālo ativiya saddho pasanno ahosi. So saddhādhikattāy' eva 'sace eko bhikkhu aḍḍhamāsantarena vā māsantarena vā saṃvaccharena vā ākāse uppatitvā vividhāni pāṭihāriyāni dasseyya, sabbo jano ativiya pasīdeyya; yan nūnāhaṃ Bhagavantaṃ yācitvā pāṭihāriya-karaṇatthāya ekaṃ bhikkhum anujānāpeyyan' ti cintetvā Bhagavantam upasaṅkamitvā evam āha.

Tattha *iddhā* ti samiddhā. *Phītā* ti nānābhaṇḍa-ussannatāya vuḍḍhippattā.

*Ākiṇṇamanussā* ti aṃsakūṭena aṃsakūṭaṃ paharitvā vicarantehi viya manussehi ākiṇṇā. *Samādisatū* ti āṇāpetu, ṭhānantare ṭhapetu. *Uttarimanussadhammā* ti uttarimanussānaṃ dhammato dasakusala-saṃkhātato vā manussadhammato uttari. *Bhiyyosomattāyā* ti pakatiyā pi pajjalitapadīpo telasnehaṃ labhitvā viya atirekappamāṇena abhippasīdissati.

2. *Na kho ahan* ti Bhagavā Rājagahaseṭṭhi-vatthusmiṃ sikkhāpadaṃ paññāpesi, tasmā 'na kho ahan' ti ādim āha. *Na dhaṃsemī* ti na guṇavināsanena dhaṃsemi, sīlabhedaṃ pāpetvā anupubbena uccaṭṭhānato otārento nīcaṭṭhāne ṭhapemi, atha kho Buddhasāsanassa vuḍḍhiṃ paccāsiṃsanto kathemī ti dasseti.

3. *Tatiyaṃ pi kho* ti yāvatatiyaṃ Buddhānaṃ kathaṃ paṭibāhitvā kathetuṃ visahanto nāma natthi. Ayaṃ pana Bhagavatā saddhiṃ vissāsiko, vissāsaṃ vaḍḍhetvā vallabho hutvā atthakāmosmī ti tikkhattuṃ kathesi. Atha Bhagavā 'ayam upāsako mayi paṭibāhante pi punappunaṃ yācati yeva. Hand' assa pāṭihāriyākaraṇe ādīnavaṃ dassemī' ti cintetvā *tīṇi kho* ti ādim aha.

5. Tattha *amāhaṃ bhikkhun* ti amum ahaṃ bhikkhuṃ. *Gandhārī* ti Gandhārena nāma isinā katā Gandhāraraṭṭhe vā uppannavijjā. Tattha kira bahū isayo vasiṃsu, tesu ekena katā vijjā ti adhippāyo. *Aṭṭiyāmī* ti aṭṭo pīḷito viya viharāmi[4]. *Harāyāmī* ti lajjāmi. *Jigucchāmī* ti guthaṃ disvā viya jigucchaṃ uppādemi.

1 B. S. & Si. Kevaṭṭa 2 Si. anuttānapada- 3 Si. koṭidhano
4 B. & Si. homi

6. *Parasattānan* ti aññesaṃ sattānaṃ, dutiyaṃ tass' eva vevacanaṃ. *Ādisatī* ti katheti. *Cetasikan* ti somanassa-domanassam adhippetaṃ. *Evaṃ pi te mano* ti evaṃ tava mano somanassito vā domanassito vā kāmavitakkādi-sampayutto vā ti[1]. Dutiyaṃ tass' eva vevacanam. *Iti pi te cittan* ti iti tava cittaṃ. Imañ[2] c' imañ[2] ca atthaṃ cintayamānaṃ pavattantī ti[3] attho.

7. *Maṇikā nāma vijjā* ti cintāmaṇī ti evaṃ laddhanāmā loke ekā vijjā atthi, tāya paresaṃ cittaṃ jānātī ti dīpeti.

8. *Evaṃ vitakkethā* ti evaṃ nekkhamma-vitakkādayo pavattentā vitakketha. *Mā evaṃ vitakkayitthā* ti evaṃ kāmavitakkādayo pavattentā[4] mā vitakkayittha. *Evaṃ manasikarothā* ti evam aniccasaññam eva dukkhasaññādīsu vā aññataraṃ manasikarotha. *Mā evan* ti niccan ti ādinā nayena mā manasikarittha[5]. *Idan* ti pañcakāma-guṇikarāgaṃ pajahatha. *Idam upasampajjā* ti idaṃ catumaggaphalappabhedaṃ lokuttaradhammam eva upasampajja pāpuṇitvā nipphādetvā viharatha. Iti Bhagavā iddhividham iddhipāṭihāriyan ti dasseti, parassa cittaṃ ñatvā kathanam ādesanāpāṭihāriyan ti. Sāvakānañ ca Buddhānañ ca satataṃ dhammadesanā anusāsanīpāṭihāriyan ti.

Tattha iddhipāṭihāriyena anusāsanīpāṭihāriyaṃ Mahāmoggallānass'[6] āciṇṇaṃ. Ādesanāpāṭihāriyena anusāsanīpāṭihāriyaṃ Dhammasenāpatissa. Devadatte saṃghaṃ bhinditvā pañcabhikkhusatāni gahetvā Gayāsīse Buddhalīḷhāya tesaṃ dhammaṃ desente pi hi Bhagavatā pesitesu dvīsu aggasāvakesu Dhammasenāpati tesaṃ cittavāraṃ ñatvā dhammaṃ desesi. Therassa dhammadesanaṃ sutvā pañcasatā pi bhikkhū sotāpattiphale patiṭṭhahiṃsu. Atha nesaṃ Mahāmoggallāno[7] vikubbanaṃ dassetvā[8] dhammaṃ desesi. Taṃ sutvā sabbe arahattaphale patiṭṭhahiṃsu. Atha dve pi mahānāgā pañcabhikkhusatāni gahetvā vehāsam abbhuggantvā Veḷuvanam ev' āgamiṃsu. Anusāsanīpāṭihāriyaṃ pana Buddhānaṃ satataṃ dhammadesanā. Tesu iddhipāṭihāriya-adesanāpāṭihāriyāni sa-upārambhāni sadosāni addhānaṃ na tiṭṭhanti, addhānam atiṭṭhanato na niyyanti. Anusāsanīpāṭihāriyaṃ yeva anupārambhaṃ niddosam, addhānaṃ tiṭṭhati, addhānaṃ tiṭṭhanato niyyāti. Tasmā Bhagavā iddhipāṭihāriyañ ca ādesanāpāṭihāriyañ ca garahati, anusāsanī-pāṭihāriyam eva pasaṃsati.

67. *Bhūtapubban* ti idaṃ kasmā Bhagavatā[9] āraddhaṃ. Iddhi-pāṭihāriya-ādesanāpāṭihāriyānam aniyyānikabhāvadassanattham

1 & 3 S. omits ti; B. pavattatī ti 2 B. idañ
4 Si. pavattento 5 Si. manasākattha 6 & 7 Si. -llānatherassa
8 Si. repeat s it 9 Si. omits it

anusāsanīpāṭihāriyass' eva ca niyyānikabhāvadassanatthaṃ. Api ca sabba-Buddhānaṃ mahābhūtapariyesako nām' eko bhikkhu hoti yeva, yo mahābhūte pariyesanto yāva Brahmalokā vicaritvā vissajjetāram[1] alabhitvā āgamma Buddhānam[2] eva pucchitvā nikkaṅkho hoti. Kasmā? Buddhānaṃ mahantabhāvappakāsanatthaṃ. Idañ c' idañ[3] ca kāraṇaṃ paṭicchannaṃ. Atha naṃ vivaṭaṃ[4] katvā dassento pi Bhagavā 'bhūtapubban' ti ādim āha.

Tattha *kattha nu kho* ti kismiṃ ṭhāne kim āgamma kiṃ pattassa te anavasesā appavattivasena nirujjhanti. Mahābhūtakathā pan' esā sabbākārena Visuddhimagge vuttā. Tasmā sā tato va gahetabbā.

*Devayāniyo maggo* ti pāṭiyeko[5] devalokagatamaggo[6] nāma natthi. Iddhividhañāṇass' eva pan' etaṃ adhivacanaṃ. Tena h' esa yāva Brahmalokā pi kāyena vasaṃ vattento devalokaṃ yāti, tasmā taṃ 'devayāniyo maggo' ti vuttaṃ.

68. *Yena Cātummahārājikā* ti samīpe ṭhitaṃ pi Bhagavantaṃ apucchitvā dhammatāya codito devatā mahānubhāvā ti maññamāno upasaṅkami.

*Mayaṃ pi kho bhikkhu na jānāmā* ti Buddhavisaye pañhaṃ pucchitā devatā na jānanti, ten' evam āhaṃsu. Atha kho so bhikkhu 'mama imaṃ pañham akathetuṃ na labbhā[7] sīghaṃ kathethā' ti ta[8] devatā ajjhottharati, punappunaṃ pucchati. Tā 'ajjhottharati no ayaṃ bhikkhu, handa naṃ hatthato mocessāmā'[9] ti cintetvā *atthi kho bhikkhu cattāro mahārājāno* ti ādim āhaṃsu. Tattha *abhikkantatarā* ti atikamma[10]-kantatarā. *Paṇītatarā* ti vaṇṇa-yasa-issariyādīhi uttamatarā. Etena nayena sabbavāresu attho veditabbo.

Ayaṃ pana viseso. Sakko kira devarājā cintesi 'ayaṃ pañho Buddhavisayo, na sakkā aññena vissajjitum; ayañ ca bhikkhu aggiṃ pahāya khajjopanakaṃ dhamanto[11] viya bheriṃ pahāya udaraṃ vādento viya ca loke aggapuggalaṃ Sammāsambuddhaṃ pahāya devatā pucchanto vicarati, pesemi naṃ Satthu santikan ti'. Tato punad eva so[12] cintesi, sudūraṃ pi gantvā Satthu santike va nikkaṅkho bhavissatī, atthi c' eva puggalo nām' esa thokan tāva āhiṇḍanto kilamatu, pacchā jānissatī ti tato nam *ahaṃ pi kho* ti ādim āha.

1 S. vissajjotīram; B. vissajjokāsam
2 S. Buddham 3 B. omits it 4 S. vivaṭṭam
5 Si. pāṭiyekko; B. pāṭekko 6 B. devalokagamana
7 Si. pañhaṃ na labbhā na kathetuṃ; B. pañhaṃ na kathetuṃ labbhā
8 S. omits it
9 Si. mocemī; B. muñcissāmā 10 B. abhi- 11 B. dhamento 12 Si. omits it

Brahmayāniyo pi devayāniyasadiso va. Devayāniyamaggo ti vā Brahmayāniyamaggo ti vā dhammasetū ti vā ekacittakkhaṇika-appanā ti vā sanniṭṭhānika[1]-cetanā ti vā mahaggata-cittan ti vā abhiññāṇan[2] ti vā sabbam etaṃ iddhividhañāṇass' eva nāmaṃ.

*Pubbanimittan* ti āgamanapubbabhāge nimittaṃ, suriyassa udayato aruṇaggaṃ viya tasmā idān' eva Brahmā āgamissatī ti evaṃ mayaṃ jānāmā ti dīpayiṃsu. *Patur ahosī* ti pākaṭo ahosi.

Atha kho so Brahmā tena bhikkhunā puṭṭho attano avisayabhāvaṃ ñatvā 'sac' āhaṃ na jānāmī ti vakkhāmi ime maṃ paribhavissanti, atha jānanto viya yaṃ kiñci kathessāmi ayaṃ me bhikkhu veyyākaraṇena[3] anāraddhacitto[4] vādam āropessati, aham asmi bhikkhu Brahmā ti ādīni pana me bhaṇantassa na koci vacanaṃ[5] saddahissati, yan nūnāhaṃ vikkhepaṃ katvā imaṃ bhikkhuṃ Satthu santike yeva peseyyan' ti cintetvā *aham asmi bhikkhu Brahmā* ti ādim āha.

83. *Ekamantam apanetvā* ti kasmā evam akāsi. Kuhakattā. *Bahiddhā pariyeṭṭhin* ti telatthiko vālikaṃ nippīḷiyamāno viya yāva Brahmalokā bahiddhā pariyesanam āpajjasi[6].

85. *Sakunan* ti kākam vā kulalaṃ vā. *Na kho eso bhikkhu pañho evaṃ pucchitabbo* ti idaṃ Bhagavā yasmā padesen' eva[7] pañho pucchitabbo ayañ ca kho bhikkhu anupādinnake pi gahetvā nippadesato pucchati, tasmā paṭisedheti. Āciṇṇaṃ kir' etaṃ Buddhānaṃ pucchāmuḷhassa janassa pucchāya dosaṃ dassetvā pucchaṃ sikkhāpetvā pacchā vissajjanaṃ. Kasmā ? Pucchitum ajānitvā hi pucchanto dubbiññāpayo hoti. Pañhaṃ sikkhāpento pana *kattha āpo cā* ti ādim āha.

Tattha *na gādhatī* ti na patiṭṭhāti. Ime cattāro mahābhūtā kim āgamma appatiṭṭhā[8] bhavantī ti attho. Upādinnaṃ yeva sandhāya pucchati[9]. *Dīghañ ca rassañ cā* ti saṇṭhānavasena upādārūpaṃ vuttaṃ. *Aṇuṃ thulan* ti khuddakaṃ vā mahantaṃ vā. Iminā pi upādārūpe vaṇṇamattam eva kathitaṃ. *Subhāsubhan* ti subhañ ca asubhañ ca upādārūpam eva[10]. Kiṃ pana upādārūpaṃ subhaṃ ti[11] asubhan ti atthi. Natthi. Iṭṭhāniṭṭhārammaṇaṃ pan' evaṃ kathitaṃ. *Nāmañ ca rupañ cā* ti nāmañ ca dīghādibhedaṃ rūpañ ca. *Uparujjhatī* ti nirujjhati. Kim āgamma asesam etaṃ nappavattatī ti evaṃ pucchitabbaṃ siyā ti pucchaṃ dassetvā idāni vissajjanaṃ dassento tatra veyyākaraṇaṃ bhavatī ti vatvā *viññāṇan* ti ādim āha.

1 Si. -naka 2 Si. abhiññāñāṇam 3 B. veyyākaraṇe
4 B. adds visoseyyanti cintetvā 5 Si. adds na 6 B. Si. āpajjati
7 Si. esa 8 Si. apatiṭṭhā 9 Si. pucchā 10 B. adds kathitaṃ
11 S. & Si. omit it

Tattha viññātabban ti viññāṇaṃ ; nibbāṇass' etaṃ[1] nāmaṃ. Taṃ[2] nidassanābhāvato *anidassanaṃ*. Uppādento[3] vā vayanto vā ṭhitassa aññathattanto vā etassa natthī ti *anantaṃ*. *Pabhan* ti papaṃ.[4] Etaṃ kira titthassa nāmaṃ. Taṅ hi papan ti[5] etthā ti papaṃ. Pakārassa pana bhakāro kato. Sabbato[6] pabham assā ti *sabbato pabhaṃ*. Nibbāṇassa kira yathā mahāsamuddassa yato yato otaritukāmā honti, tan tad eva titthaṃ atitthaṃ nāma natthi, evam eva aṭṭhattiṃsāya kammaṭṭhānesu yena yena[7] mukhena nibbāṇam otaritukāmā honti, tan tad eva titthaṃ nibbāṇassa atitthaṃ nāma kammaṭṭhānaṃ[8] natthi. Tena vuttaṃ 'sabbato pabhan' ti. *Ettha āpo cā* ti ettha nibbāṇe idaṃ nibbāṇam āgamma sabbam etam āpo ti ādinā nayena vuttam upādinnaka-dhammajātaṃ nirujjhati appavattaṃ hoti. Idāni 'ssa[9] nirujjhanupāyaṃ dassento viññāṇassa nirodhena etth' etam uparujjhatī ti āha.

Tattha *viññāṇan* ti[10] carimaka-viññāṇaṃ pi abhisaṃkhāraviññāṇaṃ pi. Carimaka-viññāṇassāpi hi nirodhena etth' etaṃ uparujjhati vijjhāta-dīpasikhā viya apaṇṇattikabhāvaṃ yāti. Abhisaṃkhāraviññāṇssāpi anuppādanirodhena anuppādavasena uparujjhati. Yathāha, sotāpatti-maggañāṇena abhisaṃkhāraviññāṇassa nirodhena ṭhapetvā sattabhave anamatagge saṃsāre ye uppajjeyyuṃ nāmañ ca rupañ ca etth' ete nirujjhantī ti. Sabbaṃ Mahāniddese vuttanayen' eva veditabbaṃ. Sesaṃ sabbattha[11] uttānam[12] evā ti.

Iti Sumaṅgalavilāsiniyā Dīghanikāyaṭṭhakathāya KEVADDHA SUTTA VAṆṆANĀ niṭṭhitā.

1 Si. omits it 2 Si. & B. tadetaṃ 3 S. uppādanto 4 B. & Si. omit it
5 Si. pipanti 6 B. sabbaso 7 S. omits it 8 B. omits it
9 Si. tassa 10 Si. uses carima throughout 11 Si. ettha
12 Si. uttānattha

1. *Evam me sutaṃ*...pe...*Kosalesū* ti Lohiccasuttaṃ. Tatrāyam anuttānapadavaṇṇanā. *Sālavatikā* ti tassa gāmassa nāmaṃ. So kira vatiyā viya samantato sālapantiyā parikkhitto, tasmā Sālavatikā ti vuccati. *Lohicco* ti tassa[1] brāhmaṇassa nāmaṃ.

2. *Pāpakan* ti parānukampā-virahitattā lāmakaṃ. Na pana uccheda-sassatānam aññataraṃ. *Uppannaṃ hotī* ti jātaṃ hoti. Na kevalañ ca citte jātamattam eva. So kira tassa vasena parisamajjhe pi evaṃ bhāsati yeva. *Kiṃ hi paro parassā* ti paro yo anusāsiyati so tassa anusāsakassa kiṃ karissati, attanā paṭiladdhaṃ kusalaṃ dhammam attanā va sakkatvā garukatvā[2] vihātabban ti vadati.

4. *Bhesikaṃ*[3] *nahāpītam āmantesī* ti Bhesikā ti evam itthiliṅgavasena laddhanāmaṃ nahāpitam āmantesi. So kira Bhagavato āgamanaṃ sutvā cintesi, 'vihāraṃ gantvā daṭṭhabbaṃ[4] nāma bhāro, gehaṃ pana ānāpetvā passissāmi, c' eva yathāsatti ca[5] āgantukabhikkhaṃ dassāmī ti,' tasmā taṃ[6] nahāpitam āmantesi.

8. *Piṭṭhito piṭṭhito* ti kathāphāsukatthaṃ pacchato pacchato anubandho hoti. *Vivecetū* ti vimocetu, diṭṭhibhāvā[7] vinodetū ti vadati. Ayaṃ kira upāsako Lohiccassa brāhmaṇassa piyasahāyako, tasmā tassa atthakāmatāya evam āha. *App' eva nāma siyā* ti ettha paṭhamavacanena Bhagavā gajjati, dutiyavacanena anugajjati. Ayaṃ kir' ettha adhippāyo, 'Bhesike, etad attham eva mayā cattāri asaṃkheyyāni kappasatasahassañ ca vividhāni dukkarāni karontena pāramiyo pūritā, etad attham eva sabbaññutañāṇaṃ paṭividdhaṃ, na me Lohiccassa[8] diṭṭhigataṃ bhinditum bhāro ti' imam attham dassento paṭhamavacanena Bhagavā gajjati, 'kevalaṃ, Bhesike, Lohiccassa mama santike āgamanaṃ vā nisajjā va allāpasallāpo vā hotu, sace pi Lohicca-sadisānaṃ satasahassakaṅkhā hoti paṭibalo ahaṃ vinodetuṃ, Lohiccassa pana ekakassa[9] diṭṭhivinodane mayhaṃ ko bhāro' ti imam attham dassento dutiyavacanena Bhagavā anugajjatī ti veditabbo.

12. *Samudaya-sañjātī* ti samudayassa sañjāti bhoguppādo, tato uṭṭhitaṃ dhanadhaññan ti attho. *Ye taṃ upajīvantī* ti ye[10] ñāti-parijana-dāsa-kammakarādayo janā taṃ nissāya jīvanti. *Antarāya-karo*

1 Si. omits it
2 B. & S. garuṃ katvā
3 B. & S. use Rosikaṃ throughout
4 B. diṭṭhaṃ
5 Si.-sattañ ca ; B. -sattiñ ca
6 B. evaṃ
7 B. & Si. taṃ diṭṭhigataṃ
8 Si. adds brāhmaṇassa
9 B. ekassa
10 S. ñāta-

ti lābhantarāyaṃ[1] karo. *Hitānukampī* ti ettha hitan ti vuḍḍhiṃ, anukampī ti icchatī ti attho. Vuḍḍhim[2] icchati vā no vā ti vuttaṃ hoti.

13. *Nirayaṃ vā tiracchānayoniṃ vā* ti sace sā micchādiṭṭhi sampajjati niyatā hoti ekaṃsena niraye nibbatteti,[3] no ce tiracchānayoniyaṃ nibbattetī[4] ti attho.

Idāni yasmā yathā attano lābhantarāyena[5] sattā saṃvijjanti na tathā paresaṃ, tasmā suṭṭhutaraṃ brāhmaṇaṃ [6]saṃvejetukāmo 'taṃ kiṃ maññasī' ti dutiyam upapattim[7] āha.

*Ye c' ime* ti ye ca ime Tathāgatassa dhammadesanaṃ sutvā ariyabhūmim okkamitum asakkontā[8] kulaputtā. *Dibbā gabbhā* ti upayogatthe[9] paccattavacanaṃ. Dibbe gabbhe ti attho. 'Dibbā gabbhā' ti ca channaṃ devalokānam etam adhivacanaṃ. *Paripācentī* ti devalokagāminipaṭipadaṃ pūrayamānā dānaṃ dadamānā sīlaṃ rakkhamānā gandhamālādīhi pūjaṃ kurumānā[10] bhāvanaṃ bhāvayamānā pācenti vipācenti paripācenti pariṇāmaṃ gamenti. *Dibbānaṃ bhavānam abhinibbattiyā* ti dibbā bhavā nāma devānaṃ vimānāni, tesaṃ nibbattanatthāyā ti attho. Athavā 'dibbā gabbhā' ti dānādayo puññavisesā. 'Dibbabhavā' ti devaloke vipākakkhandhā, tesaṃ nibbattanatthāya tāni puññāni karontī ti attho. *Tesam antarāyakaro* ti tesaṃ maggasampatti phalasampatti-dibbabhavavisesānam antarāyakaro ti.[11]

16. Iti Bhagavā ettāvatā aniyāmiten' eva opammavidhinā yāva bhavaggā uggataṃ brāhmaṇassa mānaṃ bhinditvā idāni codanārahe tayo satthāre dassetuṃ *tayo kho 'me Lohiccā* ti ādim āha.

Tattha *sā codanā* ti te[12] satthāre codentassa[13] codanā. *Na aññā cittam upaṭṭhapentī* ti aññāya ājānanatthāya cittaṃ na upaṭṭhapenti. *Vokkammā* ti nirantaraṃ tassa sāsanam akatvā tato okkamitvā[14] pi vattantī[15] ti attho. *Ossakkantiyā vā ussukkeyyā* ti paṭikkamantiyā upagaccheyya, anicchantiyā iccheyya, ekāya sampayogam anicchantiyā eko iccheyyā ti vuttaṃ hoti. *Parammukhiṃ vā āliṅgeyyā* ti daṭṭhuṃ pi anicchamānaṃ[16] parammukhiṃ ṭhitaṃ pacchato gantvā āliṅgeyya. *Evaṃ sampadam idan* ti imassa pi satthuno mama ime sāvakā ti sāsanā vokkamma[17] vattamāne pi lobhena[18] anusāsato[19] imaṃ lobhadhammam evaṃ sampadam eva idisam eva vadāmi. Iti[20] so evarūpo

1 B. & Si. -antarāyakaro 2 Si. vaḍḍhim 3 &4 S. nibbattati
5 B. adds here yathā 6 B. pavecetu- 7 Si. uppattim
8 Si. asakkunantā 9 S. -aṭṭhe 10 B. pūjayamānā
11 B. & S. omit it 12 B. tayo 13 Si. adds sā
14 B. upakkamitvā ; Si. ukkamitvā 15 Si. omits pi and makes pavattanti
16 B. anicchaya- 17 Si. okkamma 18 B. adds tena
19 B. anusāsanto 20 B. idiso

tava lobhadhammo yena tvam ossakkantiyā ussukkanto viya paramm mukhim āliṅgento[1] viya ahosī ti pi[2] codanam arahati. *Kiṃ hi paro parassa karissatī* ti yena dhammena param[3] anusāsasi[4] attānam eva tāva tattha[5] sampādehi, ujuṃ karohi, kiṃ hi paro[6] parassa karissatī ti codanam arahati.

17. *Niddāyitabban* ti sassadūsakāni[7] tiṇāni uppāṭetvā[8] parisuddhaṃ kātabbaṃ.

18. Tatiyacodanāya *kiṃ hi paro parassā* ti anusāsanim[9] asampaṭicchanakālato paṭṭhāya paro anusāsitabbo parassa anusāsakassa kiṃ karissatī ti. Nanu tattha apposukkattam āpajjitvā attanā paṭividdhadhammam attanā va mānetvā pūjetvā vihātabban ti eva codanam arahatī ti attho.

19. *Na codanāraho* ti ayaṃ hi yasmā paṭhamam eva attānaṃ paṭirūpe patiṭṭhāpetvā sāvakānaṃ dhammaṃ deseti sāvakā c' assa assavā hutvā yathānusiṭṭhaṃ paṭipajjanti. Tāya ca paṭipattiyā mahantaṃ visesam adhigacchanti tasmā na codanāraho.

*Narakapapātaṃ papaṭanto* ti mayā gahitāya diṭṭhiyā ahaṃ narakapapātaṃ patanto. *Uddharitvā thale patiṭṭhāpito* ti taṃ diṭṭhiṃ chinditvā dhammadesanā-hatthena apāyapapātato[10] uddharitvā saggamaggathale ṭhapitomhī ti vadati. Sesam ettha uttānattham evā ti.

Iti Sumaṅgalavilāsiniyā Dīghanikāyaṭṭhākathāya LOHICCA SUTTA VAṆṆANĀ niṭṭhitā.

1 S. āliṅganto 2 B. adds taṃ 3 Si. pare 4 S. anusāsi; B. anusāsati
5 Si. cettha 6 Si. omits it 7 Si. -dusikāni; B. -rūpakāni
8 B. ubbāṭetvā 9 B. & S. anusāsanaṃ 10 B. -patanato

1. *Evaṃ me sutaṃ*...pe...*Kosalesū*[1] ti Tevijjasuttaṃ. Tatrāyam anuttānapadavaṇṇanā. *Manasākaṭaṃ* ti tassa gāmassa nāmaṃ. *Uttarena Manasākaṭassā* ti Manasākaṭato avidūre uttarapasse. *Ambavane* ti taruṇambarukkhasaṇḍe. Ramaṇīyo kira so bhūmibhāgo, heṭṭhā rajata-[2]paṭṭa-sadisā vālikā vippakiṇṇā, upari maṇivitānaṃ viya ghanasākhāpattambavanaṃ, tasmiṃ Buddhānam anucchavike pavivekasukhe ambavane viharatī ti attho.

2. *Abhiññātā abhiññātā* ti kulacārittādi-sampattiyā tattha tattha paññātā. *Caṅkī* ti ādīni tesaṃ nāmāni. Tattha Caṅkī [3]Opasādavāsiko. Tārukkho Icchānaṅgalavāsiko. Pokkharasātī Ukkaṭṭhavāsiko. Jānussoṇī Sāvatthivāsiko. Todeyyo Tudigāmavāsiko. *Aññe cā* ti aññe ca bahū janā attano attano nivāsaṭṭhānehi āgantvā mantasajjhāyakaraṇatthaṃ tattha paṭivasanti. Manasākaṭassa kira ramaṇīyatāya te brāhmaṇā tattha nadītīre gehāni kāretvā parikkhipāpetvā aññesaṃ bahūnaṃ pavesanaṃ nivāretvā antarantarā tattha gantvā[4] vasanti.

3. *Vāseṭṭha-Bhāradvājānan* ti Vāseṭṭhassa ca Pokkharasātino antevāsikassa, Bhāradvājassa ca Tārukkhantevāsikassa. Ete kira dve jātisampannā tiṇṇaṃ vedānaṃ pāraṃ gatā[5] ahesuṃ. *Jaṅghā-vihāran* ti [6]ciranisajjāpaccayā kilamathavinodanatthāya jaṅghācāraṃ. Te kira divasaṃ sajjhāyaṃ katvā sāyaṇhe vuṭṭhāya nahāniyasambhāra-gandhamālā-tela[7]-dhotavatthāni gāhāpetvā attano parijanaparivutā nahāyitukāmā nadītīraṃ gantvā rajata-paṭṭa[8]-vaṇṇe vālikāsaṇḍe[9] aparāparaṃ caṅkamiṃsu. Evaṃ caṅkamantam itaro anucaṅkami, puna itaram[10] itaro ti. Tena vuttam *anucaṅkamantānaṃ anuvicarantānan* ti.

*Maggāmagge* ti magge ca amagge ca. Kataran nu kho paṭipadaṃ pūretvā katamena maggena sakkā sukhaṃ Brahmalokaṃ gantun ti evaṃ maggāmaggam ārabbha kathaṃ samuṭṭhāpesun ti attho.

4. *Añjasāyano* ti ujumaggassa[11] vevacanaṃ. Añjasā vā ujukam eva. Etena āyanti [12]gacchantī ti añjasāyano. *Niyyāṇiko niyyātī* ti niyyāyanto niyyāti, gacchanto gacchatī ti attho. Kva gacchatī ti ?[13] Takkarassa Brahmasahavyatāyā ti, yo taṃ maggaṃ karoti paṭipajjati tassa Brahmunā saddhiṃ sahabhāvāya ekaṭṭhāne pātubhāvāya gacchatī ti attho. *Yvāyan* ti yo ayaṃ. *Akkhāto* ti kathito dīpito. *Brāhmaṇena Pokkharasātinā* ti attano ācariyam apadisati. Iti Vāseṭṭho sakam eva

1 Si. omits it 2 S. -paṭa 3 B. Opahāra- 4 Si. āgantvā 5 B. & Si. pāragu
6 B. and S. aticira- 7 S. omits it 8 S. -pāṭa- 9 Si. vālikāmajjhe 10 Si. omits it
11 B. adds etaṃ 12 B. āgacchantī 13 B. omits this sentence

ācariyavādaṃ thometvā paggaṇhitvā vicarati. Bhāradvājo pi sakaṃ evā ti. Tena vuttaṃ 'n'eva kho asakkhi Vāseṭṭho' ti ādi.

8. Tato Vāseṭṭho ubhinnaṃ pi amhākaṃ kathā aniyyāṇikā va,[1] imasmiṃ loke maggakusalo nāma bhotā Gotamena sadiso nāma[2] natthi, bhavañ ca Gotamo avidūre vasati, so no tulaṃ gahetvā nisinnavāṇijo viya kaṅkhaṃ bhindissatī[3] ti cintetvā tam atthaṃ Bhāradvājassa ārocetvā ubho pi gantvā attano kathaṃ Bhagavato ārocesuṃ. Tena vuttaṃ *atha kho Vāseṭṭho*...pe...*yvāyam akkhāto brāhmaṇena Tārukkhenā* ti. *Ettha bho Gotamā* ti etasmiṃ maggāmagge.

*Viggaho vivādo*[4] ti ādīsu pubbuppattiko[5] viggaho aparabhāge vivādo. Duvidho[6] pi so[7] nānā ācariyānaṃ vādato[8] nānāvādo.

9. *Atha kismiṃ pana vo* ti tvaṃ pi ayam eva maggo ti attano ācariyavādam eva paggayha tiṭṭhasi, Bhāradvājo pi attano ācariyavādam eva, ekassāpi ekasmiṃ saṃsayo natthi, evaṃ sati 'kismiṃ vo viggaho' ti pucchati.

10. *Maggāmagge bho Gotamā* ti magge ca bho Gotamo amagge ca, anujumagge ca ujumagge cā ti attho.

Esa kira ekabrāhmaṇassā pi maggam amaggo ti na vadati, yathā pana attano ācariyassa maggo ujumaggo, na evam aññesam anujānāti, tasmā tam ev' atthaṃ dīpento 'kiñcā pi bho Gotamā' ti ādim āha. *Sabbāni tānī* ti liṅga-vipallāsena vadati, 'sabbe te' ti vuttaṃ hoti. *Bahūnī ti* aṭṭha vā dasa vā. *Nānāmaggānī* ti mahantāmahantāni[9] jaṅghāmaggasakaṭamaggādivasena nānāvidhāni sāmantagāma-nadī-taḷāka-khettādīhi āgantvā gāmaṃ pavisanamaggāni.

11. *Niyyantī ti Vāseṭṭha vadesī* ti Bhagavā tikkhattuṃ vacībhedaṃ kāretvā[10] paṭiññaṃ kārāpesi. Kasmā? Titthiyā hi paṭijānitvā pacchā niggayhamānā avajānanti, so tathā kātuṃ na sakkhissatī ti.

15. *Te ca*[11] *tevijjā* ti te tevijjā. 'Ca'[11] kāro āgamasandhimattaṃ. *Andhaveṇī* ti andhappaveṇi. Ekena cakkhumatā gahita-yaṭṭhiyā koṭiṃ eko andho gaṇhāti, tam andham añño, tam añño ti evaṃ paṇṇāsasaṭṭhi andhā paṭipāṭiyā ghaṭitā andhaveṇī ti vuccati.[12] *Paramparā saṃsattā* ti aññamaññaṃ saṃsattā,[13] yaṭṭhiggāhakena pi cakkhumatā virahitā ti attho. Eko kira dhutto andhagaṇaṃ disvā amukasmiṃ nāma gāme khajjabhojjaṃ sulabhan ti ussāhetvā tenahi 'tattha no sāmi nehi, idaṃ nāma te demā' ti vutte lañcaṃ gahetvā antarāmagge maggā okkamma mahantaṃ gaccham anuparigantvā purimassa hatthena pacchi-

1 S. aniyyāṇikāy' eva 2 B. & Si. o nit it 3 B. & Si. chindissati 4 Si. omits it
5 Si. -uppattito 6 Si. dvividho 7 B. eso 8 B. vādo
9 B. mahaggāni 10 B. katva 11 B. & S. va 12 S. vuccanti
13 Si. laggā

massa kacchaṃ gaṇhāpetvā kiñci kammam atthi, gacchatha tāva tumhe ti vatvā palāyi. Te divasaṃ pi gantvā maggam avindamānā kuhiṃ bho cakkhumā kuhiṃ maggo ti paridevitvā maggam avindamānā tatth' eva mariṃsu. Te sandhāya vuttaṃ 'paramparā saṃsattā' ti.

*Purimo pī* ti purimesu dasasu brāhmaṇesu eko pi. *Majjhimo pī* ti majjhimesu[1] ācariyapācariyesu eko pi. *Pacchimo pī* ti idāni tevijjesu brāhmaṇesu[2] eko pi. *Hassakaṃ yevā* ti hasitabbam eva. *Nāmakaṃ yevā* ti lāmakaṃ yeva. Tad etam atthābhāvena *rittakaṃ*, rittakattāy' eva *tucchakaṃ*.

16. Idāni Brahmā[3] tāva tiṭṭhatu yo tevijjehi brāhmaṇehi[4] na diṭṭha-pubbo ; ye pi candimasuriye tevijjā passanti tesaṃ pi sahavyatāya maggaṃ desetuṃ nappahontī ti dassanattham 'taṃ kiṃ maññasī' ti ādim āha. Tattha *yato ca candimasuriyā uggacchantī* ti yasmiṃ[5] kāle uggacchanti. *Yattha ca ogacchantī* ti yasmiṃ kāle athaṅgamenti[6]. Uggamanakāle ca atthaṅgamanakāle ca passantī ti attho. *Āyācantī* ti udehi bhavaṃ[7] canda, udehi bhavaṃ[7] suriyā ti evaṃ āyācanti. *Thomayantī* ti sommo cando, parimaṇḍalo cando, sappabho cando ti ādīni vadantā pasaṃsantī ti attho.[8] *Pañjalikā* ti paggahita-añjalikā. *Namassamānā* ti namo namo ti vadamānā.

18. *Yaṃ passantī* ti ettha yan ti nipātamattaṃ. *Kiṃ pana na*[9] *kirā* ti ettha idha pana kiṃ vattabbaṃ yattha na[10] kira tevijjehi brāhmaṇehi Brahmā sakkhidiṭṭho ti evam attho daṭṭhabbo.[11]

24. *Samatittikā* ti samabharitā. *Kākapeyyā* ti yattha katthaci tīre ṭhitena kākena sakkā pātun ti kākapeyya. *Pāraṃ taritukāmo* ti nadim atikkamitvā paratīraṃ [12]pattukāmo. *Avheyyā* ti pakkoseyya. *Ehi pārāpāran* ti ambho pāram apāram ehi atha maṃ sahasā va gahetvā gamissasi. atthi me accāyikakamman ti attho.

25. *Ye dhammā brāhmaṇakaraṇā* ti ettha pañcasīla-dasakusalakammapathabhedā dhammā brāhmaṇakaraṇā ti veditabbā. Tabbiparītā abrāhmaṇakaraṇā. *Indam avhāyāmā* ti indam avhayāma[13] pakkosāma.

26. Evaṃ brāhmaṇānam avhayanassa[14] niratthakattaṃ[15] dassetvā puna pi Bhagavā aṇṇavakucchiyaṃ suriyo viya jalamāno pañcasatabhikkhuparivuto[16] Aciravatiyā tīre nisinno aparaṃ pi nadim upamaṃ yeva āharanto 'seyyathā pī' ti ādim āha.

27. *Kāmaguṇā* ti kāmayitabbaṭṭhena kāmā, bandhanaṭṭhena guṇā.

1 Si. majjhe 2 Si. omits it 3 B. brahmaloko 4 B. & Si. omit it 5 B. yahiṃ
6 Si. atthamenti 7 Si. bhagavā 8 Si. & B. omit it 9 B. omits it
10 B. & Si. put this 'na' after brāhmaṇehi 11 Si. veditabbo 12 B. gantu-
13 Si. avhema 14 Si. & B. avhānassa 15 Si. -katam 16 B. -parivāro

'Anujānāmi, bhikkhave, ahatānaṃ vatthānaṃ diguṇaṃ saṅghāṭin' ti ettha hi paṭalaṭṭho guṇasaddo.[1]

'Accayanti kālā tarayanti rattiyo.
Vayoguṇā anupubbaṃ jahantī[2] ti.

Ettha rāsaṭṭho guṇasaddo. 'Sataguṇā dakkhiṇā pāṭikaṅkhitabbā' ti ettha ānisaṃsaṭṭho guṇasaddo. Antam antaguṇaṃ kayirā mālāguṇe bahū' ti ca ettha bandhanaṭṭho guṇasaddo. Idhā pi es' eva adhippeto. Tena vuttaṃ 'bandhanaṭṭhena guṇā' ti. *Cakkhuviññeyā* ti cakkhuviññāṇena passitabbā. Eten' upāyena sotaviññeyyādīsu pi attho veditabbo.

*Iṭṭhā* ti pariyiṭṭhā vā hontu mā vā iṭṭhārammaṇabhūtā ti attho. *Kantā* ti kāmaṇīyā. *Manāpā* ti manavaḍḍhanakā. *Piyarūpā* ti piyajātikā. *Kāmūpāsaṃhitā* ti ārammaṇaṃ katvā uppajjamānena kāmena upasaṃhitā. *Rajanīyā* ti rañjaniyā rāguppatti-kāraṇabhūtā ti attho.

28. *Gathitā* ti gedhena abhibhūtā hutvā. *Mucchitā* ti mucchākārappattāya adhimattataṇhāya abhibhūtā. *Ajjhopannā* ti adhi opannā ogaḷhā, idaṃ sāran[3] ti pariniṭṭhānappattā hutvā. *Anādīnavadassāvino* ti ādīnavam apassantā. *Anissaraṇapaññā* ti idam ettha nissaraṇan ti evaṃ parijānanapaññāvirahitā, paccavekkhana-paribhogavirahitā ti attho.

30. *Āvaraṇā* ti ādīsu āvarantī ti āvaraṇā. Nivārayantī ti nīvaraṇā. Onaddhantī ti onahanā. Pariyonaddhantī ti pariyonahanā. Kāmacchandādīnaṃ vitthārakathā Visuddhimaggato gahetabbā. *Āvaṭānivutā ophuṭā pariyonaddhā* ti padāni āvaraṇādīnaṃ vasena vuttāni.

31. *Sapariggaho* ti itthipariggahena sapariggaho ti vuccati. *Apariggaho bho Gotamā* ti ādīsu pi kāmacchandassa abhāvato itthipariggahena apariggaho. Byāpādassa abhāvato kenaci saddhiṃ veracittena avero. Thīnamiddhassa abhāvato cittagelaññasaṃkhātena byāpajjhena abyāpajjho. Uddhaccakukkuccābhāvato uddhaccakukkuccādīhi saṅkilesehi asaṅkiliṭṭhacitto suparisuddhamānaso. Vicikicchāya abhāvato cittaṃ vase vatteti, yathā ca brāhmaṇā cittagatikā honti cittassa vase vattanti na tādiso ti Vasavattī.

36. *Idha kho panā* ti idha Brahmalokamagge. *Āsīditvā* ti amaggam eva maggo ti upagantvā. *Saṃsīdantī* ti samatalanti saññāyaṃ paṅkam otiṇṇā viya anupavisanti. *Saṃsīditvā visādaṃ pāpunantī* ti evaṃ paṅke viya saṃsīditvā visādaṃ[4] aṅgamaṅgasambhañjanaṃ pāpuṇanti. *Sukkhataraṃ maññe pataranti* ti marīcikāya vañcitvā kākapeyyā nadī ti saññāya tarissāmā ti hatthehi ca pādehi ca vāyamamānā sukhataraṇaṃ[5] maññe pataranti.[6] Tasmā yathā te hatthapādādīnaṃ sambhañjanaṃ

1 Si. & B. gunaṭṭho 2 Si. accenti 3 B. sāyam 4 B. visāraṃ
5 Si. & B. sukkhataraṃ 6 S. taranti

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THE

# Indian Historical Quarterly

Vol. II JUNE 1926 No. 2

## Art and Philosophy in Hindu Temple Building

There is a fundamental aspect in the construction of Hindu temple, which has come down to us from very early times. It was and even now it is practically the same as the construction of the village as depicted in the Rgveda. In those ancient days the village was of the shape of an ellipse with a wall round about it ; sometimes there was a second wall inside the first one. Through the village two main roads, perpendicular to each other, intersected the whole village into four parts, the one from the north to the south being shorter in length than the one from the east to the west. Inside the outer wall there was a road which circumscribed the whole village. On the four directions of the compass there were four gates, called *gopuram*, because from the towers of these gates the cattle grazing on the fields outside the village were watched. Within the four sections of the village the various communities had their quarters arranged, it is supposed, according to occupations and later according to castes. As an example we can take the ruins of Chitor, a very ancient city, the structure of which has remained practically the same although modified by the exigencies of military defence and its natural configuration. The hill and the village at its foot on the west together formed the old city. There are gates on the north, west, and south of the village. On the hill there is a gate on the north and another on the east. The latter is called *Surajpol* or the Sun gate. Within the city on

the hill there is a road which practically goes round the whole hill, and there are two main roads crossing each other at right angles at the centre of the hill. The position of the temples cannot be discerned because the city has undergone several sacks at the hands of invaders who, professing a different religion and fired by religious bigotry, particularly demolished the temples.

The foregoing features can be found substantially the same in every Hindu temple of any note which has some claim to antiquity. Adapted to the construction of a temple as distinguished from a village there have been some modifications. The plan of temple construction is this. A quadrangle either on a higher level as in the Jagannātha temple at Puri, or on a lower level as in the Mahākāla temple at Ujjain, than the surrounding area is enclosed with high walls. There are four gates with watch-towers in the four directions of the east, south, west, and north. In front of the eastern entrance is usually the *aruṇastambha* or the sun-tower. The gates are called *gopuram* because, in ancient days of village construction, *go* or cattle, grazing on the fields beyond the village, used to be watched from the towers. Inside the walls there is a pathway round the main temple or group of temples in the centre. This was formerly called *maṅgala vīthī* and now, after the Buddhists, *parikramaṇavīthī*. The temple is divided into three or four parts, viz., first the *bhoga-mandira* on the east, next the *nāṭa-mandira* to its west, and next the *śrī-mandira* to the extreme west where the symbol or image, as the case may be, is kept for worship; sometimes, as in the Jagannātha temple at Puri, there is a store or passage temple called *jagamohana mandira* between the *bhoga* and the *nāṭa* or the *nāṭa* and the *śrī-mandira*. Within the *śrī-mandira* and round about the image or the symbol there is another narrow *maṅgalavīthī* by which the devotees, after the sacred ceremony of *ārati*, go round the image or the symbol. *Darśana* at the time of the *ārati* and *parikramaṇa* after it are essential ceremonies for all pilgrims.

Near the gates but just within the outer wall there is one temple at each gate. The presiding deity at the eastern temple is Brahman, at the southern Viṣṇu-Sūrya, at the western Śiva, and at the northern Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa or Anantaśāyin. Whether in the temple or in the village these four exterior temples always existed, and this represented in a nutshell the whole cosmic philosophy of the Hindu in regard to the four cardinal points of *sṛṣṭi* or creative evolution, *sthiti* or maintenance of the creative principle in action, *saṃhāra* or the counter-evolution, and *pralaya* or sustenance of the creative seed. The ancient Hindu was a worshipper of nature first, just as his contemporary in Greece was a worshipper of dead ancestors. Later on he developed ancestor worship which is so important to-day, just as the later Greeks developed nature worship in Zeus, Minerva, etc. But in the Vedic ages Indra, Varuṇa, Vāyu, Ūṣas, the Viśvadevas, etc. were the more important deities. As such he naturally connected creation with the east where every morning the glorious Savitṛ heralded the day. Hence the presiding deity in the eastern temple is Brahman the creator, and the *aruṇastambha* stands in front of that gate. In the southern temple presides Viṣṇu-Sūrya, who is evolved out of Indra, the maintainer of *dharma* or the principle of evolution started by Brahman in his act of creation. In the western temple Śiva, evolved first out of Rudra, then of Yama, is the god who was not to destroy as he is supposed to do now, but to reduce the universe into its original elements by a process of counter-evolution essentially based on harmony. Thus originally Śiva had no *triśūla* or trident but the musical instrument *ḍamaru* and his divine ecstatic dance, certainly a very magnificent conception of the means and processes of counter-evolution. It should be noted that the Hindu conception of evolution was in cycles, and hence the cycle must be completed through the processes fourfold in aspect but vitally connected with one another. A wonderfully expressive image of Śiva as Naṭarāja can be seen in the

museum at Madras. In the northern temple presides Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa or Anantaśāyin evolved out of Varuṇa, who, in the deluge, sustains the creative principle in his person as also the master-architect Brahman who is supported on the blue lotus emanating from his navel.

In the later and degenerate days, certainly post-Buddhistic in time, and probably as a result of the assimilation of barbaric ideas borrowed from the Śakas, Huns, and other hordes of uncultured peoples who poured into India, Śiva came to be regarded as destroyer, and the significance of *ḍamaru* and his dance was lost, at the same time that he was now given his *triśūla* or trident effectively to carry out his work of destruction. Simultaneously the grandeur and the more virile conception of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa supporting the creative principle was also lost. Thus the present popular conception has three instead of four aspects, viz., creation, maintenance, and destruction. As a result of this we find that now at almost every temple, whether Vaiṣṇava or Śaiva, the northern gate-temple is in ruins, and remains unrecognised and unworshipped. Thus in the Jagannātha temple at Puri there is the magnificent *aruṇastambha* just in front of the eastern gate. Inside the gate is the temple of Brahman who, having failed to develop a sect of votaries, is more or less neglected and therefore represented rather in grotesque images and carvings. On the south there is the temple of Viṣṇu and on the west that of Śiva, both of whom are worshipped with great devotion and punctilious forms and ceremonials. On the north the corresponding temple is in ruins, and the speculative barbarism of a degenerate age has raised near it an unorthodox building which is supposed to lead to heaven, an idea at once crude and dissociated from the Hindu cosmology.

Since post-Buddhistic days Hinduism has a clear cut division into Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism. The characteristic features of a Vaiṣṇava temple are that there is always some image inside the temple and that the top finishes off with a

lotus, the conception of the blue lotus of ancient days. The Śaiva temple, on the other hand, has no image but a symbol only and has on its top the *stūpa* or the dome.

This characteristic division has a long and interesting history behind it. In the pre-Buddhistic period there was no conflict between Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism. Both were integral parts of the same religious system. The *stūpa* and the lotus were simultaneously used by all. That this division without conflict and subsequent separation belonged to the Aryans before they came to India is proved from the fact that in a statue of Naram Sin in Assyria (about 1500 B. C.) both the *stūpa* and the lotus are found together. As there is no trace of this having been borrowed from India, experts conclude that the system had been adopted by the Aryans before their separation into the Indian and Iranian branches.

During the Buddhistic period the Hindu system of art and architecture was bodily adopted into the Buddhistic system. Thus at Sarnath we can see both the *stūpa* and the lotus *śikhara* in the buildings standing side by side and belonging to the coterie of the same system of buildings. But gradually as Buddhism spread in India and as time passed, we notice an important schism in the camp. The Mahāyānists of the north emphasised *bhakti* or devotion in their religious ceremonials, while the Hīnayānists of the south emphasised *jñāna* or cold reasoning or knowledge as the point *par excellence* in their religious life.

In the meantime an important historical event of far-reaching consequence to India had happened. After the death of Alexander there were many Greek settlements on the borders of India. Although there was little permanent effect of the invasion itself, the neighbourhood of the Yavana culture affected Indian art. Before now India knew little of sculpture, and therefore there was no image in a Hindu temple or a Buddhist monastery. The Yavanas, that is the Greeks, brought this to India, and the Gandhāra school of

art grew up as a result of this Greek impact. But the life of India was throbbing with great vitality in those days. So, it was no mere imitation. Sculpture was developed as an essentially Indian art, representing Indian ideas in visible external human forms. The Mahāyānists of the north, being so near to the new culture, readily adopted it and constructed noble images of the Great Buddha representing his various moods. As they belonged to the devotional school among the Buddhists, they naturally liked images as centres of their *bhakti* or devotion. Soon they started worshipping the Great Buddha in their temples. The Hīnayānists of the south resented this as they thought it to be degradation of their religion. They declared that in Buddhism there was no scope for images, and stuck to the old path of knowledge. Thus came about the great schism in Buddhism. As this gulf widened, images became a peculiar feature of the Mahāyānists and their exclusion that of the Hīnayānists. There also came about a division of the old Hindu symbols which had been adopted into Buddhism. The Mahāyānists representing the *bhakti* cult adopted the Vaiṣṇava symbol of the lotus in exclusion to the dome, while the Hīnayānists representing the *jñāna* cult adopted the symbol of the dome in exclusion to the lotus. Before Buddhism disappeared from India on the attack and revival of Hinduism under Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja, and others this division had been fully accepted by all leaders of thought and firmly rooted in the breast of all the religious sects of India. Thus when Hinduism revived, it revived also the schism, and now Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism were mutually exclusive system and not, as in pre-Buddhistic India, part of the same homogeneous system.

In this way was finally established in India the Vaiṣṇavite and Śaivite schools. They further followed the lines of Buddhistic division in that the Vaiṣṇava whose stronghold was Northern India adopted the worship of images after the Mahāyānic fashion from whom he got the lotus, and that the Śaiva whose stronghold was Southern India adopted the

worship of symbol like the Hīnayānist from whom he got the dome.

With this schism followed a separation in cosmological personalities. The three-fold aspect of God as creator, maintainer, and destroyer—the last phase of *pralaya* having been long out of use—was attributed to the god of each school. As these two schools were the worshippers of Viṣṇu and Śiva respectively, Brahman was quietly dropped in worship although retained in idea. The stages were still represented as Brahman, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara, but, except at Puṣkara near Ajmer, nowhere else in India is Brahman actually worshipped as a separate entity. Each school gave all the three functions to its god. Thus Viṣṇu was given *cakra* and Śiva *triśūla* to represent *saṃhāra* which now meant destruction and not as before counter-evolution. Viṣṇu was also maintainer, which function the Śaiva attributed to his god as Hara, that is Śiva, along with his divine consort, Pārvatī.

Through ages from the dim past to the present we can thus trace the conception of Hindu pantheon as represented in the philosophy and religion of the Hindu. As the Hindu thought and lived in term of *dharma*, a term untranslatable into English with its full significance, his construction of the temple and the village and probably many other secular things bore and even now bear the impress of his speculative thought and religious conceptions.

PRAPHULLA CHANDRA BASU

## IV

*Phaṇi* is derived from the word *Paṇi*, the name of a tribe mentioned in the Ṛg veda,[1] which lived in Vala on the bank of the river Vasā. It should, however, be mentioned that Mr. Nagendra Nath Vasu in his *Vaiśya-kāṇḍa* states in one place that the Paṇis were a branch of the Aryan race,[2] and in another place that "the Paṇis could not have been non-Aryans, but they were Āryas or *Āryabhāvāpanna*" (endowed with the characteristics of Āryas).[3] He further says that they were traders, and lived in India; from India they went and founded the country known by the name of Phœnicia. Following Yāska, he derives from Paṇi the word "Fonik" (Phœnik), by which term the Phœnicians were known to the Greeks and Germans, and he further developed it into 'Vaṇik' i.e. the Vaiśya class of India.[4]

Phaṇi derived from Paṇi.

Mr. Vasu has made many assumptions and his conclusions are not warranted by facts. He says that the Paṇis were Aryans, though in the Ṛgveda they are called Dāsas or Dasyus.[5] Sāyaṇācārya and Mahīdhara, whom he has himself quoted, describe them as robbers and Asuras, that is as a non-Aryan race.[6] According to Mr. Vasu's own statement the Bhāgavata has mentioned them along with the Daityas, Dānavas,

Paṇis were a non-Aryan tribe.

1 *Ṛgveda*, x, 108, 1; Max Müller's *Science of Language*, vol. I, p. 510.

2 *Vaiśya-kāṇḍa*, p. 8. 3 *Ibid.*, p. 13. 4 *Ibid.*, pp. 12, 13.

5 *Ṛgveda*, vii, 6, 3.

6 *"Paṇanti paradravyair vyavaharantī ti Paṇayo'surāḥ"*—Mahīdhara's commentary on the *Vājasaneyī-saṃhitā* (35, 1): see *Vaiśya-kāṇḍa*, p. 7; Sāyaṇa's commentary on the *Ṛg veda*, iii, 31, 5; x, 108.

and other inhabitants of Rasātala.[1] It will be observed also that in the same Purāṇa the word Paṇi "has been used as a synonym for a thief, and Śrīdhara, the commentator of the Bhāgavata, refers to the Paṇis as "Vṛṣalas" or Śūdras, and not as Vaṇiks or Vaiśyas.[2] Professor Max Müller and Dr. Macdonell, whom Mr. Vasu has cited as his authorities in connection with other matters on this subject, call them demons,[3] and Dr. Macdonell even goes so far as to say that the place called Vala on the Rasā, where the Paṇis kept the cows concealed, has been personified into a demon (Asura).[4] Mr. Vasu admits that the Paṇis lived on the bank of the river Rasā, which has been identified by Dr. Geiger with Raṅgha of the Vendidad. Drs. Keith and Macdonell have identified the river with the Jaxartes.[5] In fact Rasā appears to be a variant, or rather a corrupted form of Araxes which, according to Herodotus[6] and Strabo,[7] followed through the country of the Massagetæ, or in other words, it has been correctly identified with the Jaxartes. That being so, it must be presumed that the Paṇis, who lived on the bank of the Rasā, were a tribe of the Huns, i. e. they were non-Aryans as stated by Sāyaṇa, Mahīdhara and the Bhāgavata. The Saramā story in the Ṛg-Veda further proves that the Paṇis never heard the name of Indra[8];

1 *Vaiśya-kāṇḍa*, p. 7, citing *Bhāgavata*, iv, 24, 3 incorrectly; see *Bhāgavata*, v, ch. 24.

2 *Bhāgavata*, v, ch. 9; see Śrīdhara's commentaries on verses 11 and 15 of the aforesaid chapter.

3 Max Müller's *Science of Language*, vol. II, p. 510.

4 Macdonell's *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 114; see also *Bhāgavata*, v, ch. 24.

5 *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, vol. II, p. 209; *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. IV, p. 3.

6 Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, bk. I, ch. 201 in vol. I, p. 103.

7 Hamilton and Falconer's *Strabo*, bk. XI, ch. viii, 6 in vol. II, p. 217.

8 *Ṛg-Veda*, x, 108, 3.

they asked Saramā, "What kind of man is Indra, O Saramā ?" Had they been Aryans they would not have certainly displayed such ignorance about Indra, and it further appears that "the land of the Paṇis does not seem to have fallen within the jurisdiction of the ruler of Div," in other words, they lived outside the Aryan country, and this is corroborated by *Ṛk* 5 ; "Fair Saramā, here are the cows in whose quest thou art running down to the *ends of Div*,"[1] and it also appears from verses 10 and 11 that the Paṇis were on the outskirts of the Aryan country at the time, and therefore Saramā advised them, "O Paṇis, remove yourselves further hence."[2] Moreover, the Devī-Bhāgavata distinctly states that the Paṇis lived in the sixth sphere called Rasātala.[3] It is often mentioned that one of their leaders was Śuṣṇa, and he is described by Dr. Macdonell as a "hisser" or "scorcher,"[4] that is, he possessed all the characteristics of a Nāga or serpent which hisses and throws out flames from its mouth as described in Buddhist works.[5] Ketu, another leader, is well known to have had the form of a snake. The leaders of the Paṇis, therefore, were Nāgas. The Paṇis were constantly at war with the Aryans, not because the priestly class of the latter stole their cows, as it has been said,[6] but because the Paṇis themselves stole the cows of the Aryans, which to the agricultural people formed the most valuable property. Had they been Aryan themselves, they would not have certainly done so. It has been further stated

1 *JBBRAS.*, vol. xx, pp. 247, 248—*Three Interesting Vedic Hymns* by Rājārām : *Imā gāva Sarame yā aichha pari Divo antāna subhage patanti.*

2 *Ibid.*, xx, p. 246.

3 *Devī-Bhāgavata*, pt. 8, ch. 20.

4 Dr. Macdonell's *History of Sanskrit Leterature*, p. 114.

5 Watters' *Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, vol. ii, p. 132 ; *Vinaya Piṭaka*, vol. I, pp. 24-35 ; *Surāpāna-Jātaka* in Cowell's *Jātaka*, vol. I, p. 206.

6 *Vaiśya-kāṇḍa*, pp. 11, 13.

that the Paṇis tended cows and horses, and were traders.[1] The Scythic tribes were nomadic hordes ; they did not live in houses and towns[2], and what Herodotus says regarding the Massagetæ applies to the Paṇis also that "they sow no grain, but live on their herds and on fish, of which there is great plenty in the Araxes. Milk is what they chiefly drink."[3] The Scythic tribes knew the art of getting increased milk by artificial means and the mares' milk constituted their chief article of food[4]. By the mistaken application of the Aryan root *Paṇa* to the Turanian word *Paṇi*, it has been sought to deduce that the Paṇis were traders in the modern signification of the word, and to evolve the word *Vaṇik* out of the Turanian word *Paṇi*, though we can understand that from the Aryan root *Paṇa* the Aryan word *Vaṇik* is derived. Hillebrandt says that by Paṇis "a real tribe is meant, the Parnians of Strabo, and that they were associated with the Dahæ (Dāsa)[5]. According to Strabo, the Parṇis were a nomadic tribe which lived on the bank of the Ochus, a tributary of the Oxus, and belonged to the well known tribe of Scythians called "Dahæ Scythæ" after whose name Central Asia was called *Dāhinām Dakhyunām*, "the country of the Dahæ"[6]. Paṇi, therefore, is evidently a corruption like all Sanskrit names of Nāgas, of the Turanian word Parṇi or its variant Paṇi. Mr. Vasu with a glow of patriotic feeling exults over the fact that the Vaṇiks went from India to Syria and founded a colony in Phœnicia which shed such brilliant lusture upon Assyria, Babylon, Greece, etc. by its civilisation[7]. But Herodotus says,

1 *Vaiśya-kāṇḍa*, p. 8. 2 *JBBRAS.*, IV, p. 555.

3 Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. I, p. 109 ; Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. I, p. 252.

4 *Herodotus*, bk. IV, 2 in vol. I, p. 287.

5 *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, vol. I, pp. 357, 359, 472 ; *Ṛg-Veda*, vii, 6, 3, where Paṇis and Dasyus are mentioned together.

6 Hamilton and Falconer's *Strabo*, bk. XI, ch. vii, 1; ch. viii, 2 ; ch. ix, 2 ; *Farvardin Yast* (XIII), 144 in *S. B. E.*, vol. xxiii.

7 *Vaiśya-kāṇḍa*, p. 14.

"This nation (the Phœnicians), according to their own account, dwelt anciently upon the Erythræan Sea, but, crossing thence, fixed themselves on the sea-coast of Syria, where they still inhabit. This part of Syria, and all the region extending from hence to Egypt, is known by the name of Palestine"[1]. The *Encyclopædia Britannica* also says that they originally lived on the Erythræan Sea and they settled along the Syrian coast. It further states, "The Phœnicians were an early offshoot from the Semitic stock, and belonged to the Canaanite branch of it....They called themselves Canaanites and their land Canaan; such is their name in the Amarna tablets, Kinahhi and Kinahni[2]." It is therefore clear that the Phœnicians lived on the Erythræan Sea, which by no dint of argument can be construed to mean India or any part of India; it meant either the Red Sea or the Persian Gulf[3], usually the latter. They belonged to the Semitic stock and to the Canaanite branch of it, and their language is called Northern Semitic[4]. Hence the "*Fonik*" (Phœnicians) were not an offshoot of the Paṇis of the Ṛg-Veda, who were Turanians, nor of the Vaṇiks of India, who are Aryans. It is possible that like other Scythic tribes, the Paṇis might have invaded India and founded settlemedts in the Panjab and other places, but that does not prove that they were the original inhabitants of India, as it has been sought to make out.[5] Mr. Vasu's statement that the word Paṇi (cheese) is derived from the name of the Paṇis[6] is as absurd as the word *dahi* (curd)

1 Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, bk. VII, ch. 89 in vol. ii, p. 153.

2 *Encyclopædia Britannica* (11th ed.), vol. XXI, p. 449.

3 McCrindle's *Commerce and Navigation of the Erythræan Sea*, pp. 1, 209 note. Śālmala-dvīpa or Chaldia (or Assyria), according to the Varāha Purāṇa (ch. 89) was bounded by Ghṛta Samudra or Sea of Ghṛta (or clarified butter): Ghṛta Sea is a corruption of Erythræan Sea or Sea of Erythras.

4 Macdonell's *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 16.

5 *Vaiśya-kāṇḍa*, pp. 14, 19.

6 *Vaiśya-kāṇḍa*, p. 22. *Panir* is a Persian word, though derived

is derived from that of the Dahæ, to which tribe the Paṇis belonged. The word *Phaṇī*, and not the word Phanik ('Fonik'), is derived from the word *Paṇi*, and *Phaṇī* means a Nāga as the Huns were called in ancient times, and the Paṇis lived in Rasātala or the valley of the Jaxartes.

It will be seen therefore that all the generic names of serpents have been derived mostly from the tribal or generic names of the Huns. Though the words Nāga, Uraga, Sarpa, Ahi, etc. appear to be very common words in Sanskrit, they were originally non-Aryan words absorbed in the Sanskrit language long before grammar as a science came into existence in its present form. The sly, deceitful and treacherous character of the barbarous hordes of Huns, who frequently attacked and subjected the Aryans to cruelties and oppressions in those very remote times when they were living in Ariana, must have led the latter to apply their names to the serpents which resembled them in character and nature of their work[1]. There cannot be any doubt that the original conception about these barbarous hordes was such, though by the lapse of time these Hunnic tribes by coming into frequent contact with Aryan civilisation, imbibed some form of religion from the Aryans and became their allies, for, during the Sūtra period we find the Nāgas invested with all the characters of demi-gods, though still imagined as retaining their ancient form of serpents, and a day called Nāga Pañcamī has been set apart as being sacred to them[2], when Manasā, the sister of Vāsuki, and other Nāgas are worshipped in various parts of India.

Names of serpents in Sanskrit were borrowed mostly from the Turanian language.

Śākadvīpa, generally known as Scythia, is a geographical

from the common Sanskrit words *Pai* (Payas = milk) and *Nir* (nīra = water) meaning milk without water.

1 See Conolly's *Journey to the North of India*, vol. I, chs. vi-viii.

2 *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*, iii, 4, 1; *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, vol. I, p. 440; *Varāha P.*, ch. 24.

conception, whereas under the name of Rasātala, the Purāṇas and other ancient Hindu works give an ethnological description of the same region. Herodotus and Strabo, under the comprehensive name of Scythians, included in it all the Hunnic tribes known as Mongolic or Turkic[1]. The Persians use the word Sakā for the Scythians throughout their inscriptions[2]. The Indo-Aryans also use the word Śaka as a general name for the Scythians and the Huns; while describing Śākadvīpa they call its inhabitants Śakas, and while describing Rasātala they call them Nāgas; in their later works[3] and inscriptions, we find that the Huns are called Hūṇas. They were called by different names by different nations of Europe and Asia. They were the Scythians of the Romans, the Sacæ of the Greeks, the Ephtalites or White Huns of the Byzantines, and Yue-chis of the Chinese[4]. According to the Mahābhārata[5] Śākadvīpa was surrounded by Kṣīra Sāgara or the Sea of Kṣīra (or Inspissated milk) which is evidently a corruption of the "Sea of Shirwan[6], as the Caspian Sea was called.

Śākadvīpa is the geographical name of Rasātala.

It appears that Airyana-vāejo or Iran-vej was originally bounded on the north by the river—Araxes or Arras, on the east by the Turanian countries, including Caspium and Hyrcania—the countries of the Daityas and Dānavas and other descendents of Kaśyapa, and also by Śākadvīpa or Scythia—the country of the Nāgas; and on the west by Śālmala-dvīpa or Chal-dia, the Babylonian or Assyrian empire, the country of the Asuras or Assyrians who belonged to the Semitic race. The Aryans

Ariana.

1 Max Müller's *Science of Language*, vol, I, p. 361; *Herodotus*, bk. IV, 1-7; *Strabo*, bk. XI, ch. vi.

2 Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 146 note.

3 *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV, *v.* 68. 4 Vambery's *History of Bokhara*, p. 11.

5 *Mahābhārata*, Bhīṣma, ch. 11.

6 Sir Henry Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. I, p. 59 note.

were frequently subjected to the inroads and oppressions of barbarous races by whom they were surrounded, and it is very likely that they lived in a constant state of warfare with their Turanian neighbours, who robbed them of their cattle, so necessary for agriculture, their only means of livelihood, as their very name Ārya, meaning "one who ploughs or tills," seems to indicate. Professor Max Müller says, "The Aryans would seem to have chosen this name for themselves as opposed to the nomadic races, the Turanians, whose original name *Tura* implies the swiftness of the horseman."[1] The Aryans, however, gradually extended their territory, both to the north and to the east, by means of conquest and brought most of the Scythic tribes to their subjection; and long before the Indo-Aryans migrated to Hapta Hendu[2], the Sapta-Sindhu of the Ṛg-Veda[3], and settled in the Panjab, their country had extended towards the east to the north of the Hindu-kush up to the sources of the Oxus and the Jaxartes. The story of Bali and Vāmana, an incarnation of Viṣṇu, which has its germ in the Ṛg-Veda, where Viṣṇu is said to have taken three steps[4], and in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa[5] where Viṣṇu is described as a dwarf, confirms this fact as Bali was confined in Sutala, one of the seven spheres of Rasātala, under the surveillance of Nāgas, [6] which indicates that they had by that time become the allies of the Aryans and had been brought under their civilising influence. It is also mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa[7] that from Varuṇa's

1 Max Müller's *Science of Language*, vol. I, pp. 276, 277, 334; *S. B. E.*, vol. xxi, Intro., p. xxi.

2 *Vendidad*, ch. I, *S. B. E.*, vol. iv, p. 2.

3 *Ṛg-Veda*, iv, 28; Max Müller's *Hymns of the Ṛg-Veda*, p. 286.

4 *Ibid.*, I, 22, 17.

5 *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, XIV, I, I, 6; I, 2, 5, 5.

6 *Harivaṃśa*, ch. 262.

7 *Rāmāyaṇa*, Uttara-kāṇḍa, chs. 23, 24.

house in Rasātala, Rāvaṇa went to Bali's house and it should be borne in mind that in the division of the world Varuṇa had been assigned the kingdom of the west[1] so Rasātala must have been a country situated on the west. It also appears from the Saramā Hymn[2] that the boundary of the Aryan country extended to the north as far as the river Rasā or the Jaxartes, which at the time of the invasion of Alexander the Great also formed the boundary between the Persian empire and the barbarous Scythian tribes[3].

Religion of Scythic tribes.

We can very well conceive that the habits, manners, and customs of the Scythians, at least of those who lived in the country washed by the Oxus and the Jaxartes, underwent a considerable change by coming into contact with their civilised Aryan conquerors. In course of time these Hunnic tribes became so much amalgamated with the Aryans that they gave up their nomadic habits, settled in towns, dwelt in houses and worshipped the Aryan gods[4]. In very early times the religion of the Huns was a sort of Mazdaism (*Maga-dharma* of the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa that is the religion of the Magii), or, in other words, a form of Mithraism, long before the advent of Zoroaster[5], the Asura Ṛṣi Jaruthas of the Ṛg-Veda[6], his full name being Zarathustra Spitama. It should be remarked that though Zoroaster was born in Ragh (modern Rae) in Media, or rather in Media Atropatene or Azerbijan[7], yet the scene of his religious activities has principally been placed in Bactria, especially in the court of

1 *Harivaṃśa*, ch. 262. 2 *Ṛg-Veda*, x, 108, 5.

3 McCrindle's *Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 40; *Strabo*, xv, ii, 8.

4 Max Müller's *Science of Language*, vol. i, p. 282.

5 *JBBRAS.*, vol. xxiv, p. 567; Burnes' *Travels into Bokhara*, vol. iii, p. 228.

6 *Ṛg-Veda*, vii, 1, 7; vii 9, 6; x, 80, 3.

7 *S.B.E.*, vol. iv, Intro., p. xlviii; Rawlinson's *Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy*, p. 296.

Vitasa (Vishtaspa) or Gustasp, a king of the Bactrian dynasty of Kavja between the sixth and tenth centuries before the Christian era. Hence their subsequent religion must have been pure Zoroastrianism. Fire was the symbol of the Sun, and fire was the instrumental medium, by which offerings of worshippers were conveyed to heaven. The Purāṇas, therefore, describe the Śakas as Sun-worshippers,[1] and according to the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa, Sun-worship was introduced into India by Śāmba, son of Kṛṣṇa, from Śākadvīpa or Scythia[2] and by worshipping the god he was cured of leprosy. It is therefore no wonder that the Hindus should endow the Hunnic tribes in the valley of the Oxus with semi-divine power. It is said in the Vāyu Purāṇa that the Sun and the Moon were formerly the gods of the Asuras and that now they have been included among Suras or Aryan gods[3]. It is very probable that the Avestic and Babylonian 'Mithra' (Mith-Ra) and the Vedic 'Mitra' (Mit-Ra) and also the Avestic word 'Athro' the god of fire, and the corresponding Vedic word 'Rudra' (Rud-Ra) the "crying Sun" called Āditya or Śiva[4] whose form is Fire which is the symbol of[5] the Sun, ('*Ra*' in Sanskrit, meaning Fire), are the later developments of the word '*Ra*' the Sun-god of the ancient Egyptians. Śiva, the later form of Rudra, has a serpent crest like that of *Ra* called *Uraeus* in ancient Egypt as a symbol of majesty, holding a trident in his hand like the rod of Ra ; the bull Nandi also is as sacred to him as the bull Apis was to Ra (Osiris). Rudra there-

1 *Agni Purāṇa*, ch. 119:—

*Magā Magadhamānasyā Mandgāś ca dvijātayaḥ,*
*Yajanti Sūryarūpaṃ tu Śākaḥ Kṣīrābdhināvṛtaḥ.* (21).

2 *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*, Brahma, chs. 72-74 ; *Brahma P.* pt. I, ch. 140.

3 *Vāyu Purāṇa*, ch. 68, *v.* 12 :—

*Śarabho Śalabhaś caiva Sūryācandramasāv ubhau,*
*Asurāṇāṃ Surāv etau Surāṇāṃ sāmpratāv ime.*

4 *Kūrma Purāṇa*, pt. I. ch. 10 ; *Brahmāṇda P.*, ch. 28, *v.* 20.

5 *Ṛg-Veda*, I, 27, 10 ; vi, 50, 1 ; I, 98, 2.

fore appears also to have been originally an Asura god like the Sun and the Moon as stated in the Vāyu Purāṇa. Śiva was worshipped as Hāṭakeśvara Mahādeva in Pātāla[1]. But it cannot be affirmed definitely whether the Egyptian or the Chaldian civilisation is the earlier of the two until the exploration at Ur and the neighbouring towns Tel-el-Obeid and Eridu is completed. According to the Tel-el-Amarna tablets political marriage between Egypt and Chaldia were of frequent occurrence, which must have affected the religious systems of both the countries. There is, however, no reasonable ground for holding in the absence of any strong evidence that Aryan civilisation was later than that of Chaldia or Egypt, as it has been asserted by some. The temple of the Moon at the mound of Mugheir, which marks the site of Ur of the Chaldees (Chaldians) of the Bible, appears to be the oldest temple in the world, containing an inscription dated 2630 B. C., and a wall of the Second Dynasty of the early Sumerian period (3600 B. C.). The Devī-Bhāgavata says that the people of Śālmala-dvīpa were worshippers of the Moon god. Besides the temple of the Moon-god Nanna or Sin at Ur, temple of the Sun-god Shamash existed at Larsam and Sippara, and also a temple of the Water-god Ea existed at the mound of Abu Sharain or Eridu, twelve miles south-west of Ur, all these temples were in Southern Chaldia near the Euphrates[2]. But the words Sin, Nanna, and Urki, by which Moon-god is known at Ur,[3] have no affinity with the Avestic Māo, or the

1 *Devī Purāṇa*, ch. 8.

2 *Devī-Bhāgavata*, pt. 8, ch. 12; *Bhāgavata*, v, ch. 20. Maspero's *Dawn of Civilization*; *Egypt and Chaldæa*, pp. 561, 648, 660. Mr. Wooley, who is now excavating the temple at Ur, calls it by the name of "The temple of Nanna, the Moon-god". The Sumerians were a branch of the Turanian race. (*JASB.*, 1909, p. 418). The original inhabitants of Assyria and Babylon were Turanians.

3 Maspero, *op. cit.*, p. 654.

Sanskrit Māḥ or Soma, though the Chaldian 'Inzu' closely resembles the Sanskrit 'Indu'[1] neither does Shamash resemble the Avestic Mithra or Vedic Mitra, nor Ea the Babylonian Uru-w-na or Vedic Varuṇa. But these are questions of comparative religion which have not yet been decided. Mahārakkhita was sent to the Yona country, and missionaries from Tibet were also sent to convert the Turanians into Buddhism; at present the Turanians of Central Asia have adopted the faith of Islam[2]. Kaśyapa is said to have been the progenitor of the gods, daityas, dānavas, serpents, beasts, birds, yakṣas, rākṣasas and other living beings by different wives.[3]

Kaśyapa's wives.

He is perhaps the same as Colaxais, the ancestor of the royal Scythians, as stated before. Kaśyapa had thirteen wives : Vinatā and Tāmrā were the mothers of the birds; Kadrū and Surasā of the Nāgas (Hiung-nu) or serpents ; Surabhi and Krodhavaśā of the beasts ; Diti and Danu of the Daityas and Dānavas ; Irā of the trees and plants ; Khasā of the Yakṣas and Rākṣasas ; Ariṣṭā of the Kinnaras and Gandharvas ; Muni of the Munis and Apsarases, and Aditi of the gods. We have already stated that Garuḍa the son of Vinatā, was also called Śālmalī, from the fact of his being an inhabitant of Sālmala-dvīpa or Chaldia, which is very significant. His mother Vinatā was evidently an inhabitant of Sālmala-dvīpa and she perhaps represents the country of Biainas,the ancient name of Van—the Vanāyu of the Purāṇas, which now appertains to Armenia. 'Kadrū' represents Karduchi or Kurdistan, a country situated on the eastern side of the Tigris. Many of the Arabs still believe that the Kurds are Turanians, though they are now all Mahomedans. In fact, the Mahābhārata places the whole scene of the quarrel between Vinatā and Kadrū on the

1 Maspero, *op cit.*, pp. 637, 638.

2 Turnour's *Mahāwanso*, ch. xii ; Vambery's *History of Bokhara*, p. 14.

3 *Padma Purāṇa*, Sṛṣṭi kh., ch. 6.

western side of the Caspian Sea. Tāmrā, the mother of the birds, used metaphorically to denote some Turanian tribes distinguished for the fleetness of their horses, represents Thamara, an ancient town on the Tigris in Mesopotamia on the present site of Kut-el-Amara[1]. Surabhi, the mother of the cattle, that is, of those nomadic tribes which tended cattle, sheep and horses and lived on their milk, represents the country of the Khorasmi or Kharism, modern Khiva, on the north-eastern side of the Caspian Sea. Krodhavaśā, the mother of the beasts with sharp teeth and claws, by which is meant those non-Aryan tribes which could attack their enemies and defend themselves from them when attacked represents Kardunias or Babylonia.[2] The word beast perhaps refers to the barbarous wolf-folk race of Num-Ma or Babylonia.[3] Diti represents the country of the Kaspii, which extended to the river Dāitya, the Avestic name of the river Araxes of Armenia, or the modern Aras.[4] Danu represents a country or province situated on the river Udon (the modern Kuma) on the north of Albania in Sarmatia which was also the country of Saramā. It falls on the western side of the Caspian Sea. Perhaps the Dānus or Dānavas have given their name to the river Don. Surasā represents a country situated on the river Cyrus, the modern Kur which after flowing through Georgia, falls on the western side of the Caspian Sea; it divides Albania from Armenia. Irā represents a country on the river Rha or the modern Volga, which falls on the north-western side of the Caspian Sea. She is said to have been the mother of trees and plants, which evidently mean

1 It appears that in early times Thamara was a common name of ladies in this part of the country. A reigning queen of Georgia, even in the 12th century A. D, was named Thamara (*As. Rev.*, 1923, p. 675).

2 Maspero's *Passing of the Empires*, pp. 140, 141.

3 H. R. Hall's *Ancient History of the Near East*, p. 200.

4 *Strabo*, bk. xi, ch. iv, 6; xiii, 6; xiv, 3, 4; ii, 15; *S.B.E.*, vol. iv, pp 4, 5.

nomadic tribes who had no house, but who lived in forests and jungles. Khasā represents a country on the Araxes of Scythia or the Jaxartes in fact, the word Khasā appears to be a corruption of Araxes. "Ariṣṭā," the mother of the Kinnaras or Kimmerii, who originally lived on the Caucasus, perhaps represents the Ust Urṭ plateau between the Caspian Sea and the Sea of Aral. The word Ariṣṭā is a transposition and corruption of the word Ust Urt, evidently a variation of *Ura Urṭu* meaning a *"highland"*[1]. Muni the mother of the Munis and Apsarases, represents the country of Mannai, called also Mannu, which formerly did not appertain to the kingdom of Van or Armenia. Mannai was situated on the northern and eastern sides of Lake Urumiah, the ancient name of which was Kapauta or Spauta Lake (*Sara*), which formerly appertained to Armenia. The inhabitants of the country were called Mannai or Minni[2], the Munis of the Padma Purāṇa; and perhaps the word *Apsaras* is an abbreviation or corruption of *Spauta sara* as probably the female inhabitants of Mannai were called. The name of Aditi, the mother of the Aryan gods Āditya[3], etc., is a negative term used in contradistinction to Diti, the mother of the Daityas; and Aditi was designed as a mother of the gods, because Āditya or Mithra, the Sun, and also the Moon were, as stated before, non-Aryan gods accepted as gods by the Aryans! Aditi, however, does not represent any country. It will be observed therefore that most of the tribes, which belonged to the Turanian race, dwelt originally on the western side of the Caspian

1 *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. I, p. 793, s. v. *Armenia*

2 Maspero's *Passing of the Empires*, pp. 55, 61, 820.

3 The word *Āditya* is not derived from *Aditi*; see *Varāha P.*, ch., 26; being Āditya's mother she was perhaps called Aditi. Prof. Max Müller also says, "Aditi is not a prominent deity in the Veda. She is celebrated rather in her sons the Ādityas than in her own person." (*Ṛg-Veda Saṃhitā*, vol. I, p. 231).

Sea, and that almost all the names of Kaśyapa's wives represent the countries or their principal features, specially the rivers of the countries in which they lived. It will be borne in mind that these tribes were nomadic tribes, who dwelt on the banks of rivers for watering their cattle and for catching fish which was one of their staple food. From the story in the Mahābhārata that Garuḍa represented the Su tribe and carried his brother Aruṇa from the western side to the eastern side of the Caspain Sea, it appears that many of the Hunnic tribes, who dwelt on the western side of the Caspian Sea, must have migrated to its eastern side, not only on account of the growing power of the Semitic nations, but also to find food for themselves and fodder for their cattle and horses. In other words, they migrated from the *Atala* sphere to *Sutala*, *Vitala* and other spheres that is from Śālmala and Kuśa-dvīpas to Śāka and other *dvīpas* :or divisions of Central Asia. We do not know whether the Chaldian theogony is older than that of the Aryans, but it seems that the conception of Prajāpati Dakṣa, whose daughters were married by Kaśyapa, is a development of some of the attributes of the Chaldian god Marodach, the son of Ea, corresponding to the supreme Vedic deity Varuṇa, who was entrusted by the other gods with the creation of men and beasts[1]. The story in the Mahābhārata typifies Turanian migration to the east of the Caspian.

Besides the Nāgas, the other inhabitants of Rasātala, as it appears from the Purāṇas, were Dānavas, Daityas, Asuras, Rākṣasas, Yakṣas, Siddhas, Gandharvas and Kinnaras. The Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa also mentions the aforesaid tribes as residing on the northern side of the Niṣadha Parvata, the Nysa of Arrian and the Paropanisos of Ptolemy, or the Hindukush range[2].

Other inhabitants of Rasātala.

The Dānavas were the sons of Kaśyapa by his wife Danu.

1 See Maspero's *Dawn of Civilization Egypt and Chaldœa* P. 545.

2 *Brahmāṇḍa P.*, ch. 44.

Their capital was Hiraṇyapura, which was evidently Hyrcania near Astrabad on the south-eastern side of the Caspian Sea. The Dānavas were identical with the Dānus of the Avesta, and they belonged to the Turanian race, as they were called "Dānunam Turaṇām."[1]

Dānavas.

The Daityas were the sons of Kaśyapa by his wife Diti. They appear to be Turanians. The word Daitya is perhaps a corruption of Dūraékaéta mentioned in the Avesta along with the Dānus or Dānavas: "Grant us this, O good, most benevolent Ardvi Sūra Anāhita! that we may overcome the assemblers of the Turanian Dānus, Kara Asabana, and Vara Asabana and the most mighty Dūraékaéta, in the battles of this world.[2]" Being the descendants of Kaśyapa, they were most probably the tribe, now extinct, called Kaspii by Strabo, after whom the mountain called El Burz, the Durga-śaila of the Mahābhārata[3], on the southern side of the Caspian Sea, was known by the name of Mount Kaspios. If we are right in our conclusion that the Daityas were the Kaspii, then there is every reason to hold that the word *daitya* has some connection with "the good river *daitya*" of the Vendidad as the Araxes of Armenia was called at the time of the Sassanides[4], because the Kaspii, according to Strabo, lived on the banks of that river[5]. Prahlāda, the son of Hiraṇya-kaśipu and grandson of Kaśyapa, was a Daitya, and is said to have been the king of Pātāla, which indicates that the countries on the western side of the Caspian Sea were also included in Pātāla[6].

Daityas.

The Asuras have been considered to be Assyrians. Long

1 *Farvardin Yast* (xiii), 38; *S. B. E.* (vol. xxiii, p. 189).

2 *Ābān Yast*, Yast V, 73 (*S. B. E.*, vol. xxiii, p. 71).

3 *Mbh.*, Bhīshma, ch. 11.

4 *S. B. E.*, vol. IV, pp. 4, 5.

5 *Strabo*, bk. XI, ch. iv, 6; ch. xiii, 6; ch. xiv, 3, 4; and also ch. ii, 15.

6 *Devī-Bhāgavata*, iv, ch. 8.

before the Aryans emigrated to India, Ariana seems to have formed a part of the Assyrian empire which was founded by Asshur, and the Aryans who remember the oppressions to which they were subjected, attached an odium to their name and associated with it all that is barbarous, tyrannical and cruel[1]. Asshur was the capital of the Assyrians in 1820 B. C., and Asshur was the name of their national deity. Rev. K. M. Banerjea says that the word 'Asura' was both an ethnic appellative for the Assyrian nation and also a denominational epithet for the followers of Ahura Mazda[2]. In the early hymns of the Ṛg-Veda[3] the term was applied to Varuṇa as a supreme deity and not as an enemy of the gods. The Asura Bala was an Assyrian, and he has been identified with Bel or Belus, the successor of Nimrod whose lofty temple or "Citadel" was situated in Babylon on the Euphrates[4]. It should also be stated that all the three terms Daitya, Dānava and Asura are promiscuously applied in the Purāṇas to any of the aforesaid non-Aryan tribes[5]. But it is very doubtful that the word *asura* could have been derived from the Assyrians who belonged to the Semitic race, as we find that it was applied to all the Hunnic tribes who belonged to the Turanian stock. It is not at all likely that the ancient Aryans, who even in those early times distinguished themselves, their culture and civilisation, were unable to make any distinction between an Assyrian who belonged to the Semitic race and a Hun who belonged to the Turanian race. A Hun and an Assyrian must have differed widely from each other in their physical features, mode of dress, and manners and customs[6]. Neither the word *asura* was used in contradis-

Asuras.

1 *Two Essays as Supplements to the Aryan Witness*, pp. 20-28.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 27. 3. *Ibid.*, pp. 7-9.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 26; *Herodotus*, bk. 1, chs. 181-183; *Strabo*, bk. xvi, ch. 1; *Bhāgavata*, v. ch. 24; Marshman's *Brief Survey of History*, p. 8.

5 *Mbh.*, Vana, chs. 170 f; Udyoga, ch. 99; *Vāyu P.*; ch. 68, v. 14.

6 For the physical features and manners of the Turks, see Elphinstone's *History of India*, p. 266 note.

tinction to *sura*, as in later times it has been sought to make out, for the word *asura* is the same as *ahura* or *asshura*, the chief Assyrian deity, the prototype, according to Rawlinson, of the Iranian Ahura Mazda[1], hence no negative meaning can be attached to it. It is, however, very probable that the word *Asura* as applied to the Turanians, originally meant an inhabitant of Osrushna. The ancient country of Osrushna bordered eastwards on Ferghana, southwards on Kesh, northwards on Djadj and westwards or south-westwards on Sogdiana, in short Osrushna was the name of the eastern part of Trans-oxania, or rather of the kingdom of Bokhara, commencing east of Samarkand running up to the Thienshan mountain,[2] comprising the Juzzak division[3] which is evidently the "Dizek (now Djizzak)" of Vambery. It was therefore a part of Rasātala or the valley of the Jaxartes. In the pre-historic period the predatory hordes of Huns most probably spread themselves from this region to different parts of Central Asia. We can therefore very well conceive that from these inhabitants of Osrushna or Asuras, as they must have been called, their name was extended to all the Huns of Trans-oxiana and Turkestan, and in short, to all the people who belonged to the Turanian race. Burnes also thinks that the lands beyond the Jaxartes "may be safely fixed as the cradle of Scythian, Hun and Tartar inroad.' Hence the Assyrians were called 'Asura' as they lived in Assyria, and the Turanians were called 'Asura' as the original inhabitants of Osrushna. The word *Osiris* the name of the principal deity of the Egyptians, is perhaps a form of *Asura*. The term therefore found the general designation of all non-Aryan races and also of the worshippers of Ahura (Asura) Mazda of Iran.

*(To be continued)*

NUNDO LAL DEY

1 G. Rawlinson's *Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Great Oriental Monarchies*, p. 332.

2 Vambery's *History of Bokhara*, Intro., pp. xxiii, xxiv.

3 Burnes' *Travels into Bokhara*, vol. iii, p. 135. 4 *Ibid.*, p. 222.

# Indo-China in the Records of Chinese Pilgrims

Chinese pilgrims who travelled to and from India did not pay much attention to Indo-China. Those who went by land did not go farther in the East than the frontier of Bengal; as for the sea-faring ones, they called only at a few unimportant ports. The only place in the southern seas where Buddhist culture prevailed and where a monk could stop with profit was Śrīvijaya (Palembang) in the island of Suvarṇadvīpa (Sumatra).

However, Hiuan-tsang and I-tsing have recorded at least the names of the main states which, at the time of their pilgrimages, occupied the Eastern shore, the valleys of the Mekhong and of the Menam, the Malay Peninsula and the Delta of the Irawadi. At least this was considered a fact till a distinguished Hindu scholar, Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Padmanath Bhattacharya Vidyabinod, thought he had sufficient grounds to contradict the prevalent views and prove that the countries mentioned in the Memoirs of Hiuan-tsang did all belong to Bengal, Assam, Manipur and Upper Burma.[1] Finding that these grounds lacked convincing evidence, I took the liberty to uphold the hitherto unquestioned opinion.[2] My arguments were not fortunate enough to convince M. Vidyabinod [3], who stuck to his former theory

1 *To the East of Samataṭa* (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, January, 1920).

2 *Hiuan Tsang and the Far East* (Ibid., Oct, 1920).

3 My learned contradictor seems to have been somewhat offended at seeing himself mentioned in my paper under the initials Mr. P. B. V. I pray him to believe that I did it but *brevitatis causa*, without the slightest intention of undue familiarity, and that I would not have resented in the least his eventually calling me Mr. F. I hope he will not take offence at my using in the present paper only the last of the five words composing his name.

in a second article,[1] where flourish of language fails to add strength to the arguments. I take this opportunity to give a more detailed and complete account of what I may have too summarily laid down in my former paper.

### *The name of Hiuan-tsang*

Let us first settle a side question : that of the name of the famous pilgrim who wrote the record. M. Vidyabinod calls him Yuan Chwang, and upholds this view, against the criticism I made of it, on the twofold ground that "this spelling continues to be adopted in English writing," and that "an Englishman who devoted his life to the study of the Chinese language (as the late Mr. Watters) is apparently a more reliable authority in spelling a Chinese word in his own mother tongue than a foreigner." The first argument is not correct : the spelling Yuan Chwang is not of current use in English. To take a few examples, the latest work on the history of India, the *Cambridge History of India*, adopts 'Hiuen Tsiang.' Vincent Smith writes 'Hiuen Tsang' and Sir Charles Eliot (*Hinduism and Buddhism*, 1921) 'Hsüan Chuang.' As for the other reason drawn from the undisputed Chinese learning and from the nationality of Watters, it is inspired from the time-honoured deference of the Hindu Śāstrins for the word of the Ācārya, but such an attitude is rather out of date in modern science, which looks up to the facts rather than to the persons. What are the facts ? The name in question is composed of two characters. The second one is regularly pronounced *chuang* ; but it is stated in the dictionary of K'ang-hi that in the name of the pilgrim, it has a special pronunciation, i. e. *tsang*. The first character is met with under two forms, viz. *hiuan* (*hsüan*) and *yüan*. The former alone is ancient and authentic ; the later is a voluntary alteration, introduced

1 *To the East of Samatata. Second article in reply to a critic of the first article.* Reprinted from the Hindustan Review, July 1924, Calcutta. [In what follows I shall refer to these two articles as I and II].

in the XVIIth century, to avoid mentioning, out of respect, the personal name of Emperor K'ang-hi. It is therefore but an approximate form, the consequence of a politic taboo which we need not take into account. According to Watters, it is true, the form Yüan for Hiüan is to be met before K'ang-hi, but he gives no instance of it and, as long as none is mentioned, we consider that we must keep to the form Hiuan (or Hsüan) Tsang, as being the only correct one. All this has been clearly expounded by M. Pelliot.[1]

### *The Records of Hiuan-tsang and I-tsing*

The conclusions of M. Vidyabinod concern the record of Hiuan-tsang ; but that of I-tsing being an important element in the discussion, it is useful to give first the literal translation of both.

#### *Hiuan-tsang*

"When leaving that kingdom (Samataṭa), in the North-East, alongside a broad sea, one comes across, in the middle of a valley, the country of *Shih-li-ch'a-ta-lo*. Farther on, in the South-East, near a great bay, lies the kingdom of *Kia-mo-lang-ka* ; farther on in the East the kingdom of *To-lo-po-ti* ; farther on in the East, the kindom of *I-shang-na-pu-lo*; farther on in the East, the kingdom of *Mo-ho-chan-p'o*, which is the one called Lin-i[2] ; farther in the South-West, the kingdom of *Yen-mo-na-chou*".

#### *I-tsing*

1. I-TSING, *Record*, p. 12 : "Setting out from Huan-chou right to the South, one will reach Pi-hing[3] after a journey of rather more than half a month on foot, or after only five or six tides (days) if aboard a ship ; and proceeding still south-

1 Bulletin de l'Ecole française d' Extréme-Orient, V, 424 ff.

2 These last words have been omitted in the French translation by S. Julien. (*Mém.*, II, p. 82). Cf. Watters, II, pp. 187, 188.

3 The text of Takakusu incorrectly gives Kwan-chou and Pi-king.

wards, one arrives at Champa, *i. e.* Lin-i...Setting out southwestwards, one reaches (on foot), within a month, Poh-nan, formerly called Fu-nan....This region is the south corner of Jambudvīpa and is not one of the islands of the sea."

II. I-TSING, *Religieux éminents*, p. 57 : "They sailed across Fu-nan and tied up in the country of Lang-kia ; they were entertained by the king of Lang-kia-shu with all the ceremonies used for distinguished guests."

III. *Ibid.* p. 69 : "When still a child [Ta-ch'eng-teng] sailed away with his parents and went to the country of Tu-ho-lo-po-ti".

IV. *Record*,[1] p. 9 : "Going east from the Nālandā monastery 500 yojanas, all the country is called the Eastern Frontier. At the (eastern) extremity, there is the so-called Great Black Mountain, which is, I think, on the southern boundary of Tu-fan. This mountain is said to be on the south-west of Shu-chuan (Ssu-chuan), from which one can reach this mountain after a journey of a month or so. Southward from this and close to the sea-coast, there is a country called Shi-li-ch'a-ta-lo ; on the south-east of this is Lang-kia-shu ; on the east of this is Tu-ho-po-ti[2] ; at the extreme east, Lin-i."

### *Mo-ho-chan-po*

Among the names mentioned in those records there is one, the identification of which is absolutely certain, and I shall begin with it, as we must proceed from the known to the unknown : it is the "Mo-ho-chan-po which is the one called Lin-i" (Hiuan-tsang) or the "Chan-po, *i. e.* Lin-i" (I-tsing). Chinese historians and geographers are perfectly

1 Mr. Takakusu writes : "Note by I-tsing." But it is not certain that all the notes of the *Nan-hai-ki* are from the brush of the author.

2 Written in the text She-ho-po-ti. The characters *she* and *tu* are very much alike and the confusion is easy.

well acquainted with Lin-i: it lay in the south of the province of Je-nan, that is in the place of modern Annam. Lin-i is the Chinese equivalent of Champa and never meant anything else.[1] It would be childish to pile up texts to prove what everybody knows, and an old mistake of S. Beal has no weight whatever in the matter.[2]

It is very likely that a Champa-nagara existed near Bhamo, but it does not concern us much in presence of the unquestionable identity: (Mahā) Champa = Lin-i = Annam. This fact alone is enough to refute most of the contentions of M. Vidyabinod. Now let us see the other names.

*I-shang-na-pu-lo*

In the west of Mahā Champa, that is, of Annam, Hiuan-tsang mentions the state of I-shang-no-pu-lo, that is Iśānapura or Cambodia. That country, usually named by the name of its capital, was called in turn Śreṣṭhapura and Bhavapura. When Iśānavarman or Iśānasena ascended the throne (about 600 A.D.), "he dwelt in the town of Ī-shö-na," says the *Suei shu*, that is to say, he founded a new capital which he named Iśānapura. All this is quite clear and I do not see why we should go and look in the state of Manipur for a town of Vishnupur,

1 M. Vidyabinod writes (p. 445) this note: "M. Finot means by 'Mahāchampā' the 'Kingdom of Champa', although it was stated in my previous article that 'mahā' meant 'great'. That '*mahā*' means 'great' is a remarkable piece of information, for which I am greatly indebted to M. Vidyabinod. But how does it prevent the 'Great Champa' from being the 'Kingdom of Champa'?

2 Mr. Takakusu has picked out (*Record*, p. LII, note I) the most serious mistakes of S. Beal, particularly his identifying Champa with Siam. M. Vidyabinod says about it (p. 445, n.): "Dr. Takakusu differs from Beal's view, but does not make the same allegation as put forward by Mr. Finot". This is doubly inaccurate: firstly, Mr. Takakusu does not only differ from Beal's view, but also asserts and proves that this view is untenable; secondly, he thoroughly agrees with me on the uncontested fact that Lin-i is Champa.

which would have become, by quite an hypothetical process, first Vishenpur and afterwards Ishenpur, unless Vishnupur had on the contrary come from Iśānapura through a reversed process, for M. Vidyabinod kindly leaves it to the choice of his readers.

I-tsing mentions also Cambodia, but under its ancient name of Fu-nan, which probably outlived its conquest by the Khmers, especially among the population of the coast.

*To-lo-po-ti*

The third state, going westward, is To-lo-po-ti. I-tsing also mentions this country but does not locate it. The name of To-lo-po-ti is most likely a transcription of Dvāravatī, which is one of the names of Ayudhyā. M. Vidyabinod somewhat hastily decided against locating To-lo-po-ti in Siam, because Ayudhyā was founded only in 1350. True, but Ayudhyā has received the name of a more ancient capital, in the same way as it transmitted it to Bangkok, which is also called Dvāravatī. Anyhow, that To-lo-po-ti did lie on Lower Menam is clearly proved by the paragraph of the *History of the Tang*, which says that To-lo-po-ti borders in the west on the "Water-Tchenla". This last country is a part of Cambodia lying south of the Dangrek mounts; therefore Lower Menam lies due west of it. So the existence of a state of Dvāravatī in that district is based on strong evidence. M. Vidyabinod prefers to identify To-lo-po-ti with Tipperah, because that country had as protecting deity Tripurāpati (Mahādeva); and in case some people hard to please should object to the discrepancy between the two names Tolopoti and Tripurapati, he deems quite easy to suppose that the capital might have been called, 1300 years ago, Tārāpati or even Dvāravatī. Quite easy indeed, but quite convincing is another matter.

*Kia-mo-lang-ka*

The country lying west of Dvāravatī is, in the record of Hiuan-tsang, Kia-mo-lang-ka. I-tsing mentions besides,

that the navigators, after making Fu-nan, called at Lang-kia-shu. Shall we take for granted with most authors, and against the opinion of M. Vidyabinod, that Kia-mo-lang-kia = Lang-kia-shu ? To begin with, what is Lang-kia-shu ? This point has given rise to long discussions. Edouard Huber, was first to point out the likeness of Lang-kia-shu to Naṅkasī, Peguan name of the town of Tenasserim (BEFEO., IV, 475). M. Pelliot,[1] after a new survey of the question, likewise comes to the conclusion that Lang-kia-shu is Tenasserim. M. G. Ferrand[2] contends that the names of *Lang-kia-siou* [Canonical historians], *Lang-kia-shu*, [I-tsing], *Lang-ya-sse (kia)* [Chao Ju-kua], *Laṅkāśoka* [Inscription of Tanjore, 1050], *Lengkasuka*, [Nagarakretagama], belong to the same country, lying on the eastern shore of the Ligor Isthmus. M. G. Coedès[3] believes, on the contrary, that the last three names at least, mean the southern part of the state of Kedah. In the account he gives of this work,[4] G. Ferrand offers a plausible solution to the question, which satisfies both contentions: the state of Lengkasuka may have extended as far as the western shore of the Peninsula, which would explain why Malay texts locate it near Kedah.

Taking for granted that the Lang-kia shu mentioned by I-tsing lay on the isthmus of Ligor, is the Kia-mo-lang-kia of Hiuan-tsang the same country ? Nearly all the authors believe it, taking their stand on the similitude of the records of Hiuan-tsang to those of I-tsing (or rather of the annotator of I-tsing), who locates, the former Kia-mo-lang-kia, the latter Lang-kia-shu, between To lo-po-ti and Shih-li-cha-ta-lo.[5]

1 *Deux itinéraires de Chine en Inde à la fin du viii^e siècle*, BEFEO., IV, p. 405.

2 *Malāka, le Malayu et Malayūr*, Paris, 1918, pp. 182-193.

3 *Le royaume de Śrīvijaya*, BEFEO., XVIII, no. 6.

4 Journal Asiatique, July-Aug., 1919, p. 174.

5 Watters (II, 189) does not decide : "The Ka-mo-lang-ka, restored as Kāmalaṅkā, is supposed to be I-ching's Lang-ka-su, and it

But we must own that the discrepancy between the two names is not easily explained. M. Sylvain Lévi, in a learned work on "austro-asiatic" elements in Indian names of places,[1] has explained the first part of the name as the austro-asiatic "préformante *kam*," which is found again in *Kamrup*, *Kamboja* etc., But there still remains to be explained why, in this particular case, the "préformante *kam*" has separated from the organic element *laṅka*.

If, therefore, it is likely that Kia-mo lang-kia and Lang kia-shu are the same place, that is not quite certain ; and should the *Kāmalāk-nagar*, of which M. Vidyabinod (I, p. 8) finds traces in the vicinity of Comilla, finally turn up to have been a state of some importance, it would be possible to look there for the Kia-mo-lan-ka of Hiuan-tsang. However, it is so far a mere name, which gives but scanty ground for an identification.

### *Shih-li-ch'a-ta-lo*

The last country, Shih-li-ch'a-ta-lo, is not mentioned in the proper text of I-tsing, but only in a note which we cannot attribute for certain to the author. Even in the last case, the passage does not prove in the least that I-tsing went to Sylhet ; therefore all that M. Vidyabinod says about that alleged voyage is to be let aside. But, anyhow, the record of the annotator mentions Shih-li-ch'a-ta-lo after Lang-kia-shu, just as Hiuan-tsang locates it after Kia-mo-lang-ka

is said to be Pegu and the Delta of the Irawadi" : upon which M. Vidyabinod observes (II, p. 444): "Pegu had one advantage, namely it was contiguous to Prome, whereas to reach M. Finot's Tenasserim one has to take a frog leap and cross over Pegu". I will simply answer that, under the T'ang, the kingdom of Pegu did not exist as a political entity and that the whole of the Lower Irawadi, from kingdom of Piao (=Pyu). Cf. Pelliot, Prome to the sea made up the *Itinéraires*, pp. 170-175.

1 *Pré-aryen et pré-dravidien dans l'Inde*, *J. A.*, juillet-septembre, 1923.

(going westward). The Chinese transcription corresponds exactly with Śrīkṣetra (Prome) and there is scarcely any doubt that this is the country concerned.

Such identification is, however, objected to by M. Vidyabinod on several grounds, of which only one, is of value : according to Hiuan-tsang, Shih-li-cha-ta-lo lies N. E. of Samataṭa ; but Prome lies S.E. of the delta of the Ganges. In order that Shih-li-cha-ta-lo = Śrīkṣetra or Prome we must necessarily correct "North-East" to "South-East". I have said before that this was not the only error of bearings in the text of Hiuan-tsang. M. Vidyabinod finds fault with my not mentioning any instance of it. Here is one (Watters, I, 249) : "It would seem that North-East should be substituted for South-East in the statement of the direction of Sinhapura from Takṣaśilā." We should have to reverse the correction in the present case.[1] The other objections are easy to refute.

(a) The first one is drawn from the alleged decay of Śrīkṣetra in the 1st century of our era. M. Vidyadinod says (II, p. 443) : "M. L. Finot has cleverly brushed aside the fact that the kingdom of Tharekhettara had become extinct about 500 years before Yuan Chwang visited India, by saying that the dates in the native chronicles are of no value whatever, without quoting any authority in support of so sweeping a remark." Let us bring forth the authority called for. Mr. Chas. Duroiselle, Superintendent of the Archæological Survey, Burma, who is, so far as I know, the highest authority on Burmese history, says in the historical résumé he wrote for the book of Generalde Beylié, *L'architecture hindoue en*

1 Prof. Foucher has recognized in a reef near Bâmiyân the "Buddha in Nirvāna, about 1000 feet in length" mentioned by Hiuan-tsang. Says he : "It is true that in that case one must read, 12 or 13 li *West* (and not *East*) of the town ; but although no philologist would admit without reluctance such a correction of text, the topography has the best of it." (A. Foucher, *Notes sur l'itinéraire de Hiuan-Tsang en Afghanistan*, dans : *Etudes asiatiques publiées à l'occasion du 25e anniversaire de l' Ecole française d'Extrême Orient*, Paris, 1925, p. 25f.

*Extrême-Orient* (p. 402) : "The date given and generally adopted for the destruction of Prome is about 104 A.D., but this date, *as all the dates previous to the beginning of the XIth century*, is certainly very inaccurate. I am inclined to place the fall of Prome between the Vth and the VIth century". On the whole, we have no accurate data concerning that event[1]. Besides, M. Vidyabinod very sensibly says (p. 444): "Surely Prome was not left without any rulers after the extinction of the Tharekhettara kingdom". All right ; but why should not those new rulers have preserved the old name of Śrīkṣetra ?

(b) "Between the valley of Prome and the sea on the other hand, there is an extensive and almost inaccessible ridge of hills that made it apparently an inland kingdom". It is generally admitted that the "valley of Prome" is the valley of the Irawadi and that this river reaches the sea without leaping over a ridge of mountains.

I therefore believe that, apart from the correction of 'North-East' to 'South-East,' nothing prevents Shi-li-cha-to-lo from being the state of Śrīkṣetra, the capital of which was the town of Prome, but which extended probably as far as the sea. On the contrary, that situation of Shi-li-cha-ta-lo "on the shore of a great sea" (Julien), "near the sea" (Watters) can scarcely agree with the contention of M. Vidyabinod, according to which that kingdom, located at Sylhet,[2] was cut out from the sea by that of Kamalanka. He alleges, it is true, that in 1778, a Mr. Lindsay, going from Dacca to Sylhet, crossed a lake 100 miles wide, on which he had to sail with a compass "as on a sea" ; he mentions also a copperplate found at Sylhet, which gives as boundary of a certain piece of land "sāgara-

1 According to G. E. Harvey, *History of Burma* (London, 1925), p. 12 "Prome was overthrown probably not long after A. D. 800".

2 Let us bear in mind that the identification of Shih-li-cha-ta-lo with Sylhet was offered long before M. Vidyabinod by Vivien de Saint-Martin in *Mémoire analytique sur la carte de l' Asie centrale et de l' Inde* ( *Mémoires de Hiouen Thsang*, translation, Julien, II, p. 391).

paścime." I readily agree with the inhabitants of Sylhet giving their lake the name of "sea," but not to those of Bengal considering a country more than 100 miles inland as lying alongside the sea. I so far stick to my "superficiality."

*Yen-mo-na-chou*

I said nothing about Yen-mo-na-chou, having no satisfactory identification to offer. I dubiously gave Yava-dvīpa, because Java lies in the direction mentioned, but I don't fail to see the discrepancy between Yava and Yamana and that the surmise is very frail. It is better, anyhow, than that of M. Vidyabinod, viz. Yen-mo-na-chou = Jambudvīpa = Southern Burma, which rests on a simple error (beside ignoring the guiding mark provided by the mention of Lin-i). Never did Lower Burma bear the name of Jambu-dvīpa, which always meant for Burmans the whole of the two Indian and Indo-Chinese peninsulas. M. Vidyabinod bases it on a letter of the king of Burma, dated 1879, translated in the *Gazetteer of Northern Burma*, I, p. 103, which says: "The Burmese sovereign...who rules over the country of Thunapa-ranta and the country of Tambadeepa". He begins with changing quietly Tambadeepa to Tambudeepa and without much ado concludes: "This Tambudeepa is apparently Jam budvīpa". But that sentence is found under a more complete and explicit form in an inscription dated 1767 A. D. (*Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinyá and Ava*, pp. 18-19):

"Our present universe is the only one out of a hundred thousand others which has the honour of being the birthplace of the Buddhas. There are in it four continents and 500 islands and of these the Jambudvīpa is the starting place to Nirvāṇa and is therefore the chief continent. And in this continent the great empire of Ava is the greatest, because it comprises several tributary kingdoms namely Sunāparanta, Tampadīpa, Kampoja, Youaka, Haripuñca, Khemāvara, Khemāratha, Mahanagara, Zeyyavaddhana, Sirikhetta, Mahisaka, Ālavī, Ayuddhaya, Tāmalittī and the country of the Seins".

A parallel list is found in the inscription of Po : u : daung, of 1774 A. D. It ends with Tampadīpa (meant for Tambadīpa cf. in the same list *Kampoja*) "with its districts Pagân, Myinzaing, Pinyâ and Ava".

[ Mr. Duroiselle (BEFEO., V, 155) quotes the *Vohāralīnatthapanī*, p. 221 : "Sunāparanta.···Tampādipa which comprises Sarekhettarā, Pagan, Paña etc."

It is clearly shown by these texts that Tambadīpa (Tāmradvīpa) is the name of the districts of Pagan, Myinzaing, Pinya and Ava, and has nothing to do with Jambudvīpa or with the Yamana chou of Hiuan Tsang.

To sum up all, I believe that of the six names of the list of Hiuan-tsang, two are identified to a certainty, to wit :

Mo-ha-chan-po or Lin-yi=Champa (Annam) ;

I-shang-na-pu-lo=Iśānapura (Cambodia).

Two are most probable, to wit :

Tu-ho-lo-po-ti=Dvāravatī (Lower Menam) ;

Shih-li-ch'a-ta-lo=Śrīkṣetra (Lower Irawadī ; capital Prome).

One is likely :

Kia-mo-lang-ka =Lang-kia-shu, State of the Malay Peninsula, probably on the isthmus of Ligor.

One is unknown : Yen-mo-na-chou.

L. FINOT

# Patañjali

*As he reveals himiself in the Mahābhāṣya*

## II

*Tradition about Patañjali—a mystical personage*

According to the current tradition, as incorporated in Rāmabhadra's 'Pātañjala-carita' and elsewhere, Patañjali is an incarnation of Śeṣa—the serpent-king holding the lord Nārāyaṇa over his thousand heads. He is, therefore, deified as 'Bhagavat', an epithet that is usually applied to 'divine beings.' That he was an incarnation of Śeṣa seems to have been so popularly believed that the Mahābhāṣya is also called "Phaṇibhāṣya". Both Koṇḍabhaṭṭa and Śrīharṣa speak of this Great Commentary as फणिभाषितभाष्य[1]. Tradition that tends to make him entirely a divine personage runs as follows: "One day the body of the lord Nārāyaṇa had become so unusually heavy that Śeṣa, the upholder of the universe, could hardly support it. When the Lord awoke from his mystical sleep, Śeṣa curiously asked him as to the cause of his sudden preponderosity. Whereupon Nārāyaṇa narrated to him how the all-charming dance of the lord Śiva, as he visualised through mystical power, proved to be a sight of so excessive joy that he tremendously grew in weight. The lord came to know his mind and accordingly announced to his satisfaction that he would have the pleasure of such a sight at the land of "Cidambara" (somewhere in the southern coast of India) and entreated him further to popularise the science of grammar *i. e.* assigned to him particularly the task of composing the Mahābhāṣya as a distinct duty to be fulfilled by him in his mortal existence. This is how Śeṣa came to the earth and was born as a mortal

1 फणिभाषितभाष्यात्र : शब्दकौस्तुभ उद्धृत:—Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇa, Kār. I and फणिभाषितभाष्यफक्किका etc. Naiṣadhacarita.

being. While in search of a suitable place as well as a lady qualified to be his mother, Śeṣa came across a holy hermitage in the land of Gonarda, and found a female ascetic there named Goṇikā who by her pious nature and austere penance was pre-eminently fitted to be his mother. One day while she was as usual making offering to the Sun-god for having a learned son, Śeṣa considered it to be a very opportune moment and suddenly made his appearance in the from of a snake on her hands. Thus, he got his name as Patañjali from the fact of his falling from the '*añjali*' of his mother.[1] The derivation of the word 'Patañjali' has thus given rise to a mysterious tradition that speaks for the transformation of Śeṣa into a human being. According to the narration of the Bṛhad-Gaṇeśakalpalatā, Śeṣa fell, as ordained by Gaṇeśa, into the hand of a sage and divulged the secret of his earthly life before him. Nāgojibhaṭṭa has given this story in a slightly different way. His account is very brief. While discussing the grammatical peculiarity of the word 'Patañjali' in his Śabdenduśekhara, Nāgoji[2] states that Patañjali is so called because he is said to have fallen down from the *añjali* of a sage while performing his daily worship in the city of Gonarda. As soon as he fell from her hands, he assumed the form of a brahmin boy resplendent in celestial beauty. Goṇikā at once felt filial affection towards him, taking him to be a reward of her long practised austerity and baptised him with the name Patañjali from the fact of his falling from her hands. Patañjali bowed down before his mother and obtaining her permission at once proceeded to the southern coast for the performance of penance. The lord Śiva got much propitiated on account of the severity of his penance and was consequently ready to fulfil his desire. Patañjali wanted the fulfilment of two boons—one to have the opportunity of seeing the divine dancing of Śiva and the other to possess the power

1 . तवाञ्जलौ महाभाग पतितोऽहं हिताय ते। P.-carita.

2 गोनर्दे देशे कस्यचिद्वयेरञ्जलेः सन्ध्याकरणसमये पतित इत्यैतिह्यम्"।

of composing a great commentary on the Vārttikas whereupon Śiva granted his two-fold prayer. Having received the favour of the lord, Patañjali marvellously succeeded in his arduous task. Then, he began to teach the Mahābhāṣya and numerous students gathered round him to avail themselves of this opportunity. He used to sit cautiously behind a screen at the time of giving discourses obviously for the purpose of concealing his awe-inspiring form from the eyes of his students. It was, however, a matter of much speculation among the students as to how one man could at a time answer so many questions as were usually put to him. This gave rise to suspicion and the students felt curious to know the secret of it. And at last wickedness prevailed upon them; once while Patañjali was giving instructions on the aphorism of Pāṇ. 3. 1. 94 one of them suddenly removed the screen. It was an act of great imprudence which enraged Patañjali to such an extent as to turn them to ashes with the single exception. It was from this student who survived the catastrophe that the Mahābhāṣya came to light. Thus, we see that the life of Patañjali is full of mysterious events from the beginning to the end. The way in which Patāñjali is said to have obtained the literary power from Śiva is not, strictly speaking, a solitary instance in the domain of Hindu traditions, because Pāṇini is also reported to have been the recipient of similar favour from the lord Śiva. According to the orthodox belief, Śiva is the god of wisdom (ज्ञानं च शङ्करादिच्छेत्) and one hankering after knowledge must necessarily propitiate the lord Śiva. We may or may not believe the entire tradition connected with the mystical life of Patañjali, but we must admit that a man who could bring out such a learned commentary was really recipient of some divine grace and was far above the intellectual level of ordinary mankind. However, it is almost ingrained in human nature, specially in that of Indians, to ascribe the cause of all great achievements to the interference of some divine power.

*Patañjali the same as the author of the Yoga-Sūtra*

Another question of vital importance is the identity of Patañjali with the author of the Yoga-Sūtra as such. As the name of the two authors is the same, one is naturally led to the conclusion that they are one and the same person. It has been, however, argued on the contrary that the author of the Yoga-Sūtra is much older than the author of the Mahābhāṣya. This contention is supported by the Vedānta Sūtra, 2. 1. 3. where a direct reference is made to the Yoga philosophy by so earlier a teacher as Vyāsa. We may set aside this line of argument by holding that the word "Yoga" in the aphorism ऐतेन योगः प्रत्युक्तः does not necessarily refer to the Yoga-Sūtra of Patañjali, but to some earlier treatise on the subject. It must be, however, remembered that the practice of Yoga, such as different postures of sitting, meditation, concentration of mind, observance of some rules relating to body and mind, etc. was long in vogue in ancient India. Hiraṇyagarbha or Brahman is said to have been the first preacher of Yoga as what ultimately leads to final liberation of soul from the bondage of action. What Patañjali actually did in this direction was to systematise and co-ordinate all that were hitherto scattered here and there. It is therefore only in Pātañjala Yogadarśana that we find the mysticism of Yoga in a consistently philosophical form, but we would be committing a mistake if we were to give him the credit of being the founder of the Yoga system of thought. Moreover, Bhartṛhari[1] while eulogising the author of the Mahābhāṣya has given a faint allusion to the effect that Patañjali's work *i. e.* the Yoga-Śāstra served to purge the mind of all foul elements. Patañjali is said to have been the author of three great works, namely, (1) Mahābhāṣya, (ii) Yoga-Sūtra, and (iii) Vārttika on the Āyurveda—these three works contributed to remove the

1 कायवाग्बुद्धिविषया ये मला समवस्थिताः।
चिकित्सालक्षणाध्यात्मशास्त्रैस्तेषां विशुद्धयः॥ Vākya. Kār. I. 148.

impurities of speech, mind and body respectively. Kaiyaṭa[1] as well as the author of the Pātañjala-carita also entertain the same view. As an internal evidence, we may proceed further to show that both the Mahābhāṣya and the Yoga-Sūtra open almost with a similar aphorism.[2] While all schools of Hindu philosophy have rejected the assumption of an imperceptible element distinct from letters, the doctrine of Sphoṭa is not openly criticised by the Yoga-Sūtra as such. But it has rather supported Sphoṭa, as is evident from the exposition of the Yoga-Sūtra, 3. 17. Vyāsa, the author of the Bhāṣya on the Yoga-Sūtra, seems to have made a thorough study of the Mahābhāṣya, because he has sometimes quoted *verbatim* passages from the Mahābhāṣya (e. g. न सत्तां पदार्थो व्यभिचरति ; श्रोत्रियश्छन्दोऽधीते). It is not, however, possible to find any parallelism so far as the texts are concerned, inasmuch as the two works deal with altogether different topics and have practically nothing in common. The word Yoga in the same sense, in which it occurs in the Yoga-Sūtra, is also to be found in the Mahābhāṣya. By the expression 'युज्यते योगं ब्रह्मचारी' the author of the Mahābhāṣya has undoubtedly referred to the practice of Yoga as enjoined in the Yoga-Sūtra.

### *Patañjali as the author of the Vārttika on Āyurveda*

As we have pointed out in the foregoing discussion, Patañjali is said to have been the author of Vārttika on the Vaidyaka Śāstra. This work is no longer in existence. A reference to this work is made by Cakrapāṇi, the well-known commentator on Caraka. There are passages in the Mahābhāṣya which betray Patañjali's deep knowledge of the medical science. Bhartṛhari was right in his observa-

1 योगेन चित्तस्य पदेन वाचां मलं शरीरस्य च वैद्यकेन।
योऽपाकरोत्तं प्रवरं मुनीनां पतञ्जलिं प्राञ्जलिरानतोऽस्मि ॥—Kaiyaṭa, Intro.

2 Cf. अथ शब्दानुशासनम् and अथ योगानुशासनम्—the word अनुशासन occurring in both the aphorisms.

tion that these three works from the able pen of Patañjali served to remove all impurities of body, speech and mind. We have proposed to show later on the extent of Patañjali's knowledge of Āyurveda. How great was Patañjali! a grammarian, a philosopher and a master of medical science in one. In him we find a rare combination of knowledge in three distinct branches of learning.

*Parentage and birth-place*

Very little is definitely known about the parentage and native place of Patañjali. The amount of information furnished by the Mahābhāṣya in this direction is the two terms गोनर्दीय and गोणिकापुत्र, the former possibly refer to his birth-place and the latter to his mother's name. This is quite in agreement with the current tradition as we have already alluded to. Kaiyaṭa also explains the term गोनर्दीय as the name of Patañjali by showing that the expression गोनर्दीयस्वाङ्ग is the same as भाष्यकारस्वाङ्ग.[1] Goṇikā, a female ascetic, is spoken of as his mother. We know nothing about his father. Some scholars have, however, tried to prove with reference to the Kāma-Sūtra that गोनर्दीय and गोणिकापुत्र are two distinct authors on dramaturgy. It is, therefore, somewhat uncertain whether these two names really refer to Patañjali as such. We should, however, add that the contexts in which these two names occur in the Mahābhāṣya are in themselves sufficient indication that they refer to some grammarians whose views on grammar were authoritatively recorded in the Mahābhāṣya. We maintain, therefore, on the contrary that गोनर्दीय and गोणिकापुत्र, as mentioned by the author of the Kāma-Sūtra, are not necessarily the same authors as referred to in the Mahābhāṣya. As a matter of fact, it was not unusual in those days to call a man by the names derived from those of his mother or native

1 गोनर्दः देशे कस्यचिद्वयैरञ्जलेः सन्धाकरणसमये पतित इत्यैतिह्यम्।
Compare also गोनर्दीयपदं व्याचष्टे भाष्यकार इति—Uddyota (Nāgeśa).

place as the case might be. Pāṇini is thus often called by such epithets as शालातुरीय and दाक्षीपुत्र[1] *i. e.* by names referring to his birth-place and mother. Whenever he is to give his own opinion on a controversial topic, Patañjali has judiciously sought to put forward those names. Moreover, it is not unlikely that our author, either out of typical modesty of Indian teacher or actuated by a sacred impulse of giving prominence to his mother's name, found it more convenient to use those names whenever necessary. The expression प्रियतद्धिता दाक्षिणात्या: is calculated to give us a clue as to the determination of the birth-place of Patañjali.

Gonarda must be a place somewhere in the Deccan. That he belonged to the southern country *i. e.* Deccan, and had intimate knowledge of that part of India is borne out by some references of the Mahābhāṣya. Patañjali[2] speaks of a peculiar linguistic characteristic of the Deccanese. The people of the Deccan, as he clearly shows, were very fond of using the words that end in Taddhita suffixes, for example, they would use 'laukike' and 'vaidike' instead of 'loke' and 'vede'. Patañjali[3] also speaks of the big lakes and ponds of the Deccan and mentions particularly that they were generally called "Sarasī."

### *Patañjali as an ideal brahmin and his lofty conception of Brahminism*

Patañjali was very probably a high class brahmin and had purely brahmanical culture. He was born at a time when brahmins used to hold a very respectable position in the Hindu society. He possessed learning, 'tapasyā,' and noble birth,—all the important requisites of a typical brahmin. He was a repository of learning, as he seems to have mastered all the important branches of knowledge. He was not only an acknowledged master of the Vedas with all their subsidiary literature,

1 शालातुरीयदाक्षीयौ गोनर्दीये पतञ्जलि:—Abhidhānacintāmaṇi by Hemacandra and सर्वे सर्वपदादेशा दाक्षीपुत्रस्य पाणिने:—Mahābhāṣya, vol. III, p. 251.

2 Mahābhāṣya, vol. I, p. 8. 3 Vol. I, p. 73.

but had a much more admirable gift, we mean the blessing of 'Tapasyā.' As identified with the author of the Yoga-Sūtra, Patañjali must have been an ascetic practising yoga. He mentions[1] austerity, Vedic learning and respectable birth as the qualification of a Brahmin in the real sense of the term, and we are sure that he possessed these qualities in an eminent degree. One is, as Patañjali observes, in agreement with the Dharma-Śāstra, only a Brahmin by caste[2] ( जातिब्राह्मण ) if he be devoid of both religious austerity and Vedic learning. It is evident from what he considers to be the essential characteristics of a Brahmin that Patañjali used to lay greater importance on religious austerities and Vedic learning than on the mere accident of birth. What made him an object of such respect and reverence (for he is often designated as 'Ṛṣi' and sometimes as 'Bhagavat') was not only erudition but also advancement in spiritual life. Patañjali had thus a lofty conception of Brahmanism. He has also enumerated the peculiarities of physical features that add largely to the qualities of a Brahmin. According to his opinion[3], a brahmin yellowish in complexion, of pure conduct, and with tawny hair deserves special notice in the community of Brahmins. Again, he mentions[4] particularly in a verse that a brahmin belonging to the highest class is marked out by the purity of culture, birth and action. Thus, we find that the consideration of two elements, namely, quality and action ( गुणकर्मविभागशः ) which lie at the root of differentiation of castes in India, did not escape the notice of so orthodox a brahmin teacher as Patañjali. It is expressly stated in the ancient Dharma-Śāstras that the supreme Lord had divided men into four well-marked classes by the standard of their respective

1 M. B., vol. II, p. 363.

2 Ibid.

3 गौरः शुचाचारः पिङ्गलः कपिलकेश इत्येतानप्यभ्यन्तरान् ब्राह्मणे गुणान् कुर्वन्ति—M.B., vol. II, p. 336.

4 त्रीणि यस्यावदातानि विद्या योनिश्च कर्मच । एतच्छिवं विजानीहि ब्राह्मण्यास्य लक्षणम ॥ M. B., vol. II, p. 220.

qualities and actions. In a similar strain of thought Patañjali understands by Brahmin, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra only an aggregate of qualities[1] (गुणसमुदायेषु वर्तते), but never lays any stress on the mere accident of birth or descent. The brahmin, if we are allowed to say so, did not usurp the enviable supremacy by undue supersession but had those rare qualifications—purity with regard to both body and mind, devotion to knowledge, and above all a unique strength of 'Tapasyā' that really justified his position as the head of Hindu society. Patañjali has also mentioned some non-brahmanic habits: e. g. eating food while moving.[2] He also speaks of a class of brahmins who did not partake of any meal while invited on the occasion of Śrāddha ceremony (अश्राद्धभोजी ब्राह्मणः).

*Patañjali as a priest*

He seems to have an intimate knowledge of the priestly class. He used to perform daily worship including the five "great sacrifices" that are ordained to be strictly observed by every brahmin householder. The use of the terms पुण्याहवाचन, स्वस्तिवाचन, शान्तिवाचन etc., indicate his intimates knowledge of the Vedic rituals, acquired from their performance. Born in the midst of high traditions and trained in a purely ecclesiastical atmosphere, Patañjali acquired all the traits of a brahmanic life. He refers to both the sacrificial country (यज्ञियदेश) and the family of priestly brahmins that was specially qualified for the performance of sacrifice (आर्त्विजीनं ब्राह्मणकुलम्). Patañjali was not only a contemporary of Puṣyamitra but was intimately related to him as his family priest, and it is not unlikely that he served as the high priest on the occasion of his patron's great sacrifice (Aśvamedha).[3]

*His religious faith*

Patañjali seems to have been an Advaitavādin, belonging

1 See Mahābhāṣya under the rule of Pāṇ. 5. 1. 115.

2 अब्राह्मणोऽयं यो गच्छन् भक्षयति—M. B., vol. I, p. 411.

3 Cf. इह पुष्यमित्रं याजयामः।

probably to the Advaita sect of Śaiva religion. The Śaiva religion had become very popular in Southern India and continues to be so even in these days. It is not therefore unlikely that Patañjali as a native of the Deccan had an inborn regard for that particular form of religious faith. The tradition as well as certain references of the Mahābhāṣya tend to make him a Śaiva. The tradition, to which we have already alluded, states that Patañjali had practised Yoga for a long time with a view to propitiate the Lord Śiva and as a reward of his severe austerity he succeeded in visualising the dancing of Śiva. Turning to the internal evidence we find that Patañjali has mentioned all the popular names of Śiva[1], and has alluded to the last one in such a context as to support the inference that he was a worshipper of Śiva.[2] Direct reference is made to the Śaiva sect (vol. II, 282). If the identity of Patañjali with the author of the Yoga-Sūtra is acknowledged to be a fact, then he would be a Yogin believing in the existence of a personal god[3] either Śiva or Viṣṇu. It is not possible to say anything definitely as to the particular form of religious faith which Patañjali actually acknowledged. Patañjali was endowed with a strong religious feeling and cultivated a life of spiritual elevation. The way in which he has expounded the doctrine of Sphoṭa is characteristic of his special inclination towards the Śabda-Brahma-Vāda. To him Śabda, or more properly Sphoṭa, was an emblem of Supreme Divinity, as Praṇava is spoken of in the Yoga-Sūtra as a veritable symbol of God ( तस्य वाचकः प्रणवः 1. 27 ). Moreover, his definition of नित्यशब्द[4] as भवं कूटस्थमविचाल्यनपायोपजनविकार्युत्पत्त्याद्यङ्गाव्ययोगि यत्तन्नित्यम् etc., wherein he has made use of all the epithets that are popularly attributed to Brahman, is an indication that he identified Śabda with Brahman and worshipped it as such.

1 शिव, भव, रुद्र, महादेव, मृड, शर्व ।  2 त्र्यम्बकं यजामहे ।

3 नैवेश्वर आज्ञापयति—M. B., vol. I, p. 115 and Yoga-Sūtra, I. 24 (पुरुषविशेष ईश्वरः ).

4 Mahābhāṣya, vol. I, p. 7.

## *The scope of his knowledge*

Now we come to consider the most conspicuous feature of Patañjali's career. No phase of his life appears more prominently than his literary attainments. His was a life devoted entirely to the pursuit of knowledge, and his was a master mind that fully grasped all that was noblest and best in the domain of learning. The range of his knowledge was very wide. A study of the Mahābhāṣya will serve to convince us that it would be a great injustice to his many-sided genius and powerful intellect if we take Patañjali only as a grammarian without making a proper estimate of his activities in various other departments of learning. He was a grammarian first, as everybody will admit, but the extent of his knowledge was not absolutely confined to the narrow area of grammar ; it encompassed the far wider field of the Vedic and classical literature in all their aspects. His command over language was equally great. He could express all his ideas gracefully and this was possible because Sanskrit is considered to have been a spoken tongue at the time of Patañjali.[1] He was, moreover, endowed with a keen intellect. Durga Siṃha[2] rightly compares his intellect to the sharp point of Kuśa-grass. His knowledge was so wide that it is simply impossible to give a detailed account of it within the short compass of these pages. We propose to deal briefly with the different branches of studies with which Patañjali seems to have had a thorough acquaintance.

### *(1) A well-read Vedic scholar*

In Patañjali we find a well-read Vedic scholar. He inherited early a strong impetus to make a thorough study of the Vedas and was singularly successful in his attempt. The study of the

1 See my *Linguistic Speculations of the Hindus.*

2 यद्दं च भाष्यकारस्य कुशाग्रं कधियाऽभवत् ।

Vedas was considered in those days as an obligatory duty on the part of every Brahmin student. He was, as we shall see later on, master of the four Vedas, specially of the Ṛg-Veda. While giving an idea as to the extent of the use of words, Patañjali[1] has not only enumerated the four Vedas and their subsidiary literature but has gone further to mention the actual number of Śākhās of each of the Vedas. What we learn from this account is that the four Vedas with all their Śākhās were known to Patañjali and there is ample evidence in the Mahābhāṣya to believe that he made a masterly study of them in pursuance of the time-honoured custom. He has shown his admirable knowledge of the Vedic texts in many ways. As a grammarian, Patañjali has treated of both the Vedic and popular words. His Śabdānuśāsana takes notice of both the classes of words, and he could not have succeeded in such an attempt without an adequate knowledge of the Vedas. His quotations are, however, mostly taken from the Ṛg-Veda. He was not only a Vedic scholar of great reputation but had an accurate knowledge of the Vedic rituals. He was fully alive to the importance of the Vedic studies. He refers to the ancient custom when Brahmins used to take up the studies of grammar just after their sacrament of "holy thread" was over.[2] He was born at a time when a Brahmin student could not afford to neglect the study of the Vedas. His mastery over the Vedas was of such an order that he could reproduce any passage from the Vedas whenever he proposed to do so. He was a staunch believer in the eternality of the Vedas. He states in unambiguous terms that the Chandas (Vedas) are not created by men but they are existing from eternity[3]. Further, he states that the Vedic words are to be learnt directly from the Vedas just in the same way as "laukika" words are learnt from popular usage. His

1 See Mahābhāṣya under the Vārt. सर्वे देशान्तरे—vol. I, p. 9.

2 पुराकल्पे एतदासीत्। संस्कारोत्तरकालं ब्राह्मणा व्याकरणं स्वाधीयते—M. B., vol. I, p 5.

3 नहि छन्दांसि क्रियन्ते, नित्यानि छन्दांसि—M. B., vol. II, p. 315.

intimate knowledge of the Vedas is testified to by his frequent reference to the Vedic texts. We give below some such passages for example. In the first Āhnika of the Mahābhāṣya Patañjali has given five Vedic verses in full from the Ṛg-Veda and in other instances he has only given them in parts. The first lines of each of the opening verses of the four Vedas are quoted by Patañjali just in the beginning of his Śabdānuśāsana.

Vedic verses quoted in full :—

1. सुदेवो असि वरुण यस्य ते सप्त सिन्धवः ।
अनुक्षरन्ति काकुदं सूर्यं सुषिरामिव ॥ Ṛgveda, VIII. 69. 12.
M. B., vol. I, p. 4.

2. सक्तुमिव तितउना पुनन्तो यत्र धीरा मनसा वाचमक्रत ।
अत्रा सखायः सख्यानि जानते भद्रैषां लक्ष्मीर्निहिताधि वाचि ॥ Ṛgveda, X. 71. 2.
M. B., vol. I, p. 4.

3. उत त्वः पश्यन्न ददर्श वाचमुत त्वः शृण्वन्न शृणोत्येनाम् ।
उतो त्वस्मै तन्वं विसस्रे जायेव पत्य उशती सुवासाः ॥ Ṛgveda, X. 71. 4.
M. B., vol. I, p. 4.

4. चत्वारि शृङ्गा त्रयो अस्य पादा द्वे शीर्षे सप्त हस्तासो अस्य ।
त्रिधा बद्धो वृषभो रोरवीति महो देवो मर्त्याँ आविवेश ॥ Ṛgveda, IV. 58. 3.
M. B., vol. I, p. 3.

5. चत्वारि वाक् परिमिता पदानि तानि विदु ब्राह्मणा ये मनीषिणः ।
गुहा त्रीणि निहिता नेङ्गयन्ति तुरीयं वाचो मनुष्या वदन्ति ॥ Ṛgveda, I. 146. 45.
M. B., vol. I, p. 3.

Vedic verses given in parts :—

1. इन्द्रो मा वधीत् ॥ M. B., vol. II, p. 77.
2. नाभा पृथिव्याँ निहितो दविद्युतत्—Av., VII. 61. 1. M. B., vol. II, p. 437.
3. देवो वः सविता प्रार्पयतु श्रेष्ठतमाय कर्मणे । V. S., I. 1. M. B., vol. II, p. 816.
4. जर्भरी तूर्फरी तु—Ṛgveda, X. 9. 106. M. B., vol. I, p. 363.
5. मरुद्भिरग्न आ गहि—Ṛgveda, I. 19. 1. M. B., vol. I, p. 184.
6. न ते दिवो न पृथिव्या अधि स्नुषु—V. S., XVII. 14.
7. आ नो मित्रावरुणा घृतैर्गव्यूतिमुक्षतम्—Rv., III. 62. 16.
8. दिवो वृष्टिं मरुतो ररीध्वम् ।
9. वाध्र्यं नो देवा निजुरो वृकस्य—Rv., II. 29. 6.
10. प्र ण आयूंषि तारिषत्—Ṛgveda, I. 25. 12. ; M. B., vol. II, p. 44.
11. भोजायमानं यो अहिं जघान—Ṛgveda, II. 12. 11. M. B., vol. II, p. 21.
12. अनर्वाणं वृषभं मन्द्रजिह्वम्—Rv., I. 190. 1., M. B., vol. I, p. 220.
13. द्यावा चिदस्मै पृथिवी नमेते—Rv., II. 12. 12. M. B., vol. II, p.

*His acquaintance with the subsequent Vedic literature—Brāhmaṇas, Sūtras—Śrauta, Gṛhya and Kalpa, Chandas etc. etc.*

Patañjali was not only well-versed in the Ṛgveda but he had familiarity with the other Vedas as well. He distinctly mentions the "Uktha" of the Sāma-Veda (under Pāṇ., 4. 2. 60) and refers to the musical recitation of the Sāma hymns (कालेयं साम गीयते). As he belonged to the priestly class of Brahmins, Patañjali had surely made a special study of the Yajur-Veda and the Brāhmaṇas. No department of study, specially in the field of the Vedic literature, was left unnoticed by Patañjali. The Atharva-Veda could not escape his all-absorbing attention. He explains the term "आथर्वणिक[1]" as denoting one who makes a study of the Atharva-Veda, and particularly refers to धर्म्य and आम्नाय as relating to the fourth Veda. His minute knowledge of the Vedas is further manifested by his references to the Anuvākas, namely, वसिष्ठोऽनुवाकः[2] and "विश्वामित्रोऽनुवाकः". That he was specially acquainted with the Vedic rituals is clear from the following passages which have direct bearing upon the performance of a sacrifice as enjoined by the Brāhmaṇas :—(i) पञ्चसु कपालेषु संस्कृतम्[3] (ii) श्रपयति वपयति चरुः[4] (iii) आग्नावैष्णवं चरुं निर्वपेत्. He has by way of example mentioned some specific objects that are used only in connection with a sacrifice viz. स्रुग्, यूप, चषाल, स्रुक्. The passage[5] तेऽसुरा हेलयो हेलय इति कुर्वन्तः पराबभूवुः is in all probability taken from some Brāhmaṇa. This passage occurs in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa with slight modifications. He mentions the names of two treatises on the Brāhmaṇa literature,[6] namely, Yājñavalkya and Saulabha and various works coming under the Sūtra class of literature[7], such as

1 M. B. vol. II, p. 320.
2 M. B. vol. II, p. 320.
3 „ „ II, p. 239.
4 „ „ III, p. 213.
5 „ „ I, p. 2.
6 „ „ II, p. 285.
7 „ „ 284 and 286.

Vārttika-Sūtra, Saṃgraha-Sūtra, Kalāpaka-Sūtra etc. Mention is also made of the Kalpa-Sūtras which form an important part of the Vedic literature: 'Pārāśara-Kalpa, Para-Kalpa, Paingī-Kalpa Kāśyapa-Kalpa, Kauśika-Kalpa etc. etc. The passage[1] दशम्युत्तरकालं पुत्रस्य जातस्य नाम विदध्यात् is undoubtedly taken by Patañjali from some Gṛhya-Sūtra. Cf. जननाद्दशरात्रे नामधेयकरणम् Gobhila-Grihya, 2. 8.8. So far as the Vedic metres are concerned, Triṣṭubh, Anuṣṭubh and Jagatī are specifically spoken of by Patañjali.[2] This review of Patañjali's career as a Vedic scholar, however brief and imperfect, will serve to give us an occasion to see how great was his command over the entire range of the Vedic literature.

*His familiarity with the Dharma-Sūtras and Smṛti texts*

In more than one instance Patañjali has given unmistakable evidence of his respectable knowledge of the Dharma Śāstras that were current in his time. The numerous reference to the Smṛti-texts indicate that Patañjali, besides being a Vedic scholar of great reputation, made a careful study of the Dharma-Śāstras such as Bodhāyana, Āpastamba, Gotama, etc. He has sometimes quoted *verbatim* the passages from the texts and sometimes given only the substance in his own inimitable language. Passages like दक्षिणाग्निरपि गृहपतिना संयुज्यते (M. B., vol. II, p. 334) and सर्वेण च गृहस्थेन पञ्च महायज्ञा निर्वर्त्याः (vol. II, p. 21) are taken from the Dharma Sūtras and relate to the daily duty of a householder. The "five great sacrifices", as the Bodhāyana and other Dharma Sūtras enjoin, are देवयज्ञ, पितृयज्ञ, भूतयज्ञ, नृयज्ञ, and ब्रह्मयज्ञ. The sacrificial fire as referred to above falls under three well-marked classes, namely, दक्षिण, गार्हपत्य and आहवनीय. These and other instances where Patañjali has made direct references to the Smṛti texts are calculated to prove that he was not only conversant with the texts but put them into practice in the daily performance of his religious rites. Of the ten holy sacraments (संस्कार) ordained by the Dharma Sūtras, he

1 M. B., vol. I, p. 4. 2 M. B., vol. II, p. 283.

particularly mentions two, namely, Nāmakaraṇa and Upanayana. He states in agreement with the Dharma Śāstras that the "Nāmakaraṇa" ceremony should take place on the tenth day from the birth ( दशम्यां जातस्य पुत्रस्य नाम विदध्यात् ) and gives even a detailed account as to how such names should be formed. Regarding the ceremony of "holy thread" he points out in the very language of the Dharma Sūtras that (i) "a Brahmin should kindle the sacrificial fire in spring[1]" and (ii) "the Upanayana of a Brahmin boy should be celebrated on the eighth year counting from the date of his mother's conception"[2] (cf. गर्भाष्टमेषु ब्राह्मणमुपनयीत—Bodhāyana Gṛhya-Sūtra 2. 5). (iii) He speaks of both drinking and brahminicide[3] as what entail great sins on the part of the perpetrators. These two, as everyone knows, are included in the list of the "five great sins" ( पञ्च महापातक ). It is not only in the Dharma Śāstras[4] that we meet with a description of these five offences of serious nature, but even the Chāndyogya Upaniṣad[5] has also enumerated them in the same way. The seriousness of these two kinds of sins is clearly pointed out by Patañjali when he observes that one who commits Brahminicide and drinks wine even through ignorance is also liable to unmitigated sin.[6] (iv) In dealing with the question of eatables and non-eatables Patañjali says that only "five, as laid down by the Smṛti-texts, among the five-nailed animals are permitted to be eaten[7]." The text of the Mahābhāṣya ( पञ्च पञ्चनखा भक्ष्याः ) has striking similarity with that of the Bodhāyana Dharma-Sūtra (I. 5. 12. 5). Patañjali draws the usual inference that the above text lays down a restriction with regard to the eatable. In the same context he has also drawn our attention to the fact that sometimes restriction is meant by prohi-

1 M. B. vol. III, p. 57 "वसन्ते ब्राह्मणोऽग्रीनादधीत"।
2 ,, ,, ,, ,, "गर्भाष्टमे ब्राह्मण उपनेयः"।
3 ब्राह्मणो न हन्तव्यः सुरा न पेयेति—M. B., vol. III, p. 57.
4 Vide Manu-Saṃhitā. 5 Chānd., 5. 5. 10.
6 M. B., vol. I, p. 2. 7 M. B., vol. I, p. 5.

bitive injunctions, as for instance, the proposition "अभक्ष्यो ग्राम्यकुक्कुटोऽभक्ष्यो ग्राम्यशूकरः[1]" (Domesticated fowl as well as domesticated pig should not be eaten) implies indirectly that wild fowls and wild pigs are permissible for eating. Here too Patañjali's texts are almost the same as what occur in the Dharma Sūtras (cf. अभक्ष्याः पशवो ग्राम्याः and तथा कुक्कुटशूकरम् Bodhāyana 1. 5). (v) With direct reference to the Vedas, as he himself admits, Patañjali has specified the food of different classes of men during the period of their observing religious rites[2] : "Milk is said to be the main food of the Brahmins, barley-corn of the Kṣatriyas, and curd of the Vaiśyas." This statement is quite in agreement with the Smṛti texts. Cf. पयो भक्ष्या इति प्रथमः कल्पः, यवागूं राजन्यो वैश्य आमिक्षाम्—Bodhāyana 3. 7. (vi) Patañjali has made reference to another prohibitive injunction viz. "oil and meat (beef) should not be sold.[3]" But he has recorded his consent so far as the sale of mustard-seeds (the entity as a whole) and cows is concerned. Manu has strongly prohibited the sale of both oil and meat. (vii) In the same context Patañjali continues to say that "one should purify himself (by bathing and the like) if he happens to touch hairs and nails as detached from a human body.[4]" (viii) Patañjali had undoubtedly some Smṛti-texts in view when he specifically mentioned the place and time where and when study is strictly prohibited. It should be noted here that both time and place have been particularly fixed in connection with the study of the Vedas. Patañjali says that "one should not read in a cremation-ground or at a place where four paths have met together[5]" ; so far as the question of time is concerned, he states further that "one should refrain from the study in both "Amāvāsyā" and "Caturdasī"

1 M. B., vol. I, p. 6. 2 M. B., vol. I, p. 8.

3 तैलं न विक्रेतव्यं मांसं न विक्रेतव्यम्—M. B., vol. I, p. 25.

4 लोमनखं स्पृष्ट्वा शौचं कर्तव्यम्— " " "

5 श्मशाने नाध्येयम्। चतुष्पथे नाध्येयमिति। कालः खल्वप्याम्नाये नियतः। नामावास्यायां न चतुर्दश्यामिति—vol. II, p. 386.

(cf. Bodhāyana, I. 11. 21. 22; and Manu, 4.113 and 4.116). Instances may be multiplied to give further evidence of Patañjali's intimate knowledge of the Dharma-Śāstras. Under the Vārttika "धर्मशास्त्रमपि तथा" on Pāṇini, I. 2. 64, he has clearly shown what he really meant by Dharma-Śāstra by referring to an oft-quoted Smṛti-text. Now, considering the range of study as is disclosed by the aforesaid texts and the manner in which these references have been made, we should be really justified in holding that Patañjali was not only an erudite scholar in the field of Śrauta and Smārta literature but he lived a strictly religious life following the lofty ideal of Brahminism as set up by the Vedic and Smṛti literature. He did practically what he learnt from the Dharma-Śāstras; he adhered to the religious creed of the Brahmins in a spirit of inborn devotion and never deviated an inch from the path chalked out for a pious devotee. That he performed everything in strict conformity with the ordinance of the Dharma-Śāstra is perfectly clear from his own statement. He states emphatically[1] that "something that is done against the the dictates of the Dharma Śāstra is liable to be defective and as such is not attended with the desired fruit." This shows the magnitude of regard he had towards the ordinance of the Dharma-Śāstras.

The Dharma-Śāstra is generally called Smṛti[2] which comprehends the works of many revered sages, and deals with almost the same subject *i. e.*, Dharma in its various aspects. Among these the Mānava-Dharmaśāstra (popularly known as Manu Saṃhitā) is by far the most comprehensive and authoritative work, obviously for the reason of its close touch with the Vedas.[3] The date of this valuable work has not yet

1 अशास्त्रोक्तं क्रियमाणे विगुणं कर्म भवति, विगुणे च कर्मणि फलानवाप्तिः—vol. I, p. 243.

2 "धर्मशास्त्रं तुवै स्मृतिः—Manu, 2. 10.

3 वेदार्थोपनिबन्धृत्वात् प्राधान्यं हि मनोः स्मृतम्—Bṛhaspati quoted by Kullūka under Manu, I. 1.

been determined with certainty. Some antiquarians have, however, assigned to it a much later date, taking it to be a work of the sixth century A. D. We venture to differ from this view. There might have been several recensions of the Manu Saṃhitā but the work in its present form cannot be placed at a date later than the second century before Christ. The argument in support of our view is based on a verse[1] of the Mahābhāṣya which appears to have been quoted *verbatim* from the Manu Saṃhitā. We are, therefore, confronted here with a question of historical importance. As it is not likely that Bhṛgu (who is said to have made this collection of Manu's sayings) took a verse from the Mahābhāṣya and incorporated it into the so called Manu Saṃhitā, we have decided to give the credit of priority to the Manu Saṃhitā in preference to the Mahābhāṣya.

*His knowledge of Itihāsa—Purāṇa—Mahābhārata etc.*

There was a distinct class of literature in Sanskrit known as Itihāsa (which comes from the word "iti ha" meaning ancient stories). There were many stories current in ancient India ; in course of time they developed into beautiful poems at the hands of the renowned poets. Ancient stories beginning with such particles[2] as इति, एवमासीत्, ह वै or इति होवाच, as they are usually narrated in the early Sanskrit literature viz. Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads and elsewhere, were significantly called Itihāsa. The two great national epics, the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa, come under this class of literature. The word Itihāsa is sometimes found jointly with the word Purāṇa. Itihāsa is mentioned along with Purāṇa in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad[3] as one branch of study, that is, they occur in such a way as if the two formed a particular depart-

1 Compare Manu, 2. 120 with the verse quoted in the Mahābhāṣya, vol. III, p. 58.

2 इति ह वा एवमासीदिति यदेनमाचक्षते स इतिहासः—Durga under Nirukta, p. 197.

3 चतुर्थमितिहासपुराणम्—Chānd. Up., VII. 2.

ment of study in their homogeneous combination. Yāska[1] has, however, used the word Itihāsa only and did not annex the word Purāṇa to it. Patañjali[2] too has enumerated both Itihāsa and Purāṇa in the list of Śāstras as two distinct branches of studies. By Itihāsa we generally understand works like the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa which mainly deal with the dynasties (viz. the solar and the lunar dynasties) and the war-like activities of the ancient kings, and by Purāṇa[3] we usually understand those treatises (such as Vāyu, Viṣṇu, Matsya, Kūrma, Devī, Padma Purāṇa, etc.) which are characterised by such accounts as relate to cosmogony, description of different Yugas or cycles, dynasties of kings and so on. Both Itihāsa and Purāṇa have thus traversed almost the same field and consequently belong to the same class of literature. It was probably on account of their allied nature that Itihāsa and Purāṇa were put together as constituting essentially one and the same branch of study. However cognate in both external and internal aspects, they have their distinct characteristics as well. The so-called Itihāsas give an account of ancient stories in a highly poetic form and are more or less authentic from a historical point of view ; the Purāṇas, on the other hand, deal with many extraneous things (fables and superstitions) that are less reliable, advocate the worship of many minor deities, and have practically served to give prominence to two religious sects of India, namely, Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva.

Patañjali seems to have been acquainted with both Itihāsa and Purāṇa, as he not only mentions them as two departments of studies but distinctly speaks of the Aitihāsika and the Paurāṇika. The Mahābhārata is the oldest specimen of Itihāsa preserved in Sanskrit literature. It had to pass

1 तदेतदितिहासमाचक्षते—Nirukta, p. 195.

2 इतिहासः पुराणम्—vol. I, p. 9.

3 Vyāsa designates the Māhābhārata as an Itihāsa—भारतस्येतिहासस्य पुण्यां गत्यार्थसंश्रुताम्—M., I. 19.

through many stages before it could have assumed the present form. The earliest recension of the Mahābhārata was however known to Yāska and Pāṇini. The account of Devāpi[1] and Śāntanu, two scions of the Kuru family, as it occurs in the Nirukta,[2] was probably taken from some earlier recension of the Mahābhārata, though Yāska does not specifically mention the source but simply alludes to that legend as an historical fact (Itihāsa). Pāṇini has indirectly mentioned the Mahābhārata in the aphorism 6. 2. 38 but has clearly given the names of certain important personages of the Mahābhārata, namely, Vāsudeva, Yudhiṣṭhira, Arjuna, etc. (see rules 4. 3. 98 and 8. 3. 95).

Patañjali was probably acquainted with the Mahābhārata in its very form in which it has come down to us. Mention is not only made in the Mahābhāṣya of all important Kaurava (Pāṇḍava) and Yādava heroes, but some anecdotes of considerable interest relating to the sages and other minor events, as they occur in the Mahābhārata, are also to be found. Patañjali[3] has particularly given the names of the five Pāṇḍavas, namely, Yudhiṣṭhira, Bhīmasena, Arjuna, Nakula and Sahadeva, and has put the example युधिष्ठिरार्जुनौ (vol. I, p. 437) in such a context as to indicate that Yudhiṣṭhira was the elder brother of Arjuna (see Mahābhāṣya under the Vārttika—भातुश्च ज्यायसः). In the expression धनञ्जयो रथी रथी[4] Patañjali has evidently given another name of Arjuna, viz. Dhanañjaya, which is significant as pointing to the fact of Arjuna's acquisition of immense wealth resulting from his numerous conquests. The incident connected with the name "Dhanañjaya"[5] is narrated by Arjuna himself in the Virāṭa-parvan. This and other instances might be

1 The legend of Devāpi and Śāntanu is a very old one ; it can be traced in the Ṛgveda. See Ṛgveda, X. 8. 98.

2 Nirukta, p. 195 (Bombay ed.). 3 Vol. II, p. 257.

4 Vol. II, p. 150.

5 सर्वान् जनपदान् जित्वा वित्तमादाय केवलम्। मध्ये धनस्य तिष्ठामि तेनाहमीं धनञ्जयम्॥
Mahābhārata, Virāṭa, 44. 13.

put forward to show that Patañjali had closely studied the Mahābhārata with every minute detail. So far as the case of Kaurava heroes is concerned, Patañjali has mentioned the names of Duryodhana[1] and Duḥśāsana. Of the other heroes figuring in the Mahābhārata we find the names of Aśvathāman,[2] the son of Droṇa, and of Bhīṣma Gāṅgeya (vol. III, p. 72). Both Kānīna and Pārtha,[3] as two names of Karṇa and of the three Pāṇḍavas also occur in the Māhābhāṣya. From the explanatory note added to the word Kānīna, it is quite clear that the incident underlying the history of Karṇa's birth,[4] as we find it depicted in the Mahābhārata, was well known to Patañjali. Even the names of females such as Kuntī and Gāndhārī[5] are also mentioned by Patañjali. As narrated in the Mahābhārata, Kuntī was the daughter of a Yādava king named Śūrasena. She was called Pṛthā in her early life and subsequently came to be known as Kuntī from the fact of her being placed under the care of Kuntībhoja, a friend of her father. Undoubtedly an allusion to the battle of Kurukṣetra is made by such passages as "धर्मेण स्म कुरवो युध्यन्ते"[6] and "असिद्वितीयोऽनुससार पाण्डवम्"[7] (meaning respectively "Kauravas fought virtuously" and "the Pāṇḍava was followed by a hero having nothing but a sword in his hand"). By the former statement, as quoted above, Patañjali has expressed his own view that the Kauravas fought virtuously, that is to say, they did not violate the rules of warfare as enjoined by our Dharma Śāstras. Patañjali has mentioned the names of two Yādava kings, namely, Ugrasena and Kaṃsa, and has directly alluded to a kindred family, viz., "Vṛṣṇi" as well as to a scion of that family, namely, Viṣvaksena. He has given prominence to the Yādava line by mentioning such well-known names as those of

1 Vol. I, p. 157. 2 Vol. I, p. 311 and 237.
3 Vol. II, p. 258. 4 Mahābhāṣya under Pāṇ., 4.1. 167—प्रागभिसम्बन्धात्।
5 Vol. II, p. 206. 6 Vol. II, p. 122.
7 Vol. II, p. 257.

Vasudeva, Baladeva and Vāsudeva, the last two passing for the veritable incarnations of Viṣṇu under the more popular appellations of Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa respectively. The various incidents associated with the mysterious life and mission of Kṛṣṇa appear to have been well-known to Patañjali. He has used the names Rāma, Saṅkarṣaṇa, Baladeva as well as Kṛṣṇa, Vāsudeva, Keśava and Govinda as different names of Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa respectively. Both Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa were sons of Vasudeva, but it is Kṛṣṇa alone who is popularly called Vāsudeva. By the compound "रामकेशवौ" [1] Patañjali has clearly pointed out to the historical fact that Balarāma was older of the two brothers. The association of Rāma with Kṛṣṇa is further brought out by a benedictory verse "सङ्कर्षणद्वितीयस्य बलं कृष्णस्य वर्धताम्" [2] "Let Kṛṣṇa grow in strength while in the company of Balarāma." Patañjali has made use of another metrical line "जघान कंसं किल वासुदेवः" [3] describing the slaughter of Kaṃsa by Kṛṣṇa. This incident in particular turned to be so popular a fact that Patañjali has not only alluded to it more than once but has clearly shown that the "slaughter of Kaṃsa" as well as "the bondage of Bali" formed the popular subjects for theatrical representation. It is really of historical importance to note that the practice of theatrical performance was in vogue at the time of Patañjali. He has given here a very vivid and exhaustive description of such stage-representations as if he had the occasion of witnessing them with his own eyes. In the course of such dramatic performances, as Patañjali describes,[4] the actors were divided into two groups, one as the followers of or belonging to the side of Kaṃsa, and the other to that of Kṛṣṇa. But this was not all; they had to colour their faces in different dyes such as red and black, so that the audience might have distinguished them by their artificial physical peculiarities. The account of Kaṃsa's slaughter does not really occur in the Mahābhārata;

1 Vol. I, p. 436.
2 Vol. I, p. 426.
3 Vol. II, p. 119.
4 Vol. II, p. 36.

it was probably taken by Patañjali either from the Harivaṃśa or from some Purāṇas (e.g. Viṣṇu) that contain a more detailed account of Kṛṣṇa's career at Mathurā. The Mahābhārata deals only with the later phase of Kṛṣṇa's career as it was exhibited during his residence in the city of Dvārakā and Kurukṣetra, and speaks very little about his mysterious activities in connection with Mathurā and Vṛndāvana. It is practically the Bhāgavata, the authorship of which is popularly attributed to Vyāsa that gives us a pretty long history of Kṛṣṇa's career in all its various aspects. Patañjali was also, as we have already pointed out, acquainted with the Purāṇas which form an important branch of Sanskrit literature. He has again expressly used the words ऐतिहासिक and पौराणिक [1] in such a context as to indicate that Itihāsa and Purāṇa constituted two different branches of studies. The Mahābhārata was distinctly called an Itihāsa by the ancient sages (see Mahābhārata, Ādiparvan, verse 19, भारतस्येतिहासस्य ). Besides 'Kaṃsa-badha' and 'Bali-bandha', Patañjali has mentioned two more Ākhyānas[2], namely, यावक्रीतिक and यायातिक relating to Yavakrīta and Yayāti respectively. These two stories are fully narrated in the Mahābhārata, (Vana-parvan, chs. 135-138 and Udyoga-parvan, chs. 120-122). Yavakrīta, the son of Bharadvāja, was slain by Raibhya through the instrumentality of two demons, on account of a serious crime committed by him. Patañjali has given an account of Viśvāmitra with particular reference as to how he attained the *Ṛṣi*-hood[3] on behalf of his grandfather (Kuśika), father (Gādhi) and himself. The account so far as it relates to the attainment of *Ṛṣi*-hood by Viśvāmitra is found in the Mahābhārata but the rest of the account, as is given in the Mahābhāṣya, does not occur there; it is therefore supposed to have been taken from some Purāṇas. By the passage दितेरपत्यं दैत्याः, अदितेरपत्यमादित्याः[4] he has unmistakably referred to the popular legend of Kaśyapa Prajāpati

1 Vol. II, p. 284.
2 Vol. II, p. 284.
3 Vol. II, p. 254. विश्वामित्रवसप्रसूतेषु ।
4 Vol. I, p. 185.

(the first progenitor of mankind) and his two wives, namely Diti and Aditi who gave birth to the demons and the gods respectively. Again, the expression 'वैयासकिः शुकः [1] is calculated to indicate that Patañjali was acquainted with the history of Śuka's birth as the son of Vyāsa. Śuka is said to have imbibed all knowledge even while he was in the womb of his mother, and figures as the principal speaker in the Bhāgavata. The compound नारदपर्वतौ [2] is based on the story of the two celestial sages *i. e.* Nārada and Parvata, as narrated in the Mahābhārata. Similarly अम्बरीषपुत्रकः [3] refers to the anecdote of the king Ambarīṣa. The expression अहल्यायै जार at once reminds one of the ancient story relating to Ahalyā and Indra and her consequent transformation into stone. Mention is also made of दिवोदास (vol. III, p. 132) and शुनःशेफ of whom we hear so much in the Vedic literature as well as in the Purāṇas. The name of सत्यभामा, who is described in the Mahābhārata as a consort of Kṛṣṇa, also occurs in the Mahābhāṣya. Thus, there are good many references in the Mahābhāṣya which are to be found in the Mahābhārata and other Purāṇas of respectable antiquity.

It really excites our wonder to a great extent when we find that no definite reference has been made by Patañjali so far as regards the other great national Epic or Itihāsa, as we may call it, namely, the Rāmāyaṇa. It is almost strange that while Patañjali makes such copious and frequent references to the Mahābhārata he shuts his eyes to the importance of the sister-epic and speaks nothing definitely about the Rāmāyaṇa as such. The conclusion that naturally forces itself upon us is that the Rāmāyaṇa in its present form was either unknown to Patañjali or he had had no occasion of referring directly to the stories of the Rāmāyaṇa just in the same way as he had done with regard to the Mahābhārata. Neither the name of the epic itself, nor the names of heroes therefrom actually occur

1 Vol. II, p. 253.
2 Vol. III, p. 371. See Mahābhārata, Śānti Parvan, 30.
3 Vol. I, p. 281, see Ibid., Droṇa Parvan, 62.

in the Mahābhāṣya. Is it possible that a sacred and beautiful poem, dealing with such a popular legend of antiquity, could have escaped the notice of so orthodox a brāhmin scholar as Patañjali? The Mahābhārata contains altogether 18 consecutive chapters, describing the manifold activities of Rāma from his birth to his final accession to the throne after exterminating the Rākṣasa-race of Laṅkā. This is, however, considered by the critics as a later interpolation. But it cannot be gainsaid that the story of the Rāmāyaṇa is decidedly older than that of the Mahābhārata, the former dealing with the events of the second Yuga (Tretā). The popular story of the Rāmāyaṇa is believed to have been current as an old tradition or had already passed into a myth long before Vyāsa had conceived the plan of writing such a comprehensive history of India as the Mahābhārata. The epic-kernel of the Rāmāyaṇa was really in existence in some form or other when the Mahābhāṣya was written, though neither the work nor its author (Vālmīki) is directly mentioned by Patañjali. However scanty and inadequate, the few references made by Patañjali may be relied upon in forming the conclusion that the Rāmāyaṇa as a whole or at least some principal events associated with the career of Rāma were well-known to our author. Patañjali has in a verse made use of the word रावणि[1] which, as everyone knows, distinctly refers to the son of Rāvaṇa, viz. Indrajit. A more convincing evidence is afforded by the expression वानरसैन्य[2] so far as the army of Rāma is concerned. Thirdly, the historical account underlying the passage अहल्यायै जारः as used by Patañjali, has been fully given in the Rāmāyaṇa. Reference is further made to the "Kiṣkindhā cave"[3] and to such names as Sāketa, Kośala, Kekaya, etc., which are all associated with the story of the Rāmāyaṇa. The sages, namely, Vasiṣṭha,

1 Vol. I, p. 144.
2 Vol. I, p. 281—पश्य वानरसैन्येऽस्मिन् यदर्कं सुपतिष्ठते।
3 Vol. III, p. 96.

Jābāli, Auddālaki, Viśvāmitra, who appear both in the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa are also mentioned by Patañjali. On the basis of these facts we venture to believe that Patañjali was acquainted with the Rāmāyaṇa.

### *Stories and anecdotes known to Patañjali*

Besides the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa, other minor stories and anecdotes were also known to Patañjali. He has made a distinction between *Ākhyāna* and *Ākhyāyikā*, long stories as those of Yavakrīta, Priyaṅgu and Yayāti coming under the class of Ākhyāna, while smaller stories or anecdotes describing the legends of Vāsavadattā and Udayana and those of Sumanottara etc. being generally known as Ākhyāyikā. Many stories were current in ancient India that were transmitted through generations as the common heritage of man. We cannot assign any particular dates to those stories which have come down to us from time immemorial; reference is often made to such tales in ordinary conversation and sometimes moral lessons are derived from them for the instruction of boys. Most of these stories have not only been well preserved, but treated by the poets so ingenuously as they have developed into good poems. Such is the case with the two popular ancient stories that grew into beautiful epic poems in the hands of Vyāsa and Vālmīki. Patañjali has referred to one of such ancient stories in वासवदत्तिक. The story of Udayana and Vāsavadattā has been long known in India as the tale of Troy had been in Greece. Kālidāsa has only incidentally referred to this much talked of story in his Meghadūta[1]; while Śrīharṣa has perpetuated it more effectively by selecting this story as the main theme of his famous drama Ratnāvalī. The earliest reference to this story is to be found in the Pāli texts and latterly in the Bṛhatkathā. Mention is also made of another Ākhyāyikā by Patañjali, namely, सुमनोत्तर which probably relates

1 प्राप्यावन्तीनुदयनकथाकोविदग्रामवृद्धान्—31.

to the story of "Sumanottara." An anecdote under the title ब्रह्मकुमारी is fully narrated in the Mahābhāṣya (vol. III, p. 388). This short story runs as follows: "When ब्रह्मकुमारी (probably a lady who continued to be unmarried even in her advanced age) was requested by Indra to ask a boon from him. She entreated him to grant her such a boon so that her sons might eat rice with milk and butter in a brass-made utensil. Now, as she had no husband, how she could have sons as well as cows and rice? Thus, by a single boon or prayer she skilfully managed to secure all that she desired, viz. sons, cows and rice." We do not know if this story occurs elsewhere, either in the Purāṇas or in any earlier poetry. The Sāṃkhya-kārikās, it must be remembered, pre-suppose in some cases a number of such popular short stories. These stories sometimes prove useful in elucidating a difficult point in course of literary discussion.

*(To be continued)*

PRABHATCHANDRA CHAKRAVARTI

# The Trade of India

*(from the earliest period up to the 2nd century A. D.)*

## III

XVI. The land trade with western Asia, which revived in the time of Darius, declined in the next age. Alexander, after conquering Egypt, founded the city of Alexandria. He then sacked the city of Tyre and thus its ancient trade was ruined. After the death of Alexander (323 B. C.) there was anarchy in Assyria ; a new empire arose in Parthia, and Scythian tribes began their raids on Bactria. These events rendered the great overland caravan trade almost impossible. At the same time Ptolemy Philadelphus (285-246 B.C.), who was ruling in Egypt, strove to take advantage of it and develop the Red Sea trade to the advantage of Egypt. Under him the Suez canal was partially opened and rendered available for commerce. Various caravan routes, provided with wells and stopping places, were opened between the Nile and the Red Sea. Ports were established where the routes terminated, the chief of which were : —Arsinoe (the modern Suez) close to the Egyptian capital ; Hormus, the principal port of the Egyptian trade with India, six or seven days' journey from Koptos on the Nile, whence merchandise was floated down to Alexandria ; Berenike also an important centre of Egypt's eastern trade ; Ptolemias near the Nubian forests, the centre of the elephant trade ; and Adutis, the present Massovah, the natural port for Abyssinia and the Soudan.[1] Trade was limited to these ports and supervised by Government officials who levied duties. Egypt to some extent recovered her former wealth and glory. It is said that in the procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus were

1 Atheneus, quoted by Rawlinson, *India and the Western World*, pp. 93-94.

to be found "Indian women, Indian hunting dogs, and Indian crows....also Indian spices carried on camels." But this Indian trade was mostly indirect, for, notwithstanding the attempts of the Ptolemies to free Indian trade from the hands of the Arab intermediaries, Indian goods continued to be transhipped[1] at Muza (Mocha) and Aden, till Trojan reduced the Arabs to subjection in 105 A. D.

XVII. Tsin-chi-hwangti (221-209 B.C.), the great emperor of China, began the Great Wall across the Gobi desert and prepared the way for direct communication with Bactria, and regular caravan trade between China and Bactria began in 188 B. C. But the Hiung Nu, ancestors of the modern Turks, dominated from Sogdiana to Manchuria, and it was only when Wu-ti, the great Han emperor, (140-86 B. C.) drove them north of the Gobi desert, that the silk trade of China with Europe developed. At first[2] it took the following routes: by Khotan across the Himalayas to Kashmir, Gandhāra and Kabul; the Indian and Yavana merchants of Kabul carried the bulk of the silk goods overland skirting the Karmanian desert to the head of the Persian Gulf[3], the smaller part went across the Khyber pass to Takṣaśīlā and thence down by the Indus to the port at its mouth called Barbaricum (Pātāla ?) by the Greeks or to Mathurā, Ujjain, Bharukaccha, and thence to the head of the Persian Gulf whence it was carried overland by way of Palmyra to Syria or to the coast of Arabia, whence Arab traders took it to Leukē Cōmē at the head of the Red Sea. Chinese silk goods were also, in this age, carried across the Tibetan plateau, by way of Lhassa and Sikkim to the Ganges, on which they were floated down to Tāmralipti, whence they were carried in ships

1 Strabo says that "formerly not even 20 [Greek] vessels ventured to navigate the Arabian gulf". *J.R.A.S.*, 1912, p. 985.

2 A century later, silk was carried *via* Kashgar and Yarkand to Bactria.

3 Kennedy in *J.R.A.S.*, 1912, pp. 990-1.

or overland, skirting the eastern coast of India, to the ports of the Cholas, the Pāṇḍyas, and the Cheras in Tāmiḷakam. This was supplementary to the sea trade in silk goods with India *via* Indo-China, which developed to a large extent, when on account of the exploits of the Han emperors, Chinese boundaries were extended in the 2nd century B. C. Then gradually the Chera backwaters became a meeting point of the trade from China to the Gulf of Suez.

XVIII. The trade described above, *via* the north-west of India, was much fostered by the Yavana (Indo-Greek) princes who ruled over this region. That explains the wealth of coins issued by these princes during the 2nd and 1st centuries before Christ. Along with this trade Indian culture spread to western Asia. The spread of the Bauddha cult and mystic practices and esoteric societies connected with it to Persia, Syria, Greece and Rome in this period is so well-known that it need not be described. But one particular cult, that was established in Armenia, is worth mention here. In the time of the first Arsacide monarch of Armenia Valarshak (149-127 B. C.), two Indian chiefs established a colony at Vishap on the western Euphrates, west of Lake Van and founded temples for the worship of Gisanī (Kṛṣṇa) and Demeter (Devamitra, Balabhadra ?). St. Gregory, the illuminator, led a band of Christians against the colony in the 4th century A. D. In the fight that ensued, the chief priests of the Kṛṣṇa cult were slain, the idols broken, and the temples razed to the ground. A church was built on the site of Demeter's temple, and a cross set up where the Gisanī idol stood. More than 5,000 of the colonists became Christians and 438 sons of the priests and temple servants who remained obdurate had their heads shaved, and were transported to a distant place.[1]

In this age, or perhaps much earlier, Indian fairy-tales such as those of the purse of Fortunatus, the league-boots,

1 *J.R.A.S.*, 1904, pp. 309-314 (Kennedy).

the magic mirror, the magic ointment, the invisible cap, etc., found their way to Europe.

XIX. Augustus conquered Egypt in 30 B. C., and he and his successors strove to suppress the Arab traders and pirates, and to develop a direct sea-trade between India and the Roman empire. Strabo says that he saw in 25 B. C. about 120 ships sailing from Hormus to India.[1] In the same year went an Indian embassy with gifts to Augustus, from a king called Porus by some and Pandion by others. Strabo, quoting Nicholas Damaskinos, says that this writer met the Indian ambassadors at Antioch. "It appeared from the letter (of embassy) that their number had been more than three reported as sun by him. The rest had died chiefly in consequence of the length of the journey. The letter form Porus was written in Greek on parchment and that though he was the soveriegn of 600 kings, he nevertheless set a high value on being Cæsar's friend, and was willing to grant him a passage at any time through his dominions, and to assist him in any good enterprise. Eight naked servants carried the gifts. They had girdles encircling their waists and were fragrant with ointment. The gift consisted of Hermes, born without arms from the shoulders, large snakes and a serpent ten cubits long and a river-tortoise three cubits long, and a partridge larger than a vulture. They were accompanied, it is said, by the man who burnt himself at Athens. [He], with a smile, leapt upon the pyre naked and anointed and with a girdle round his loins. On his tomb was this inscription, 'Zermanochegas, an Indian from Bargosa having immortalized himself according to the custom of his country, lies here'[2]. Zermanochegas seems to be the Greek rendering of Śramaṇācārya or Jaina guru and the self-immolation, a variety of *sallekhana* or suicide by those who

1 Quoted by McCrindle, *Anc. Ind.*, p. 6.

2 *Ib.*, pp. 10, 77-78.

obtain mokṣa. Dion Cassius says that the presents included tigers, which the Romans as also the Greeks saw for the first time. They gave also a lad without arms, like the statues of Mercury one sees, but who made up for the want of hands by employing his feet, with which he could bend and throw a dart and play on a trumpet."[1] Florus[2] says that "the Indians, who live under the Sun together with jewels and precious stones, bringing elephants also among their presents, reckoned nothing so much an obligation upon the emperor, as the length of the journey, which they had finished in four years." The Indian king, who sent the embassy, cannot be identified, as the party started from Barygosa (Bharukaccha). It was probably one of the Śātakarṇi kings. The name Porus, in the account, seems to be a reminiscence of the expedition of Alexander ; and the name Pandion is due to the fact that many Roman traders were in those days settled in the Pāṇḍya-capital. Neither can it be the proper name of the king who wanted to befriend Augustus.

XX. The Indian trade grew rapidly. In 22 A.D. Emperor Tiberius (14-37 A.D.) thought it necessary to write to the Roman Senate, "If a reform is in truth intended, where must it begin ? How are we to deal with the peculiar articles of female vanity, and in particular with that rage for jewels and precious trinkets which drain the empire of its wealth, and sends in exchange for baubles the money of the commonwealth to foreign nations ?"[3] In the time of Emperor Claudius (41-54 A.D.) Arabian domination in the Red Sea was well brought under control. Hippalus, the Roman pilot, 'discovered' about 45 A.D. the periodic change of the monsoon winds. The Romans rewarded the discoverer by giving the name Hippalus to the S. W. monsoon, and utilized the discovery by developing a great direct sea-trade in gems and pearls, sandalwood and ebony, balms and spices and especially pepper of India. This trade grew to enormous proportions in the

1 Ib., p. 79. 2 Ib., p. 78. 3 Tacitus., *Ann.*, iii, 53.

times of Claudius and Nero (54-68 A. D.) so that Pliny complained in 70 A. D. that India drained gold to the value of nearly million pounds a year, "giving back her own wares, which are sold among us at fully a hundred times their first cost."[1] From Pliny we also learn that Nero paid one million sesterces for one cup of emerald (which the Roman writer calls Indian agate.)."[2] Pliny denounced the use of pepper on grounds other than its cost.[3] It was during this age that Greek mariners, who had sailed to south Indian ports, carried to Europe tales from the great Epic *Mahābhārata* to which Dion Chrysostom refers.

XXI. About 60 A.D. an Egyptian Greek merchant, whose name we do not know, an inhabitant of Berenike wrote the *Periplus of the Erythræn Sea* which forms "the first record of organised trading" between the east and the west. It marks the establishment of the direct trade of Rome with India without the intervention of the Semitic races of Mesopotamia, Arabia or Syria, or of the Yavanas, who had settled along the overland trade-routes.

The chief East African ports at this time were Ptolemais, the centre of trade in elephants, ivory and tortoise-shell, and Adulis (Massowa), from which ran a road to Axum, the ancient capital of Abyssinia. Indian traders, who wanted to avoid the intervention of Arabs, who still infested the Red Sea, landed their goods at Adulis, and took them to Axum and

1 Pliny, *Nat. His.*, vi. 26. 2 Ib., xxxvii. 7. 8.

3 "It is quite surprising that the use of pepper has come so much into fashion, seeing that in other substances which we use, it is sometimes their sweetness, and sometimes their appearance that has attracted our notice; whereas, pepper has nothing in it that can plead as a recommendation to either fruit or berry, its only desirable quality being a certain pungency; and yet it is for this that we import it all the way from India! Who was the first to make trial of it as an article of food? And who, I wonder, was the man that was not content to prepare himself by hunger only for satisfying a greedy appetite." Ib., xii. 14; Schoff, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

thence to Alexandria overland. Ujjain, Bharukaccha, Axum, and Alexandria were in close connection during the first and second centuries, and the observer of the early relations between Buddhism and Christianity may find, along this frequented route, greater evidence of mutual influence than along the relatively obstructed overland route through Parthia to Antioch and Ephesus.[1] One such evidence Fergusson notes in the great structure at Axum, about which he says, is "the idea is Egyptian, the details are Indian, an Indian nine-storied pagoda, translated in Egyptian in the first century of the Christian era;" he also remarks that it represents "the curious marriage of Indian with Egyptian art which we would expect to find in the spot where the two people came into contact and enlisted architecture to symbolize their commercial union."[2] Along this route, probably, came to Ujjain, Greek astrology and astronomy, which, blended with the pre-existing Indian astronomy, reached a high degree of development on Indian soil.

The chief Somali ports were Avalites, Malœ, Mundus, Mosyllum, Cape Elephant, Acanuœ "where alone is produced the far-side frankincense in great quantity and of the best grade," and the Cape of Spices (Cape Guardafui). To these ports were brought from the opposite coast of Surāṣṭra flint glass, wheat, iron, cotton cloth, Indian copal (dammar), rice, ghee, sesame oil, girdles and jaggery. These articles were exchanged for ivory, tortoise-shell, but chiefly cinnamon and frankincense.[3] This trade has persisted to some extent to this day.

The chief places of trade with Arabia were Muza (Mocha), Saphar, Eudæmon (Aden, the great meeting place of Egyptian, and Arabian traders), Cana, Syagrus, the island of Socotra Moscha, and the island of Sarapis. The Indian articles imported were coloured cloths, saffron, muslins, rice, wheat,

1 Schoff's *Periplus*, p. 64. 2 *Hist. of Arch*, I, 142-3.
3 *Periplus*, 7-18.

female slaves and sesame oil, and those exported were myrrh, frankincense, aloes, and tortoise-shells.[1]

The chief Persian Gulf ports were Apologus and Ormana, where white pearls, dates, wine, gold and slaves were exchanged for copper, sandalwood, teakwood, blackwood and ebony from India.[2] These "slaves" were Greek girls, wanted for service in Indian courts, both in the north and south of the country.

The chief port of Sind, which the *Periplus* calls Scythia because it was ruled by Śaka kings, was Barbaricum, "subject to Parthian princes who are constantly driving each other out and whose capital was Minnagara."[3] "The ships lie at anchor at Barbaricum, but all their cargoes are carried up to the metropolis, by the river, to the king. There are imported into this market-place a great deal of their clothing and a little spurious figured linen, topaz, coral, storax, frankincense, vessels of glass, silver and gold plate, and a little wine. On the other hand there are exported costus, bdellium, lycium, nard, turquoise, lapis lazuli, Seric skins, cotton cloths, silk yarns and indigo." The *Periplus* says that the Parthian (Śaka-Pallava) princes of the Indus valley were "constantly driving each other out." Perhaps this disorganised state of "Indo-Scythia", the Śaka dominions in the North-western India, was due to Vikramāditya Śakāri's signal defeat of them in 56 B.C., which is commemorated in the Vikrama Era.

XXII. The premier port of India in those days was Barygaza (Bharukaccha) on the coast called Syrashtrane (Surāṣṭra). The country adjoining was Abiria (Ābhīra) "a fertile country, yielding butter, wheat, rice, sesame oil and clarified butter, cotton and the Indian cloths made therefrom of the coarser sorts; very many cattle are pastured there (the Ābhīras were from time immemorial famous herdsmen) and the men are of great stature and black in colour. The metropolis of the country is (another) Minnagara, from

1 *Periplus*, 21-33. 2 *Ib.*, 35-36. 3 *Ib.*, 39.

which much cotton cloth is brought down to Barygaza."[1] From Ujjain in the east, "formerly a royal capital," were brought all things needed for the welfare of the country about Barygaza, and many things for trade: agate and cornelian, Indian muslins and mallow cloth, and much ordinary cloth,"[2] besides spikenard, costus, and bdellium from the Himalayan regions, silk-cloth from China, *via* Kabul, and yarn and pepper from South India. The articles imported at Bharukaccha (now Broach) were, "wine (Italian preferred, also Laodicean and Arabian), copper, tin, lead, coral and topaz, thin clothing and inferior sorts of all kinds, bright coloured girdles a cubit wide, storax, sweet clover, flint glass, realgar, antimony, gold and silver coin, on which there is a profit when exchanged for the money of the country, and ointment but not very costly and not much. And for the king there are brought into those places very costly vessels of silver, singing boys, beautiful maidens for the harem, thin clothing of the finest weaves and the choicest ointments."[3] Apparently some of these luxuries for the king[4] were as much from other parts of India as from foreign countries.

*(To be continued)*

P. T. Srinivasa Iyangar

1 *Periplus*, 41. Fleet identifies this Minnagara with Dohad in the Panch Mahals. *JRAS.*, 1912, p. 788.

2 *Periplus*, 48.

3 *Ib.*, 49

4 The author of the *Periplus* calls him Mambanons or Nambanus, and Fleet identifies him with Nahapana (*JRAS.*, 1907, p. 1043); but R. D. Banerjee has proved that Nahapana must have died long before this date (*JRAS.*, 1907, pp. 273-289). Mambanos was probably a Raja, of whom the Andhra Emperors were suzerains (*Samrāt*).

# A Comparative Survey of Indian Painting

'In the house in which there are paintings, fortune prospers' is a sentiment which occurs in the Viṣṇudharmottaram, one of the earliest technical books of the Hindus, so far discovered, dealing with art. It is a truly Indian sentiment. So, long before we read of art galleries among the foremost western nations of the present day, Indian kings had their Citraśālās or art galleries. The Pāli Vinaya Piṭaka and Jātakas and many Sanskrit works mention them.[1] The allusion to the "Hall of Paintings" in a famous Chinese work of art of the ninth century B.C. or earlier has been declared by a well-known orientalist, Dr. Voretzsch, to be unsupported by Chinese literary evidence. May we not, therefore, consider that the expression was borrowed from India, for 'chamber of paintings' is a literal translation of the Sanskrit Citraśālā? Should this be so, it would go to prove the antiquity of galleries or museums of art in India, and the love for art which must have been prevalent in this country. To return to our subject, practically nothing of the very early period in which painting as an art must have been practised in India exists. According to the evidence afforded by early literature and technical works of a later date like the Viṣṇudharmottaram[2] and Śilparatnam[3] the art of painting frescoes on the walls of religious edifices, public buildings and even private houses must have been practised in ages much anterior to these works and had been handed down as a living tradition. It was indeed something much more than a tradition. From the elaborate instructions given in the technical books it would appear that mural painting must have been widely practised. The two

1 Vide Journ. Bihar and Orissa Res. Soc., 1923.
2 Publ., Venkatesvar Press, Bombay, 1923.
3 Publ., Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, 1922.

books mentioned are the principal sources of our information regarding the theory and practice of painting amongst the Hindus. The Citrasūtras, concerning which we read, are lost precepts of a much older date on art. Besides fresco, the Viṣṇudharmottaram also speaks of tempera painting on wood, cloth and even leather but it makes no mention of painting on silk or palm leaves.

The Jogīmārā cave paintings were till very recently considered to be the earliest paintings, of which traces still exist. These contain some apparently very old and almost unrecognizable paintings "vigorously outlined" and some not so ancient in which the line work has been described as "tolerably dexterous and bold."[1] The colouring or so much of it as remains may have been repaintings of a later date and the red, crimson, black and yellow bands which divide the panels painted in concentric circles are indifferently executed. What is even more important than the excellence of some of the drawings is the fact that the figures delineated, the chariots and caitya halls, all recall early Buddhist reliefs.[2] Eminent archæologists have ascribed these primitive paintings variously to the third century and to the first century before the Christian era. Even anterior to these paintings are some paintings described as prehistoric at Singhanpur in Raigar state discovered by Anderson and pre-historic paintings have been discovered at Hosangabad and elsewhere. Probably the oldest 'graffiti' drawings are in the Kupgal hill in the Bellary district and are associated with neolithic remains discovered by Capt. Newbold.[3] Pre-historic outline drawings in red ochre were found in the Nizam's dominions by Bruce-Foote.[4] These pre-historic drawings and paintings have some

1 Cambridge History of India, I, p. 642.

2 Arch. Surv. Ind., Ann. Rep., 1903-04, pp. 130-131.

3 Madras Jour. Lit. and Science, vol. 7, 1838; R. Bruce-Foote, Indian Prehistoric and Proto-historic antiquities, pp. 88-89.

4 R. Bruce-Foote, op. cit., p. 127.

common elements of resemblance to prehistoric art remains discovered chiefly in Spain and France. The Singhanpur paintings[1] of men and animals are said to resemble those at Cogul in Spain. Apart from the primitive art of these rock paintings which are inchoate efforts to picture hunting scenes and the life of the tribe, early Indian art is intimately connected with religion.

A legend in the Divyāvadāna speaks of the paintings of Buddha's portrait from life by the painters of the court of Bimbisāra from which it would seem that even portrait painting was known long prior to Buddha's time but European scholars deny this and consider the story an anachronism.[2]

With Ajanta we come to what may be called the historic period of Indian art. The paintings in the different caves of Ajanta are supposed to have been executed at various periods from the 1st to the 7th century A. D., but these dates have not been conclusively proved to be final and it would not be surprising if more adequate scholarship and research put back the earliest date a few centuries earlier. Critics who have never visited India have said that the Ajanta paintings must be considered as 'primitive' but to our mind many centuries of artistic development, the history of which is now lost, must have contributed to the making of these precious mural documents which represent that Indian painting arrived at perfection. Who, capable of artistic enjoyment, can remain unmoved at the sight of these wonderful art productions of the glorious past which baffle description, and attempts at reproduction can never convey the monumental grandeur and beauty of the originals. Ajanta could not have been an isolated instance of contemporary painting. When the Ajanta frescoes were painted, there must have been

1 C. W. Anderson, The Rock-paintings of Singhanpur—Journ. Bihar and Orissa Res. Soc., 1918.

2 Vide Sur les Illustrations Tibetaines d'une Légenda du Divyāvadāna par J. Hackin, Ann. d. Mus. Guimet, tome 40, pp. 145 ff.

many other artists richly decorating many a palace and shrine but these have long perished. The Ajanta paintings were discovered only in 1817. Let us hope that other equally old, if not older, paintings, though we dare not hope better, will be found in the future, for much yet remains to be done by the archæologist. In the Ajanta frescoes there is a vastness of conception, force of expression, perfect grace, a complete mastery of the materials of the painter and an Indianness which are unique. They are the greatest examples of figure painting in the whole range of Indian art. Next to them in importance are the paintings in the Bagh caves and those at Sigiriya in Ceylon. These frescoes are not splendid monuments of luxury like the late Hellenistic art of Pompeii. They are the fruits of the pious labour of Buddhist monks whose life's pleasure it was to enrich the living rock with the life history of the Divine Master.

The art of Ajanta is not *merely* the religious art of a nation. The Ajanta artists found their inspiration in the human and animal life surrounding them. Hence we have representations of human scenes. Many nations appear on these walls and we think we can detect even men from Bengal. Again the paintings of animals and birds are extraordinarily sympathetic while there are exquisite gems of decorative art in the panels of foliage and bird life. Immediately following the latest paintings in the Ajanta caves, we have the remains of cave paintings in Bagh in Gwalior State, copies of which have been made by pupils of the Calcutta School while the Principal of the Lucknow School of Art has published a small monograph[1] on them. These follow the Ajanta tradition and strengthen the view that there must have been through many centuries a great school of mural painters. Cave paintings have been newly discovered in the Madras Presidency at Sittanavasal near Puddukottai and ascribed to the seventh

1 The Bāgh Caves by Asit Kumar Halder in the 'Bengalee'; vide also the 'Rūpam,' No. 8.

century.[1] These paintings are in a Jain rock-cut temple again akin to the Ajanta style though less forceful and impressive. It is a moot question whether this great tradition suddenly disappeared from the land with the first Muhammadan invasions or whether it spread far and wide with the growth of Buddhism and was assimilated by local schools, and in that process lost its pristine vigour and assumed forms, the parentage of which has become in process of time and in course of development or deterioration a matter of uncertainty. There can be no doubt, and the Chinese themselves are the first to acknowledge it, that China borrowed from India not only the religion of Buddha but along with it the literature and the culture of Indian Buddhism. When China looked up towards India for inspiration in her higher thought, can it be doubted that her art, too, was profoundly influenced by the mother country of her religion ? There is a device used in the Ajanta frescoes of shading to obtain relief wholly unknown to Chinese art but which appears in the wall paintings of the Golden Hall at Horyuiji in Japan. We are told in Chinese books[2] that the principal painter of the Liang dynasty introduced this purely Indian technique into China and it was thence carried into Japan. This is perhaps not a great matter by itself but the testimony of the Chinese witnesses is of great importance. Through China this art tradition was brought to Japan. It was carried into Central Asia, Khotan, Tun-huang, Turfan and other places either north-ward from India or through that great country which reached such a marvellous perfection in art as to outshine the best that India could give at a later age. In recent times it is becoming a fashion with western students of art to deny or under-rate the art influence of India on other Asiatic countries but we think such an attitude does India no small injustice. On the other hand it would be equally unjust to say that any of

1 G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, The Pallava Painting.
2 A. Waley, Chinese Painting, p. 83.

these countries owed its art entirely to India. Each had its indigenous art, probably each was largely influenced by Indian art but that art was so assimilated that it was the country's art which remained though made immensely richer. Banners and wall-paintings occur in the Central Asian find-spots notably at Tun-huang in which we can glimpse the art of Nepal and through her Ajanta. But the greatest influence exercised, and quite naturally, on the art of these Central Asian regions was by the contemporary art of China then in a truer sense a living inspiration than Ajanta on account of China's intimate relations with them. Each of these Central Asian remains is in consequence hardly anything more than Chinese provincial art. The picture of the child in the painting from the grottoes of the Thousand Buddhas[1] is typical of those paintings in which Chinese art stands out vividly.

After the cave paintings the next documents in the art history of India are not temple walls but the miniatures of palm-leaf manuscripts of the Buddhist religion. The scene has shifted and these manuscripts do not come from western India or from the south. They come from Bengal and Nepal (Plate I, A.)[2] but still in the graceful attitudes of the divinities and in the scenes from Buddha's life they are an echo of the art of Ajanta though a far-off echo. We are told that the miniatures of the two most important of the existing manuscripts are copies of older paintings executed in Nepal before the end of the 11th century. The painting of mythological pictures in Nepal and Tibet was, and still is, a stereotyped art which has descended from old times. If this be true then these are not the earliest but probably the last remains of an art of illuminating manuscripts which may have existed for several centuries earlier. Here, too, we have drawings which depend for their beauty mainly on the sure handling of the brush in

1 The Thousand Buddhas, Pl. XLVI.

2 A. Foucher, L'Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde, Pl. V. v., pp. 38-40.

A

Hālāhala Lokeśvara
Miniature from a palm leaf Ms. of the Pāla period
A. S. B. Ms. A. 15

B

The birth of Mahāvīra
[illegible] Kalpa sūtra Ms. dated equivalent to 1480 A.

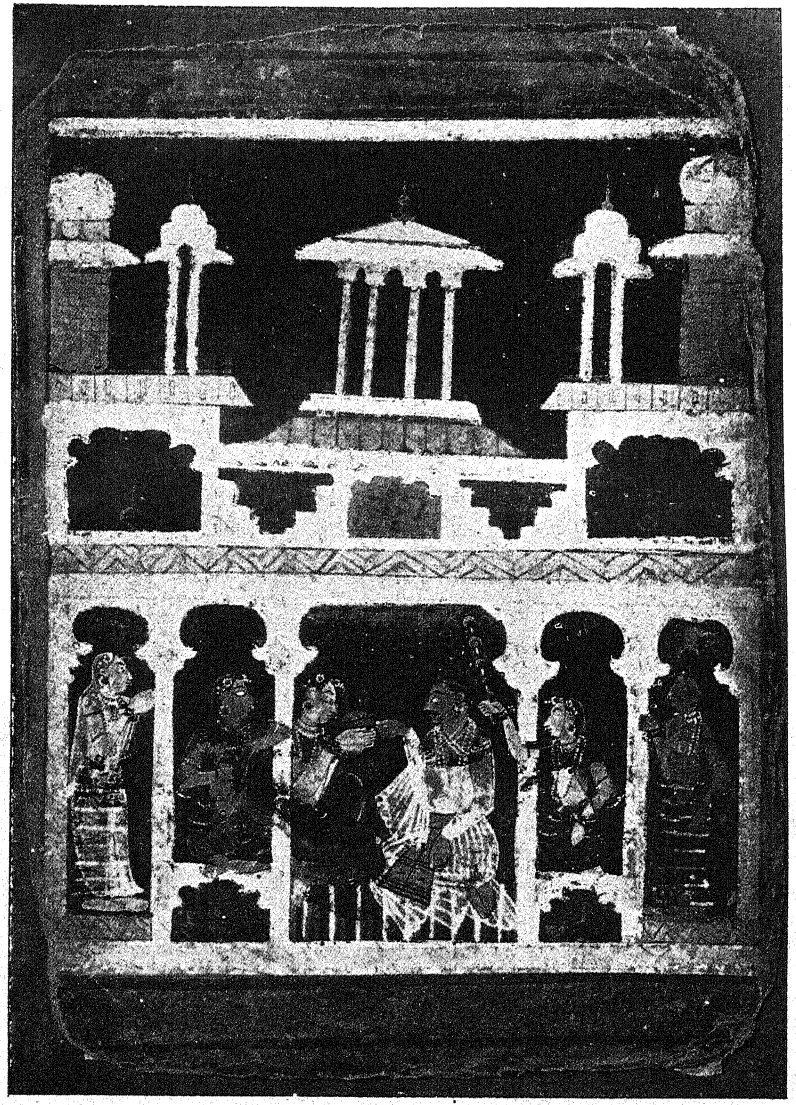
drawing the outline though the simple but vivid colour schemes, in which again as in all the cave paintings mineral colours have been employed, are most striking. We find Nepalese manuscripts on paper in succeeding centuries all repeating this same hierarchical art but the hand of the painter has now lost its magic touch and compared to the earlier palm-leaf examples the later work is poor and weak. The painting of the Nepalese and Tibetan banners is analogous to this art though on a larger scale. The debt of Tibetan art, whether plastic or pictorial, to Nepalese art, and I would say through Nepalese art to Bengal art under the Pal emperors, admits of no doubt.

We go back again to Western India—to Guzerat and Rajputana, and there, almost in the beginning of the fifteenthcentury, we find another art—the art of the Jainas, which, though not wholly dissimiliar to some of the manuscript paintings of the Buddhists, nevertheless, has some strongly marked characteristics in the peculiarly angular physiognomy of the men and women and in the extraordinary drawing of the big eyes which are unduly elongated and often projected to the nose and even beyond (Plate I, B.). One of the earliest dated illustrated Jain manuscripts of the 15th century, a beautifully written and beautifully illustrated Kalpa Sūtra, is in my possession. In these manuscripts we for the first time come upon that lavish use of gold by painters which later became such a feature of Mughal, Rajput and Kangra art. These people wrote on silver and painted on gold and in the early manuscripts the whole space[1] filled by a miniature appears to have been coated with gold which was covered with a rich scarlet pigment to form the background while on the shining gold itself were outlined the forms of gods and heroes, colour being used only for the dresses and ornaments. These manuscripts, too, we would say, are survivals from an earlier age when Jain artists

1 According to Coomaraswamy, Notes on Jaina Art, Journ. Ind. Art., vol. 15, p. 91, but the statement seems to be not strictly accurate.

decorated palm-leaf manuscripts with these identical scenes and which goes beyond the earliest Jain illustrated palm-leaf manuscript now known. This hieratic art gradually changes its characteristics after the sixteenth century under the influence of Mughal and Rajput art as we now know it; it gravitates towards the latter till in the eighteenth century it becomes, indeed, a form of Rajput art. Of very great importance in the history of Indian painting are the painted covers of Jaina Mss., very early examples of which are in my collection. From the religious art of the Jainas, let us turn to what has been called Jaina secular art. Our knowledge of these is derived mainly from a series of paintings illustrating the story of Lor and Cāndā and an illustrated manuscript of the Vasanta Vilās about which we have heard lately.[1] In all these illustrations we find the characteristic features of Jaina religious art but there is nothing in them for which we must connect them with Jainism. I am convinced that these examples of the so-called Jaina secular art are in reality survivals of the early art expression of the people of Rajputana prior to its development under the court patronage of the rapidly growing Rajput principalities, which, as is well known of Chitore, prized the art of painting equally with poetry and music. We find the salient characteristics of these paintings—this very type, indeed,—far and wide in the painted book covers of the United Provinces, of Orissa and even of Bengal, examples of all of which are in my collection, but there appears no reason for calling the art of any of these countries, associated as they were when these specimens were painted with the worship of Rāma or Kṛṣṇa, Jaina art or even Jaina secular art. A maturer expression of this art is to be found in the so-called "primitive Rajput Rāgiṇīs," examples from the earliest series of which are in my collection (Plate II). An apparently later series is represented

1 N. C. Mehta, Indian Painting in the Fifteenth Century—Rūpam, 1925.



Malkauṣ Rāga
Early Rājput Rāginī painting. Circa 1580 A. D.
Ghose Collection

*I, H. Q., June, 1926*

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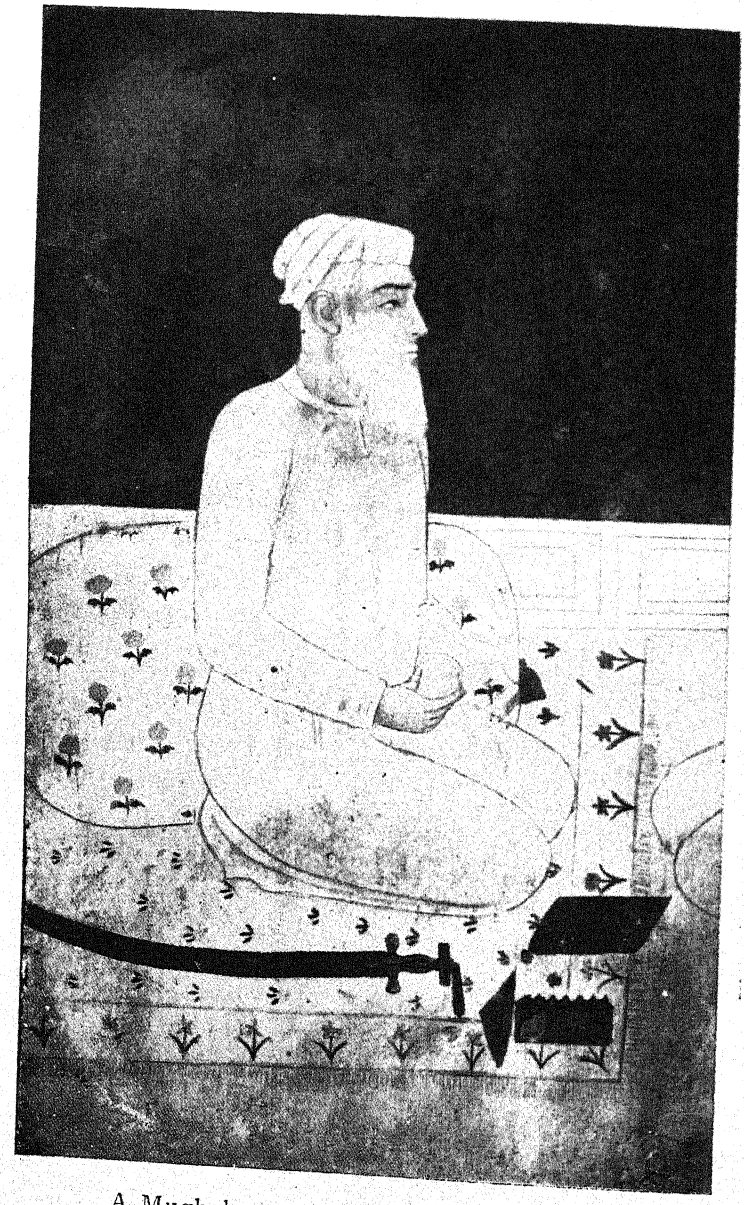
PLATE III



A Mughal portrait—seventeenth century
Ghose Collection

in the Coomaraswamy collection in Boston.[1] Have we not the same eyes here though more naturally drawn? The faces and dresses have changed, Now we are in the age of Rajput chivalry and kings and warriors figure in these paintings. It is not possible to deal with this absorbing theme of the origin of Rajput art in this paper but I throw out my suggestions which I hope to work out later. It is certain that Rajput art was not a sudden outcome of the Mughal rule. A foreign civilization cannot affect the arts of a conservative people unless there is peaceful intercourse between the two. This relationship certainly did not exist between the Rajput states and the Mughals till we come well into the reign of Akbar. Authenticated specimens of wall-paintings at Bikaner, Amber and Udaipur go back to the seventeenth century and earlier examples may exist at other places.

Before proceeding to deal with the art of Rajputana and the Western Himalaya it would be proper to say a word regarding the Mughal painting. Persian painting was introduced into India by Babur and was patronised by Humayun. But it was in Akbar's reign that that phase of Indian art which we style Mughal art developed. The emperor, who was passionately fond of painting, was the most magnificent patron of arts that India, or possibly the world, has ever known. His painters, the great majority of whom were Hindus, were no doubt at first considerably influenced by the great Timurid and Safavid schools, especially by the former; but they soon developed an absolutely distinctive style from which foreign elements vanished. This was Mughal painting—the painting fostered by the Mughal emperors. It was the product of the combination of Hindu talent with Muhammadan technique. It drew its inspiration mainly from history and was pre-eminent in portraiture. It drew marvellously realistic portraits full of character and individuality (Plate III); it delighted

1 A. K. Coomaraswamy, Rājput Paintings, vol. II., Pts. I, II, IIIA and IIIB.

in depicting battle fields and court scenes, in illustrating the hunt and anecdotes about monarchs—it was an art patronised by kings and existing for their pleasure and glorification. It rarely makes that strong appeal to the imagination which much of Rajput art and Kangra art does. Mughal art at its inception like Persian art was an art of illustration. Akbar employed his court painters in magnificently illustrating beautifully written manuscripts. As illuminators they are scarcely inferior to the Persian masters while as portrait painters they stand unrivalled in Islamic art. Altogether Mughal art is more virile than the more pleasing art of Kangra. Rajput painting in the seventeenth century was largely influenced by Mughal art, though characteristic differences of style and temperament are observable. The Rāgamālā paintings above referred to are the finest products not only of Rajput but of all Hindu art. The term Rajput painting has been used so far to include both the paintings of Rajputana itself and the paintings of the numerous small hill states of the western Himalayas. But, while the art of Rajputana, especially of Jaipur, after approximating closely to Mughal art had in the latter part of the eighteenth century deteriorated considerably, the hill states, led by the Kangra school, developed an altogether new style which was known locally as the Kangraqalm.[1] The best products of the Kangra painters date from about the middle of the eighteenth century till about a hundred years ago. As the political power of these small states almost vanished with the rise of the Sikh power, their art, which was the product of kingly patronage, also suffered and though painters continued for

1 Kangra District Gazetteer, 1883-84. The passage is of such importance that no apology is needed for giving it in full: "Kangra ki qalm is a phrase occasionally heard among native draughtsmen, who profess to be able to distinguish the qalm—meaning touch or style in this case—of a sort of school of illumination and picture-painting that is supposed to have flourished at Kangra."

The Musician
Kangra drawing—Early nineteenth century
Ghose Collection

*I. H. Q., June, 1926*

sometime longer their art has nothing of the beauty of the earlier work. Some earlier paintings which have been attributed to Jammu but probably belong to the Kangra and neighbouring districts are remarkable for their rich mineral colouring, bold draughtsmanship and vigour of composition. The best examples of this earlier art are the large Rāmāyaṇa paintings of the siege of Laṅkā in the Boston and New York museums and in my own collection. Love was the absorbing theme of Kangra art and the theme the artists selected viz., the love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, has been the favourite theme of Indian poets from Jayadeva to Rabindranath. Here I may mention that I have been fortunate enough to secure a unique series of lovely illustrations of the Gītagovinda and an illustrated Nayikā Ms. by Mahākavi Ray.[1] The special charm of Kangra paintings lies in their delicacy of line and grace and their use of colours of extraordinary richness and purity which European artists may well envy. There are marked characteristics in the drawing. The figures are nearly always in profile and the pictures of ladies with long fine eyelashes, unusually lengthened and beautiful languishing eyes, straight and slightly pointed noses, slightly pointed chins and fine delicate faces less oval than the Mughal ladies are a type in themselves—the loveliness of which a poet alone can describe (Plate VI).[2] Whereas the painters of Mandi, Garhwal, Guler, Judd and Jammu looked to Kangra for their inspiration we have no evidence that the painters in Rajputana—in Jaipur, Alwar, Udaipur—ever developed the distinctive technique and manner of Kangra. Mention must be made of the painters of Basohli, who developed a distinctive and rich style anterior to Kangra and excellent examples of whose work are the Gīta Govinda illustrations in my collection mentioned above.

1 See Introduction by Percy Brown to the Catalogue of a Loan Exhibition of Paintings from the Ghose Collection, 1925.

2 The reproduction very imperfectly conveys the rare quality of the original.

The art of Bengal, and of Orissa (which is closely related to Bengal art) must be mentioned here, though neither has been recognised so far by writers on Indian paintings. The subject is unfamiliar owing to the rarity of examples. The painting reproduced on Plate IV is a remarkable specimen of painting on cotton cloth so often mentioned in Sanskrit literature. The painted manuscript covers of Bengal (Plate V) with their vigour of draughtsmanship, their wonderful colour composition and their illustration of the spirit (of devotion for they deal mostly with Vaiṣṇava subjects such as the love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa or Caitanya's saṃkīrtans) are of surpassing value in the history of Indian art. A word should be said about the early Rāmāyaṇa rolls which in colour and composition have the qualities of mural painting inspite of their technical deficiencies and which vividly recall Egyptian paintings and the paintings on Greek vases. It is worthy of note that they were the work of rustic wandering minstrels who recited their songs as they unfolded their graphic representations of the Rāmāyaṇa story.

In the ancient art of Ajanta the bold linear construction is easily recognisable and is most effective. The line drawing is brushwork. For beauty of outline the great Mughal and Rajput painters are hard to beat. Their line is a fine sensitive but firmly drawn line, often done, as in the case of Mughal paintings, with a single squirrel's hair though the Kangra artists did not disdain the use of ochre and even pencil. We find the line drawing again asserting its claim as a powerful medium of expression in the folk-art of Bengal from the beginning of the last century right down to about fifty years back. Once again the line is drawn with the brush, not with a fine hardly visible single hair, but with a brush which with one sweep as it were boldly draws whole figures in which line and curve blend in rhythmic harmony. The drawing of Śiva at the foot of this article is a fair example of this art. Apart from this folk-art, what has been the art history of India from the middle of the last century ? Under the strange assumption that the fine arts never existed in India and that western art principles

The bearers of offerings to Kṛṣṇa
Old Bengal painting on cotton cloth
Seventeenth century or earlier
Ghose Collection

*I. H. Q., June, 1926*

PLAT

The Tāntrik worshipper surprised by Vaiṣṇavas
Painted Bengal manuscript cover of the seventeenth century

were good and wholesome for the Indian, the art schools in this country for a long time confined themselves strictly to the teaching of western art without taking into account the natural instincts and traditions of the race. Opinion has changed mainly owing to the efforts of E. B. Havell, and the importance of a study of old Indian art as a part of an artist's training is now generally recognised. On the other hand, it is worthy of note that one of the foremost exponents of old Indian art has recently made this weighty pronouncement: "Tradition is a living thing and utterly unlike the copying of styles, which has replaced tradition in modern life. No such failure of energy, as archaism represents, appears in Indian art before the twentieth century". The new Calcutta school is a reaction against the Europeanised art of which Ravi Varma remains the type. It is the outcome of a renaissance of Indian culture brought about by that very education which in the domain of art had such a baneful effect. Disillusionment has taken place as regards the utility of copying western models. We see born out of the tense yearning for the revival of the glorious traditions of old Indian culture a new enthusiasm for the fine craftsmanship of the older schools. It is thus really a resuscitation of artistic craftsmanship modelled upon old Indian art. The new school is first and foremost Indian. From this Indianness has arisen its respect for a long neglected medium and rejection of a medium altogether foreign not only to Indian but to all Asiatic art. In its imitation of the conventions of the old schools, in its insistence on the forms of art of a bygone age beautiful in their simplicity and in their choice of subjects for artistic treatment from the old mythology and romantic traditions, it is a revival of Hindu painting at its best. But there are modern artists who are not content to follow the old tradition. In their attempt to strike the imagination they are essaying the best methods of the Far East and all that is new in the West. Let us wait and see where all these efforts will lead us. Mere

copying of old models can never produce great art; what is required is creative power. Happily a few of the leading exponents of the new school have shown proofs of this gift. They are the teachers of the coming generation. With the joy of hope we await a new dawn fragrant with flowers which have bloomed in the night to illumine the artistic life of the people.

To conclude, the old art of India ever haunts us like a sweet enchantment wafting faint perfumes of lost ages, lost beauties, lost glories. The passion for that art will grow in the fullness of years. While the art of India will continue a revivifying and ever present influence in the land of its birth, it will receive the respectful homage of all who will try to understand it in every country and in all times to come.

AJIT GHOSE

Śiva
Bengal Paṭa drawing—Ghose Collection.

# The Kedārpur Copper-plate Inscription of Śrī Candradeva

## PART I. INTRODUCTORY

This copper-plate inscription was discovered at Kedārpur village, Police station Pālaṅg in the district of Faridpur in 1325 B. S. and it is now deposited in the Dacca Museum.

The copper-plate bears on the top an inscribed seal with the emblem of the Buddhist Dharmacakra and two couchant deer on two sides. Below the wheel is inscribed 'Śrī-Candradevaḥ.'

The epigraph is of a quite peculiar type, for it comes abruptly to an end after a description of the lineage of a certain Candra family. The inscription begins with a benedictory verse wherein the Triratna is mentioned. Next, is mentioned one Pūrṇa Candra who seems to have led his army in expeditions. From him sprang Suvarṇa Candra noted for his purity of character. His illustrious son was Trailokya Candradeva. He seems to be the first person in the family to have carved out a considerable kingdom and to have assumed the title of Mahārājādhirāja. Though he conquered his opponents he was not much attached to worldly passions and was a Buddhist. From him sprang Śrī Candradeva who first assumed the imperial title. The copper-plate ends by mentioning him, as in camp at Śrī Vikramapura.

Two other inscriptions of this family are already known, viz., the Idilpur copper-plate inscription of Śrī Candradeva of which a summary by late Bābu Gaṅgāmohan Laskar, M.A. was published in the *Dacca Review*, (1912, October) and the Rāmpāl copper-plate inscription, also of Śrī Candra edited by Professor R. G. Vasāk, M.A. [*E. I.*, vol. XII, (1913-1914)].

Mr. Nalinī Kānta Bhaṭṭaśālī published a version of the text and a reduced facsimile of this new epigraph in the Bengali monthly *Pratibhā* for Āśvin, 1326 B. S.

As the engraving was badly done, the epigraph must be carefully examined before accepting the important conclusions drawn by Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālin from the apparently unsatisfactory version of the text, published by him. Accordingly, I was directed by Bābu Akṣaya Kumāra Maitreya

to re-read the inscription, with the help of the reduced facsimile impression issued in the *Pratibhā* and also of a rather unsatisfactory ink estampage, (procured from the Dacca Museum), and placed at my disposal.[1]

The copper-plate bears an inscription on one side only in Bengali letters of the early 11th century and the language is Sanskrit throughout, the first fifteen lines being in poetry divided into 7 verses, and the rest in prose.

From a more careful examination of the text, it is evident that the composition is not really so corrupt as Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālī thought it to be.

But in restoring a corrupt text the proposed emendations should as little alter the metrical arrangement or sequence of thought and sense as possible. Also to make out a text from the confusion and interchange of the five nasals and anusvāra, 'ja' and 'ya', 'ba' and 'va', 'ṇa' and 'na', and of the three sibilants, etc. is not philologically impossible. Besides these difficulties, mistakes might also result from the composer's and the

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1 The first and the chief part of this article was prepared (as early as the first quarter of 1920) during my tutelage to Bābu Akṣaya Kumāra Maitreya, C.I.E., as a Govt. Post-graduate Research Scholar in Archaeology at Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, when Professor Rādhā Govinda Vasāk, M.A. (now of the Dacca University) was the Hony. Secretary of the Institution.

Then, I took note only of the Bengali paper on the epigraph in question, published at the time by Mr. Nalinīkānta Bhaṭṭaśālin, Curator, Dacca Museum. He has also lately published an English version of the text in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVII, No. 12. In the latter version, which I have duly referred to, Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālī has fully modified his chief conclusions, on a line with the suggestions made in this paper, though no reasons are stated for this change of opinion. My paper, however, could not unfortunately be published previously, as a typed copy of the paper, together with the only estampage in my possession submitted to the *J. B. O. R. S.*, was, I was told, somehow lost.

It was however possible for me to proceed to the Dacca Museum in the first part of July, 1924, in order to examine the plate and to check my readings and conclusions.

As I do not find any reasons to change or modify any of these, my paper is published practically in the original form—as the necessity for bringing out my new edition of the epigraph still remains intact, especially on account of the importance of the critical notes given and the problems discussed.

engraver's insufficient knowledge of the language and lastly from lack of the latter's technical skill.

A comparison of Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālin's readings and interpretations with those, herein proposed, will show the points of agreement and difference. As the latter are striking and the epigraph is peculiar, it is absolutely necessary to consider one by one, the more important points of difference as they seriously modify the propositions adduced by Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālin.

Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālī reads and translates the 3rd *śloka* as follows :—

नाशौ विशुद्धो न कुलाधिरूढ:
किंतु प्रकृत्यैव पूतो गरिष्ठ ।
तथापि कल्याण सुवर्णकल्प:
सुवर्ण चन्द्र सुसुकृतो ततोभूत् ॥

'Pūrṇa Candra was not purified, did not ascend to such a position in a good familly—pure and respectable, by nature, therefore, he was not' [Vide प्रतिभा, आश्विन ( १३२६ ), पृ० २३६]

Some pages, later, Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālī reads the same lines as follows :—

नाशौ विशुद्धो न तुलाधिरूढ:
किंन्तु प्रकृत्यैव पूतो गरिष्ठ ॥
तथापि कल्याण सुवर्ण्ण कल्प:
सुवर्ण्ण चन्द्रस् सुकृती ततो भूत् ॥

The first two lines he further corrects as नाशौ.....गरिष्ठ: ॥ The 4 lines are translated as follows :—

"He was not pure ; he did not ascend the balance, i.e., he was not pure or born in a princely family—though, by nature he was of good character and respectable. Nevertheless, from him sprang a son, possessed of virtue and likened to the auspicious gold, Suvarṇa Candra by name." [Vide प्रतिभा, pp. 238-239]

Also "there is a *śleṣa* in the *śloka*, viz.—'Gold is freed from impurities and weighed in balance. Pūrṇa Candra was not made like that, but was, by very nature, of pure character and noble ; and inspite of the above-named deficiencies (a son named) Suvarṇa (gold) was born from him. More plainly speaking,—he was not personally 'Suvarṇa' (gold) but was the father of 'Suvarṇa' (gold). There is also a little more indication in the two words विशुद्ध and तुलाधिरूढ that Pūrṇa Candra was not pure like the Brāhmaṇas, etc., nor had he the position of Kṣatriya princes who are weighed in balance i.e. he neither belonged to a high class nor was born in a princely family." [The quotations are literal translations].

But all the above conclusions of Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālin are based upon erroneous readings of *śloka* 3, which should be read as follows :

नाग्नौ विशुद्धो न तुलाधिरूढः
किन्तु प्रकृत्यैव युतो गरिम्णा
तथापि कल्याणसुवर्ण कल्पः
सुवर्ण चन्द्रस्सुकृती ततोभूत् ॥

Its proposed translation is also given herein, some pages below.

1. Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālin's [previous] readings violate metre and also his corrections are unnecessary, while he takes (both in the Bengali and the English versions) the first two lines of *śloka* 3 to belong to Pūrṇa Candra, though they really refer to Suvarṇa Candra. For the above reasons, Mr. Bhattasālin's readings of *śloka* 3 and consequently his interpretations, also, are untenable.

2. Mr. Bhaṭṭasālī secondly puts forward a very important proposition, viz., the identification of Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna Atīśa with the 2nd son of king Śrī Candra and his descent from the (Sādhu) Sāhu or Śāhā caste. Before accepting this important proposition it is necessary to examine if there are the necessary and sufficient grounds for such conjecture.

Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālin's arguments may be stated as follows under three heads :—

*a.* Atīśa was the 2nd son of his father Mahārājā Kalyāṇa Śrī, the then king of Vikramapura. As Atīśa was born in 980 A.D. consequently his father must have ruled at Vikramapura towards the last quarter of the 10th century. According to Tibetan historians Atīśa belonged to the great Kṣatriya race called Dsahor (साहोर).

*b.* "The copper-plate is inscribed in Bengali letters of the 10-11th century. That a certain king Govinda Candra by name ruled in Eastern Bengal is known. But the fact that he was a king of the region governed by the Candra family, i.e., was a successor of Śrī Candra is undoubted for his name does not appear among Pūrṇa Candra's three successive descendants, whose name we know. Consequently Śrī Candra's date may be fixed with certainty as 975-1000 A.D., approximately." [Translation]. [Also, vide Introduction, pp. 6-7 of मयनामतीर गान edited by Mr. N. K. Bhaṭṭaśālin, and Mr. Vaikuṇṭhanāth Datta].

*c.* "Another fact is to be remembered here. While speaking of Pūrṇa Candra, the founder of the Candra dynasty, the composer of the Kedārpur Inscription writes, as in the following verse" [3] :

....."that is, Pūrṇa Candra was not purified, and did not ascend to such a position in a good family—pure and respectable, by nature,

therefore, he was not." "In this, has not a clear hint been given, that Pūrṇa Candra did not belong to a caste whose water could be used ?". Also, "following upon Mr. R. G. Vasāk's publication of the Rāmpāl Inscription of Śrī Candra, Mr. Śiva Candra Śīl wrote a note in the साहित्य proposing a restoration of text, viz., 'Rohitā-gi[ri]...therein the point discussed was that 'the Candras did not belong to any caste whose water could be used". "From the Kedārpur copper-plate Inscription, we know of Śrī Candra-deva's complete freedom from worldly attachment" [Translation].

From the above agreements Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālī comes to the following conclusions :—

"The name and time of Atiśa's father Kalyāṇa Śrī are in complete agreement with those of Śrī Candra, the grantor of this copper-plate. The conclusion is inevitable that the famous Buddhist learned man Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna Atīśa was the second son of Śrī Candra, the grantor of the Vikrampura copper-plate....Of him alone, could naturally be a monk son like Atīśa...Again, we learn by another way that according to the Tibetans Atīśa was of the Dsahor race. Perhaps mention is unnecessary, that the Tibetans hinted that Atīśa belonged only to the Sāhu (Sādhu) caste, who are known at present in the society as Śāhās. Consequently it is found, there is agreement about caste also. We are enabled, somewhat, to be sure of Atīśa's nationality and family."

Taking first, the last set of Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālin's arguments, the proposed reading in the Rāmpāl plate, viz. रोहितागि [रि] and its identification are open to objection on linguistic and other grounds :—

(i) For, the present Rohtāsgaḍh (Dist. Sāhābād) cannot represent the ancient site रोहितागि[ रि ?]. The word गड़ (fort) appears in Bengali language also, and is generally derived from Sanskrit कोट, possibly because the Prākṛt गड्डो is from Skt. गर्त्त meaning (ditch) [vide प्राकृतप्रकाश and षड्भाषाचन्द्रिका ]. But the word गड does not appear, on the contrary, in the Bengali compound कोटाल (generally derived from Skt. कोट-पाल fort-commandant), while it is a component part of the old and modern Bengali word गड खाँइ the second member of which (खाँइ) is probably of Deśī origin. The word गड therefore is very probably traceable to a Deśī or even non-Aryan source, and it cannot stand for कोट, much less for गिरि ; or the word गड is to be derived from Skt. कटक ? [ Cf. old Bengali form गँडु from Skt. कन्दु क ][1].

1 According to my learned friend Prof. Sunītikumār Caṭṭo-

Rohitās or Rohtās is very probably derived from रोहिताश्व. As the maxim "नामैकदेशेन नाममात्रग्रहणं" is inapplicable रोहिता cannot stand for रोहिताश्व Also रोहिता is in the feminine, while गिरि is masculine. In the second verse of the Rāmpāl copper-plate exigencies of the शार्दूल-विक्रीडितम् metre also require the 8th *akṣara* to be long, and the 9th and 10th *akṣaras* to be short. It is not therefore certain if the restoration should be रोहितागि[ रि* ?] and also whether the word is to be construed as रोहिता+ ग* [?] or as रोहित+ऋगि* [?]

(ii) Also, Trailokya Candra is mentioned in the Rāmpāl copper-plate, as "the support of the royal majesty smiling in the royal umbrella of the king of Harikela", and as king of चन्द्रद्वीप [vide *E. I.*, vol. XII]. Though 'it cannot be definitely known what political relation, if any, this king of Candradvīpa had with the king of Harikela,' it is probable that their mutual relationship was friendly ; it might have been one of (a defensive and offensive) alliance or the one might have been a faithful feudatory of the other. In either of the cases, the two kingdoms occupied contiguous positions. Also रोहितागि[ रि ? ] the original seat of the Candra family cannot be far removed from these two kingdoms ; for, to put the site in Dist. Sāhābād would lead to a presumption (unsupported by facts), viz., that the whole area from (Dist. Sāhābād) रोहितागि[ रि ? ] to Candradvīpa was under the sway of the Candras.

Probably रोहितागि[ रि* ?] refers to some hill (originally surmounted by a fort ?) of red रोहित ( लोहित ) sandstone or ochrous rock and is to be located in East Bengal.

But the theory of Pūrṇa Candra's descent from a low stock is, as has been already shown, unfounded.[1]

But it is interesting to note that the mention of Śrī Candra's absolute freedom from worldly passions gains additional weight as Śrī-Candra probably became a Buddhist monk, being clad in yellow ( पीत: ). But it is strange that he should nevertheless undertake conquering expeditions in all directions. Again it does not appear if his father's capital (and so naturally his also) was at Vikramapur, where he is

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pādhyāya, Ind. Germ. *ghṛdh *हृध्→* gṛdha (construed from Skt. gṛha) →Pkt. gaḍha, Bengali গড়, Hindi गढ़.

1 This mistake is however still not rectified in the English version. For see *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVII, No. 12 and contrast pp. 190, 192, v. 3.

mentioned as in camp at the time of issue of the Inscription. It would be interesting to compare side by side the descriptions of the princes of the Candra family found in the two copperplates.

| *Rāmpāl Copperplate* | *Kedārpur Copperplate* |
|---|---|
| *Pūrṇa Candra* was born in the Candra family of रोहितागि[ रि* ?]. It seems, he dedicated holy images, erected pillars commemorating victories and also issued copper-plate grants (verse 2). | *Pūrṇa Candra* was a prosperous man. He led his armies on expeditions (verse 2). |
| He was not a king. | |
| His son was the Bauddha *Suvarṇa Candra*, so named as his mother, while pregnant was satisfied of her desire to see the rising lunar orb with a golden-moon (v. 3–4). | From him sprang *Suvarṇa Candra*, who was by nature possessed of purity and dignity ( v. 3 ). |
| His renowned son was *Trailokya-Candra.* | |
| He was a most virtuous person among his paternal and maternal relations, and his fame spread in all quarters. | *Trailokya Candra* possessed auspicious and handsome appearance and was fearful of the other world. He comforted the kingdom of animals and was famous for his virtuous deeds (v. 4.). |
| 'The support of the royal Fortune, smiling in the royal umbrella of the king of Harikela', he was the powerful and politic king of Candradvīpa (v. 5). | Covetous of conquering the tract (of earth) encircled by waters (and yet unattached to objects of enjoyment) he vanquished his enemies in battle (v. 5). |
| He was a devout Buddhist ( परमसौगतः ) and Mahārājādhirāja. His much esteemed and devoted spouse was the fair *Śrīkāñcanā* (v. 6). | Trailokya Candra was a patron of the Good Path and was a devout Buddhist ( परमसौगतः ) He was a Mahārājādhirāja. |
| The handsome *ŚrīCandra* was born of Trailokya Candra and Śrī- | From him sprang a son, the handsome *ŚrīCandra.* He shunned |

| *Rāmpāl Copperplate* | *Kedārpur Copperplate* |
|---|---|
| kāñcanā under the auspicious *Rāja-yoga* asterism. From his bodily marks astrologers foretold of his future kingship (v. 7). | cruel deeds, appreciated merits and avoided finding faults with others. Sightly, clad in yellow (पीतः), he was free, possessed of many virtues and was free from worldly attachment (v. 6). |
| A prudent and famous king, he brought the whole country under his sway by throwing his enemy (or enemies) in prison (v. 8). He assumed the Imperial Title. He was the donor of the Copperplate grant. | He undertook victorious military campaigns in all directions (v. 7) and first assumed the imperial title of परमेश्वरपरमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराजः। |

It is not clear if the epigraph was at all meant for issue, for it does not give the occasion and purpose of such. Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālī is of opinion that the epigraph is not a deed but might have been one of the copper-plates kept ready beforehand in the royal archives as sorts of blank forms, the other portions of which were filled in, whenever necessities arose for the issue of deeds of gifts.

But, if such plates (with only the preamble of documents inscribed) were kept ready for future use, why should Śrī Vikramapura be at all mentioned? Copper-plate records might have been issued from other places also, which would lead to the presumption (until recently unsupported by facts) that similar other records with names of other places were also kept ready for immediate future use.[1] It is not certain if Śrī Vikramapura in the plate is a proper name at all indicating a particular locality. Or, possibly the military encampments were made generally at points of strategic importance like Vikramapura.

The composition of the copper-plate is poor. The verses are full of useless repetitions and unintelligent play over words, and there are some grammatical mistakes, too; but these are mostly trivial.

The engraver's work is also unsatisfactorily done and seems to be that of a novice or an illiterate man. It cannot be the work of a clever forger.

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1 For see Yājñavalkya, Ācārādhyāya, Rājadharmaprakaraṇa, ślokas 318-320 and Vijñāneśvara's commentary thereon.

The seal, however, seems to have been attached after the plate was inscribed, as the letter 'bha' (भ) in l. 1 is destroyed in the process of fixing the seal.

But it is not clear when were royal seals attached to deeds,—whether before or after their formal execution. There are no authorities on the point supporting the theories.

But for the seal it would have been possible to find in the plate an unsuccessful attempt on the part of an engraver to carry into execution an equally poor specimen of a composer's work.

## PART II

In the preceding pages have been discussed at length Mr. N. K. Bhaṭṭaśālin's highly unscientific attempts to patch up a relationship of Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna Atīśa with the Candra kings. It is unfortunately yet necessary to deal with another series of equally wild speculations of his, again, to connect the Candra kings with Kāntideva, who is known for the first time in Bengal history by the recent discovery of an unfinished copper-plate inscription. Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālin's arguments are given in his recent Bengali article 'विक्रमपुर' published in the vernacular monthly, भारतवर्ष for आषाढ़, 1332 B. S. and may be translated as follows :—

(*a*) "Historians were in the belief that, of the distinct royal

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The discovery, lately, from Chittagong of a Copper-plate Inscription of Kāntideva of a similar type, purporting to have been issued from Vardhamānapura, however, in the opinion of the editors of the epigraph "seems to confirm the view, entertained after the discovery of the Kedārpur plate of Śrī Candra, that the common (metrical) portion of copper-plate grants made by the same king used to be inscribed previously in large numbers in the manner of printed forms, the formal grant being actually inscribed subsequently on respective occasions."

Vide the new Chittagong Copper-plate of Kāntideva by D. C. Bhattacharya, M.A. and J. N. Sikdar, M.A. in the *Modern Review*, November, 1922, pp. 612-14.

Could these two plates represent attempts to prepare Kūṭa-śāsanas (forged charters)? None of the charters is however a clever piece of work so far as the literary composition of each is concerned.

families of East-Bengal, the Candra kings were the first. Now it is seen that Kāntideva's family is older than the family of the Candras.

This conclusion had to be arrived at chiefly through a comparative study of the alphabets of the copper-plates of Kāntideva and Śrīcandra. Besides this, the manner of drafting this Copper-plate record also testifies to its antique character. Copper-plate inscriptions of the Candras—Varmans—Senas are all fashioned after the same way. But in Kāntideva's copper-plate, the name of the capital is mentioned first, following the ancient charters as स्वस्ति श्रीमज्जयस्कन्धावारात् वर्द्धमानपुरवासकात्। It has been stated already that the copper-plate inscription is incomplete, the donative portion does not exist in it. The portions which would occur in all copper-plates, viz., ode to deities, recital of the merits of the royal family and proclamation of the royal order, were engraved on several copper-plates which remained in the royal achives, and when necessities arose the donative portions were engraved and the plates handed over to the Brāhmaṇas receiving land as legal deeds of gift. A similar unfinished copper-plate of Śrīcandradeva of the Candra family has also been found. The contents and the readings of this were published by me in the *Pratibhā* for 1326 B.S., its better readings having been published in the *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVII, p. 188. The copper-plate of Kāntideva's inscription has many defects,—the unfinished inscription of Śrīcandra mentioned before is full of mistakes on account of the engraver's deficiencies. Perhaps for this reason only these two plates were not utilised. Also, it would not be improper to suppose that, both these royal families having lasted for a short period only, no sufficient time could at all be found to turn the engraved copper sheets into charters."

(*b*) "However, both these unfinished inscriptions are invaluable for historical purpose. In Kāntideva's inscription we got information of a new royal family. Śrīcandradeva's inscription also has rendered great help in determining the history of the Candra family. Kāntideva's copper-plate was to have been issued from *Vardhamāna-pura-vāsaka, i. e.*, at *Vārdhamāna-pura* site was situated the capital of Kāntideva. Where is this *Vardhamāna-pura* ? My friend Mr. Rādhā Govinda Vasāk has supposed that it is not different from the present *Vardhamāna* situated in *Rāḍha* ! But Kāntideva has addressed in his copper-plate to future kings of *Harikelā maṇḍala.* From this the clear meaning understood is that he was himself king of that very *Harikelā maṇḍala.* That *Harikela* is another name for *Vaṅga* only—there is no doubt about this ; and though the name is found in the copper-plate of

Kāntideva in the form *Harikelā*, still there can be no serious objection on the part of anybody to admit *Harikela* and *Harikelā* as not different. That by *Vaṅga* was meant in olden times a piece of land, defined by boundaries as in the following way—is my opinion. Of old *Vaṅga*—the *Meghanāda* was on the East, the *Madhumatī* on the West, the *Dhavaleśvarī* on the North and the sea towards the South.

If Kāntideva be determined as king of this limited region, then it is unnecessary to say that his capital could not possibly exist at all in *Vardhamāna* of *Rāḍha*. Consequently the location of the capital *Vardhamānapura* is to be looked for within this limit. The ruins of a big city are still observable at a place now familiar by the name of *Rāmapāla*, situated at the confluence of the old *Brahmaputra* and the *Icchāmatī*, on the North-Eastern part of *Vikramapura*. Besides this, ruins of another old city are existent at the place called *Koṭāli-pāḍā* of Faridpur District. But the city of *Koṭāli-pāḍā* belongs to the Gupta period and the proof of it has been given elsewhere. It has also been stated elsewhere that the ruins observable in the environments of *Rāmapāla* are the remains of the ancient city of *Vikramapura* (प्रवासी, १३२९, श्रीविक्रमपुर श्रो ताहार उपकण्ठ). This ruin extends over an area covering about 5 × 5 miles. This extensive city appears to have been founded by Kāntideva's family. This city founded at the confluence of the *Icchāmatī* and the *Brahmaputra* grew up very quickly through commercial prosperity and became *Vardhamānapura* truly in name."

(c) "Among the ruins of this *Vikrampura* city, a copper-plate of Śrīcandradeva was discovered. Mr. Rādhā Govinda Vasāk has published its readings in the *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XII. "In this inscription there is written an enigmatic statement regarding Śrīcandradeva's father Trailokya-candradeva, who was born in that line of the Candras, (of whom there were many families), which possessed Rohitāgiri. This family was of great prosperity *i. e.* was possessed of money and wealth. Rohitā-giri is clearly the name of लाल-माह[1] hills in Tripurā District. After this the enigmatic statement about Trailokyacandra is this—

आधारो हरिकेलराजककुदच्छत्रश्रितानां श्रियाम्
यश्चन्द्रोपपदे बभुव नृपतिर्द्वीपे दिलीपोपमः।[2]

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1 & 2 Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālin's transcriptions of proper names and of Skt. texts are characterised by sad mistakes. लाल-माह is the correct name (and not लाल-साह) for the hills. हरिकेल and हरिकेला have been always written wrongly as हरिफेल and हरिफेला। The Skt. texts have also to be totally rewritten.

Let attention be paid a little to the hidden meaning.

*Candradvīpa* is the ancient name for the major portion of Bākhargañj Dist. It falls within *Harikela* kingdom. Consequently, Trailokyacandra grew to be a vassal prince under the *Harikela* king. But, by the way, Trailokyacandra was also likened to the receptacle of the royal fortune of *Harikela* i. e. the king of *Harikela* had to depend on Trailokyacandra either for pecuniary help or fighting strength. What resulted from this reliance upon others, on the part of the *Harikela* king is clearly understood from this. Trailokyacandra had received the *Candradvīpa* by offering help of money or arms. His son Śrīcandra became the king of *Harikela* himself, after supplanting the sovereign family. *Rohitāgiri* and its surrounding area were already in the hands of the Candras. So Śrīcandra became now master of *Tripurā, Noākhāli, Dacca, Faridpur, Bākhargañj.* To mention old names, he became paramount king of *Samataṭa* and *Vaṅga.*"

(d) "Who is this particular king of *Harikela*, possessor of the *Kakudacchatra.* Opening the dictionary, one would see that *Kakuda* has many meanings. One meaning is 'snake'. If this meaning be accepted, then it must be understood that the royal parasol of this *Harikela* king was engraved with 'serpent.' Of course it could be taken in other way too. Now look at Kāntideva's copper inscription. It is observable in the royal seal attached to its top that there is in it the figure of a four-feeted lion in a temple with thrice bent arch—which seems to be the figure of *Nṛsiṃha* from the mention of the destruction of *Hiraṇyakaśipu* in the inscription. Below it is written in raised letters—श्रीकान्तिदेव: । Encircling the lower portion of the whole seal are two big hooded serpents with tails intertwined.

These two serpents are so big and conspicuously engraved that they do not seem to have been used simply for decorative purposes. It seems to me, it is the *Kakuda* mark of the royal parasol of the *Harikela* king. And that from the hands of this Kāntideva, Śrīcandradeva snatched away *Harikela.*"

(e) "Śrīcandradeva's copper-plate inscription is issued from the city of *Vikramapura.* What was named *Vardhamānapura* in Kāntideva's time, became, being won by the price of valour (*vikrama*), famous as *Vikramapura.* In 1030 A. D. approximately, the Varman kings purchased with this price of valour *Vikramapura* from the Candras. From the last Varman king, at the same price of valour, Vijayasena purchased *Vikramapura* in 1090 A. D. approximately. All copper-

plates of the Candra and the Varman kings and many plates of the Sena kings are issued from the capital *Śrī Vikramapura.*"

It is necessary to deal first with Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālin's most important arguments contained in sections (c), (d) and (e).

The learned editors[1] of the new Chittagong copper-plate of Kāntideva have tentatively fixed the date of the inscription on palæographical considerations as between 750-850 A. D. Another great Bengalee epigraphist[2] has proved conclusively that Śrī Candradeva's copper-plates are older than Bhojavarman's copper-plate, by comparing two test letters 'śa', and 'ha', of the epigraphic alphabets of both. But it is impossible to push the date of Śrī Candradeva's inscriptions earlier than the 11th century A. D.

The determination of Kāntideva's time is based on especially the comparison of the letters 'ma' and 'na' of the epigraphic alphabet of his copper-plate and even if the period 750-850 A. D. be a little too early, more than a full century at least intervenes between Kāntideva and Śrī Candradeva, and by no stretch of imagination could both be regarded as contemporaneous. If there be no proofs of the synchronism between the two kings, the one could not be supplanted by the other. However it is not relevant here to discuss the dates given by Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālin for the seizure of *Vikrampura* by the Varman kings from the Candras and later on of the same, by the Senas from the Varmans. But it is not yet possible to fix them with such certainty as Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālin has done so dogmatically. The data are not yet available to arrive at such close approximations.

In his previous Bengali paper in প্রতিভা, Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālin had put the Rohitāgiri at Rohtāsgaḍh but he has now transferred it to the other extreme of the compass from N. W, to S. E. and placed it at Lālmāi (লালমাই) hills in Dist. Tippera. There are seven hill ranges stretching N. to S. and separated by valleys or marshes, in Tippera District and Hill Tippera, between the Mayanāmatī hill on the West and the Lushai hills on the East. All these hills are of red colour. But the Tripurā hills are of red earth, not of stone. The colour

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1 Profs. D. C. Bhattacharya, M. A. and J. N. Sikdar, M. A.—The New Chittagong Copperplate of Kāntideva—*Modern Review*, Nov., 1922.

2 Mr. Rākhāldās Vandyopādhyāya—বাঙ্গালার ইতিহাস। ১ম ভাগ ১৩২১। পরিশিষ্ট ক। পৃষ্ঠা ২৩৩।

might be due to admixture of iron in earth. Five miles to the west of the city of Comilla midway between *Pātikāḍā* and *Meherkul Parganas*, there is a hillock called मयनामतीर पाहाड़, from which, in the southern direction, extend the लालमाइhill s for 12 miles, averaging only 30 cubits in height, and inhabited at places by the Tiprās.

Many are the stories or legends connected with it *e. g.* there are at places on it, blocks of stone 8 to 10 cubits long and 2 to 2½ cubits in circumference said to be fossiliszed bones of *asura* hosts killed in battle with Caṇḍī. There is on the लालमाइ hill a temple with an image of goddess, most likely चण्डी, and the place (hillock) is called चण्डीमुड़ा। There are holes in front of the *mandir* said to be sunk at the pressure of the knees and elbows of Hanumat while paying obeisance to the goddess!

According to the local legends,[1] a king called गोपीचाँद (Gopīcā̃d) dwelt in the northern portion of the hill range, while his daughter dwelt in the southern portion. The northern part where Gopīcā̃d dwelt personally was called after his mother, Mayanāmatī, मयनामती पाहाड़ and the southern part was called after his daughter, लालमाइ, the लालमाइ पाहाड़। The name has nothing to do with the red colour of the earth. All the seven hill ranges are red, and every one might have been so named if colour was in question; while the local legends associate लालमाइ पाहाड़ with the daughter of Gopīcā̃d—लालमाइ 'the fair damsel', as the word might mean.[2]

The North Indian early vernacular literatures have preserved many different legends, in diverse versions, about गोपीचाँद, मयनामती and the

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1 I am much indebted to Bābu Satīścandra Ghoṣa, Asst. Manager, *Sarail* Estate, Tippera, and to Paṇḍit Rajanīkānta Majumdār, village *Kenduyāi* (केन्दुयाइ,) P. O. *Agartala*, Tripurā (Hill Tippera) for these local informations and my thanks are due to them. See also त्रिपुरार भुगोल ओ भारतवर्षेर विवरण। श्रीचन्द्रकान्त भौमिक। चान्दपुर। १९२१।

2 Cf. the early literature of the local dialect : गोरक्षविजय—शेख फयजल्ला मरहुम प्रणीत। मुन्सी आवदुल करिम साहित्य विशारद सम्पादित। साहित्य-परिषद् ग्रन्थावली—सं ६४। कलिकाता। १३२४।

मूल पृ: ५५—"एकै राउलेर घरे दुइ चारि माइ।
सोल सय कदलि एकला मिलर ठाइ॥" ३०५

परिशिष्ट पृ० ४०—"मा, मा.....प्रभृति शब्दगुलिर पाश्च वा पाश्चो, माश्च वा माश्चो वा माइ .....प्रभृति रूपे व्यवहार प्रणिधानेर योग्य। संस्कृत भाषाय उक्त शब्दगुलि यथाक्रमे पाद, माता..... प्रभृति। 'मेये' (चट्टग्रामेर 'माइश्चा') अर्थेओ 'माइ' अनेक जायगाय व्यवहृत हइयाछे।"

masters of the Nāthapanthin (Yogī) sect—गोरक्षनाथ[1] etc. The travails of गोपीचाँद form some of the finest specimens of early Bengali Literature. The sect however, is very old and probably grew up gradually during the Pāla period, though the masters (गुरु) were possibly more ancient still.

Rohitāgiri must be expected to have been of respectable height and of rock. As the names of places generally survive in popular memory, and the लालमाइ hills etc. are connected with the legends of गोपीचाँद and probably not older in age,[2] so far as the name is concerned—for these reasons, and on account of the insignificant size and difference in structure, the identification of Rohitāgiri with it must be rejected. Rohitāgiri must be looked for elsewhere, possibly farther in the S. E., within Hill Tippera near Rāṅgāmāṭī. We have authentic record of the name being older. An inscription in stone of the Buddhist *Mahānāvika* Buddhagupta of *Rakta-mṛttikā* has been discovered in the Wellesley Dt. of the Federated Malay States. This *Rakta-mṛittikā* is identical with Rāṅgāmāṭī on the *Karṇaphulī*.

One more important issue was raised by Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālin, regarding the *Kakuda-cchatra* of the *Harikela* king. The generally accepted senses of the word *Kakuda* in the Kośas are all given in the *Śabda-kalpadruma* under ककुदः। (प्राधान्यम्॥ राजचिह्नम्॥ तत् तु श्वेतच्छत्रादि॥ छपाङ्ग' झुँट इति भाषा। इत्यमरः॥ पर्वताग्रभागः॥ इति तट्टीकायां स्वामी)।

Roth and Böhtlingk's *Sanskrit Wörterbuch* gives one other meaning of *Kakuda*, on the authority of Suśruta, 'a species of serpent' 'eine

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1 Bendall, *Subhāṣitasaṃgraha*, fol. 1, p. 1. "Wassiliev gives authority for the identification of one Anaṅgavajra with Gorakṣa skilled in magic (*tantra*) who lived under Gopāla. The latter reigned in 'Eastern India' ( Gopāla I of Bengal, A. C. 800) ? "

2 Some antiquities have been discovered from time to time in the Lālmāi hills. About 40 years back, as my informant Paṇḍit Rajanī Kānta writes, the half-buried remains of a brickbuilt house was discovered there, thickly overgrown by shrubs and creepers. The Comilla Dt. Board utilised these materials as rubbishes for constructing roads! All traces of these remains are perhaps obliterated, by now. In the northern portion of the hills i. e. near मयनामती, are still to be found heaps of old bricks underground. Lately, a small brick temple has been unearthed near the *dak bungalow* of Mahārājā of Tripurā in making excavations along the direction of an underground passage. Some ascetic appears to have performed sacrifices and worshipped here.

Schlangen—art.' According to the latter, the serpents which have hoods, with marks of disc, plough etc. on their heads and which move with rapidity, are called (दर्वीकर) *Darvīkaras*. This class of serpents is further subdivided into कृष्णसर्प, महाकृष्ण,.....ककुद, पद्म, महापद्म etc. *Kakuda*, as the name of this subclass of *Darvīkara* serpents, is an arbitary designation given by Suśruta,[1] and as the copper-plate or stone inscriptions—*Praśastis* or *Śāsanas* are not Vaidyaka works, the *Kośas* of Amara etc. would have greater authorities, there, to determine the *Śakti* of any particular word, in accordance with the accepted principles of the *Śābdikas*[2]

आधुनिकस्तु सङ्केतो न शक्तिर्नित्यस्यैव तस्य तथात्वात्। तदुक्तं भर्तृहरिणा—

आजानिकश्चाधुनिकः सङ्केतो द्विविधो मतः।
नित्य आजानिकस्तत्र यः शक्तिरिति गीयते॥
कादाचित्कस्त्वाधुनिकः शास्त्रकारादिभिः कृत इति।

This *kakuda* is an arbitrary and obscure proper name for a species of serpents, given by Suśruta and does not mean serpents in general. As this word in the compound *kakuda-cchatra*, also cannot be proved to have been used as a proper name, it cannot be taken to mean 'a serpent' and so the meaning of the compound must be taken in the only possible sense 'an umbrella with royal device.' What this particular device on the royal parasol was, it is not now possible to know with certainty, for it might not necessarily have been the same as that on the royal seal (the *lāñchana* or crest) of copper-plate charters. We know of the originally uniform practice of having one device for the *lāñchana* or crest, and another device for the *dhvaja* or banner.[2]

According to the prescribed rules[3] for affexing royal seals to copper-plate charters, the *Rāja-mudrā* of Kāntideva's inscription not only consists of the two hooded serpents but the most important and indispensable portions are constituted by the crest and the legend contained in the heart-shaped projection of the copper-plate. It is now necessary to discuss the possible significance of this royal seal with a view to identification of the figure, engraved thereon.

The comparison of Kāntidèva to Nṛsiṃha in a *śliṣṭa-śloka*, firstly on one hand cannot be taken as offering sufficient clues to the determination, exactly of his religious faith, when we take into consideration

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1 सुश्रुते कल्पस्थानम्—अध्यायः ४।

2 शब्दशक्तिप्रकाशिका। नामप्रकरणम्। कारिका २३।

3. Imp. Gazetteer, vol. II, (1909).—J. F. Fleet—Epigraphy, p. 32. Also see Ditto.—D. K. D., 299 note 4.

parallel cases. On the other hand the inscription opens with a salutation to the *Jinendra*, and Kāntideva is called distinctly a परम-सौगत। We know that all existing copper-plate inscriptions of the Pāla emperors begin with invocations to the *Buddha* but they and their wives or daughters were often compared to Brah manic heroes and heroines, gods and goddesses, while Nārāyaṇapāla himself compared to श्रीपति, अग्नि, नल, etc., offered lands for शिवभट्टारक and पाशुपत आचार्यपरिषद् in his Bhāgalpur copper-plate. Even if the copper-plate charters of the Pālas did not mention by name the *Dharma-cakra-mudrā*, no scholar would suggest that the Pālas were not Buddhists and the device in their seals was that of the *Viṣṇu-cakra*.

On the other hand, the liberality to Brahmanic shrines on the part of the Buddhist kings and their familiarity with the sacred lore and traditions of Brahmanic faiths indicate the want of sectarian bias and religious intolerance of the period. Kāntideva's inscription also reflects the same spirit of religious freedom. In view of the above facts and the consideration that worshippers of such a *vāma* (वाम) form of Viṣṇu as Nṛsiṃha were always rare even among the Vaiṣṇavas, it is unthinkable that a devout Buddhist king like Kāntideva would be a devotee of Nṛsiṃha. The identification, suggested by Mr. Bhattaśālin, of the figure in the seal with this deity must therefore have to be altogether rejected. And for its possible identification, we are not entitled to go beyond the indications suggested by the inscription itself and to drag in and raise issues otherwise unconnected. If Kāntideva was a Buddhist, his royal seal must be also Buddhist or at least non-sectarian in character. We must have to interpret the devices in the seal accordingly.

We know of the existence in ancient India of architectural and sculptural motifs, decorative devices, and artistic, religious and social traditions and other institutions which were perfectly non-sectarian in character and formed the common heritage of all the great Indian religious faiths. To such categories belong, for example, the symbols of the lotus, the *vajra* and the lion, the elephant and the figure of Lakṣmī, which have been freely represented or made use of by all Indian sects. Though to a शाक्त the symbol of the lotus has the additional significance of *Sahasrāra*, the lotus, *par excellence*; and the fiery eyes of the lion peering through the darkness of night stands for *jñāna-dṛṣṭi*, and the elephant in rut for *moha*, as it knows not the goad. While, the Buddhist would understand by the symbol of *vajra*, the *viśva-vajra*, and the symbol of the lion would suggest to him the Lion of the *Śākya* clan (शाक्यसिंह) or the voice of the *Tathāgata* pro-

mulgating the Law in the roaring voice of a lion ( सिंहनाद ); and the symbol of the elephant would mean the white six-tusked elephant form, which the mother of the Blessed One saw in her dream.

There seems to have been times really, in India, when the Tathāgata himself was not yet represented in images or figures but the principal events of his life were indicated by symbols. Thus the bull, the constellation of Taurus under which the Tathāgata was born, stood for the Nativity, or the *Mahābhiniṣkramaṇam* was indicated by a pair of foot-prints and so on.

Considering the early period to which the copper-plate of Kāntideva belongs, the figure in the seal must be taken on the above grounds as that of the Lion, symbolising शाक्यसिंह, the lion of the *Śākya* clan or लोकेश्वर promulgating in thundering voice ( सिंहनाद ), which has been heard through ages, the sacred Law, the *Saddharma*.

Again, look at the form of the seal in Kāntideva's copper-plate; it is the form of a leaf of the *Bodhidruma*, the *Nyagrodha* perhaps. Or, the form is that of a lotus-bud half-opened seen from the profile, or of the shooting rays of a fire-flame ( रत्नदीप ) with which the *Dharma* dispelling the darkness of ignorance[1] or guiding the *Saṃgha* across the ocean of existence[2] is compared. Compare also the form of the Cintāmaṇi—the flaming jewel, the Buddhist touchstone of fabulous efficacy—of the shape of a half-opened lotus-bud ( ईषदुन्निन्नपद्मकोरक )। It is also one of the prescribed forms[3] of the *ghaṇṭā* of a Buddhist shrine (चैत्य)—"मनागुन्मीलदम्भोजमुखी।"

The question might be asked, what do this pair of serpents stand for, or signify? What could be the purpose of choosing a pair of serpents for portrayal? The reason would be the same, as why Indian artists choose garlands of flowers and jewels to hang down pillar-capitals, and creepers to twine around or *nāgas* to coil about pillar stems. The determination of the exact types and forms of the decorative motifs and ornamental devices was in each case guided by artistic necessities or suggested by artistic possibilities of the situation. On the one hand, the curved formation of the seal, shaped like the

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1 In Śrī Candradeva's copper-plates.

2 In Kāntideva's copper-plate.

3 Also compare the form of the Buddhist votive terracotta medallions, some of which have pointed leaf-like shapes (of the *Nyagrodha* leaf?).

lotus-bud, would fit in more harmoniously with the sinuous grace of serpents. On the other hand, the jewelled *nāga-mithuna*, coiling their tails in close embrace, would more fitly support between themselves both, something of a form suggesting the Cintāmaṇi, the fabled jewel shaped like lotus-bud.

Contrast with this seal of Kāntideva, the seals in Śrī Candradeva's Kedārpur and Rāmpāl copper-plates. In the Rāmpāl plate, the *dharma-cakra-mudrā* is enclosed by successive rings, the outer-most of which is beaded[1] and capped by a jewel. This simple ornamental ring as if rests on a small oblong pedestal without decorations.

In the Kedārpur copper-plate the outermost enclosing ring of the *dharma-cakra-mudrā* is highly decorative. The ornamental pattern suggests the *śaṅkha-latā* or a halo of curling tongues of fire, rather *śikhā* of a flaming lamp (दीप) to which Dharma is compared. The pedestal on which this halo rests, is accordingly highly decorative, suggesting the graceful lotus-leaves.

From the above considerations, we come to the conclusion that the *nāgas* in Kāntideva's copper-plate were necessitated simply by the artistic exigencies (of attaching a seal of peculiar shape, for example,) of the metal worker's craft.

It is now necessary to discuss Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālin's minor arguments contained in sections (a) and (b).

Kāntideva does not seem to have been a paramount king. Certainly Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālī was right in rejecting Prof. R. G. Vasāk's identification of *Vardhamānapura* with Vardhamāna, the town of Burdwan in *Rāḍha*, for the simple reason, that the capital of a kingdom, could not be situated outside its territorial limits. But as it is impossible to prove that the Candras took by conquest from Kāntideva, who flourished a century earlier, this city capital of theirs, the changing of its name, subsequently, to Vikramapura, by the Candras is unthinkable.[2]

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1 This enclosing beaded rim might be suggestive of the string of counting beads, *japa-mālā*, enclosing a figure of the *Iṣṭa-devatā* or his *Pratīka* (symbol).

2 Kāntideva might have been probably contemporaneous with Pūrṇa Candra, Śrī Candradeva's great-grand-father, who might have flourished hundred years earlier. From Kāntideva and Pūrṇa Candra there might be synchronisms between these two royal lines.

Also, though we have instances of important capitals bearing double names, e. g., Gauḍa and Lakṣmaṇāvatī, Pāṭaliputra and Kusumapura, really these were instances of new cities being built on older sites. The older names of places would survive in popular memory for centuries unless, for instance, more magnificent cities grow up there completely out-shining the older ones.

Vardhamānapura must therefore be regarded as different from Vikramapura, though its exact location is at present indeterminable on account of the lack of exact data. Again the doubt may be expressed if Vardhamānapura be a proper name at all, or वर्द्धमान corresponds to the 'अभिवर्द्धमान—' or 'प्रवर्द्धमान—' put before विजयराज्य। वर्द्धमान-पुरवास्तव्यात् would then simply mean 'from the prosperous (पुर—capital) city.' Though the land given away need not necessarily belong to the province from which any deed be issued as Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālī however thinks, apparently the name of Vardhamāna is found only much later in Vallāla Sena's Sītāhāṭī copper-plate as श्रीवर्द्धमान-भुक्ति, and not वर्द्धमान-पुर।

## *Text of the Kedārpur Copper-plate Inscription of Śrī Candradeva.**

L. 1. [Oṃ] svasti।

Vandyo Jinaḥ sa bhagavān karuṇ-aika-pātraṃ

L. 2. Dhammo=pyasai vijayate jagad-ekadīpaḥ

[Read धर्म्मोप्यसौ ]

L. 3. yat-sevayā sakala [eva] mahānubhāvaḥ

saṃsāra-pāram=upagacchati bhikṣu-saṅghaḥ ॥ [१].

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* Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālin's readings :—

Verse 1. Readings, same as mine. Vasantatilakā Metre.

L. 3. Pūrṇa

Candra iti śrīmān = āsīn =

L. 4. = nāsīra-jaṃ rajaḥ ।

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Verse 2. Readings, same as mine. (With scansions).

L. 3. पूर्ण—

L. 4. चन्द्र इति श्रीमानासीन्नासीरज रजः।

Bengali version } o o o o — ⌣ o o ; o o o o ⌣ — ⌣
यश्चोषष( ष )योष (षि) लृ [त] मा त प त म प त

L. 5. o पाः (पं) ॥ (२)

English version. Ditto.

„ Note. "This corrupt *pāda* has not been properly interpreted. The letter ह after य(?) is not seen on the impression. A plausible emendation which I would offer, with much hesitation though, is यस्मा [द् हि] ष [:*] सि [षि*] ध्वः [ख] and translate the passage thus : 'afraid of which (i.e. dust) the enemy (kings) sought refuge under his parasol giving up (all) shame.' H. K. S."

Verse 2. Note. The readings of the third *pāda* of this *Anuṣṭubh śloka* are very unsettled and one *akṣara* seems to have been totally omitted and this could be restored to its proper position only through metrical considerations. But as the *mātrās* of some *akṣaras* are immaterial, it creates additional difficulty here. The scansion of this *anuṣṭubh* verse would be as follows, indicating by ciphers as before the *akṣaras* whose *mātrās* are immaterial :

o o o o ⌣ — o o ; o o o o ⌣ — ⌣ o ।
o o o o ⌣ — o o ; o o o o ⌣ — ⌣ o ॥

Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālin's restorations and emendations would make his 5th *akṣara* of the third *pāda* यो long and the 6th *akṣara* 'ष ( षि )' short, whereas the contrary should have been the case. Also the form उषप is impossible grammatically as the base is उषस् । Judging from the general freedom from really serious mistakes of composition of this inscription, (though the standard of literary excellence may not be high), it is impossible to accept Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālin's readings, restorations and emendations which are themselves wrong grammatically and from the point of view of prosody. Also, most of the *akṣaras* in the third *pāda*, could not be read with certainty either from the estampage or from the plate. It is therefore important to discuss fully every possible reading of each particular *akṣara*, arrived at both from the original plate and the published impression.

L. 4. yas[yā] p[u/ra] ṣ[ā] | { s/y/ye'/yā } o { ṣṇa/pū } r { t/tu/vva tha ; tthva | -

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Readings of each separate *akṣara* of पाद। (Alternative suggestions are bracketted together):

| अक्षर | १म | २य | ३य | ४र्थ | ५म | ६ष्ठ | ७म | ८म |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | o | o | o | o | ( | ⊢ | o | o |
| Plate | य | ख / खा / स[?] ; sy[ā *] / s [?] | प / प्र ; p / {*/u/ra} | ष / षा ; ṣ ā * | सौ / यौ / येऽ / †था ; s / o / y / ye' / †yā * | षा ; ṣṇa* | श्रीम°, त्थ° ; त्थ * ; r {t/tu/vva tha ; tthva | |
| Estampage | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | pū* | ,, | |

Remarks

One *akṣara* seems to have been superimposed here, or some alterations attempted.

There is a distinct sign observable below 'p' both in the plate and the estampage.

In the plate, this consonant looked more like 'ख्र'; in the estampage it is like 'ख्र'।

There are distinct marks below this *akṣara*. In the plate the upper letter looked like 'ṣ।ष' but in estampage, it looks like 'p.'

Both in the plate and the estampage there is a sign looking like 't।त्' But it may be a mere scratch. The sign at the bottom looks to be open. It may be a उकार or a badly written 'व्र'.

The readings of the different akṣaras are arranged, one after the other, in successive degrees of probability. And in expressing for the sake of uniformity, in roman letters, all possible cases, we have to arrive

L. 5. m=ātapa-tram=a-patra-
yaḥ‖ [ २ ] [Anuṣṭubh]

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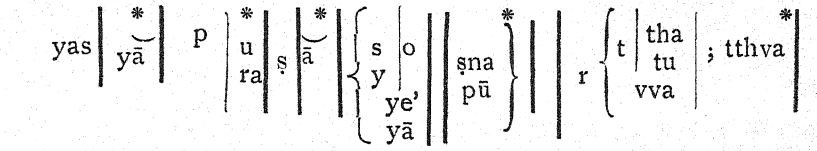
at the somewhat uncouth and complicated general formulaic form:




It will be seen that the readings of Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālin suggested in his Bengali edition of the epigraph (in प्रतिभा, १३२६ B. S.) and his English edition in the *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVIII, No. 12 as also those suggested in the last paper, in the notes (by H. K. S.), are not tenable and so necessarily are the interpretations.

It is found that one *akṣara* of this third *pāda* is missing and this must be located, from metrical considerations, before any restoration be attempted. As the 5th *akṣara* must be short, the position of the 5th group of letters in the verse is untenable as all its possible readings show a long vowel. But as it can shift to the right alone, and that for one place only, its position is fixed as the 6th *akṣara* of the *pāda*. The first two *akṣaras* can be read and interpreted with some certainty; it is a pronominal base. Only the 3rd or the 4th akṣara could therefore be missing.

But unfortunately, any further degree of accuracy is not possible, as the *mātrās* of all the first four *akṣaras* of each *pāda* of *anuṣṭubh śloka* are immaterial for versification. Therefore, either of the third and the fourth akṣaras might be missing, and any restorations should take note of these facts. All possible readings and restorations, based on epigraphic, grammatical and metrical considerations, and on both these alternatives are given below. The readings from the original plate must be regarded more authoritative.

Third akṣara missing

1) य स[्य](व)प्र ष [सो] [ष्प](ा)[त्यं]—
स + उष्प + अत्यं—

2)————[सो](ौ) [ष्प][र्त्तु]—
स + औष्प + ऋतु—

Fourth ,,

3) यस[्या]प्र(ाह्व)ष[योा](ौ) [ष्प](ा)[त्यं]—
यस्य + अप्राह्वषे + औष्प + अत्यं—

4) यस[्या]प्र(वि)ष[येऽपूर्व्व]—
यस्य + अप्रविषये + अपूर्व्व—

*5) यस[्या]प्र(ाह्व)ष[त्या][पूर्व्व]—
यस्य + अप्राह्वषाय + अपूर्व्व—

L. 5.

Nāgnau viśuddho na tulādhirūḍhaḥ
kintu prakṛty=aiva yuto garimṇā
tathāpi ka

[ Indra-vajrā ]

L. 6. lyāṇa-suvarṇṇa-kalpaḥ
Suvarṇa-Candras=sukṛti tatobhūt ॥ [ ३ ]

[ Upendra-vajrā ]
[ Metre Upajāti]

Puṇy-āvalokaḥ para-lo

L. 7. ka-bhīro=
rlokyaḥ samāśvāsita-jīva-lokaḥ
trailokya-saṃkīrttita-puṇya-kīrtteḥ

Trai-

L. 8. lokya-Candro'sya vabhūva putraḥ ॥ [ ४ ]

[ Read बभूव ]

Indravajrā ]

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The reading of the fourth construction is from the estampage. The last construction is however impossible from metrical considerations, as the fifth *akṣara* could not be long. The third construction gives the best sense though involves the greatest number of emendations. There seems to have been a possible reference to the rainy season, प्रावृष् and inspite of all confusions, this seems to be apparent, as the parasol is mentioned in the next (4th) *pāda*.

Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālin's Readings :—

Verse 3. (Bengali version)

नाग्नौ ( सौ ) विशुद्धो न तुलाधिरूढः किंन्तु प्रकृत्यैव युतो गरिष्ण ( ष्णु: ) ॥

[Read also नासौ विशुद्धो न तुलाधिरूढः किंतु प्रकृत्यैव युतो गरिष्णु ।

Readings in Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālin's English version are same as mine. But he still seems to cling to his former wrong conclusions based on defective readings about Pūrṇa Candra's low descent. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, No. 12, p. 190. Abstract of the *Kedārpur* plate. (v. 3.)

Verse 4. Readings, same as those of mine.

Catuḥ-payorāśi-samāpta-pṛthvī-
jayābhilāṣo vi-

L. 9. ṣayeṣv-aluvdhaḥ [Upendravajrā]
[ Read लुब्ध ]
Yuddheṣu nistriṅśa-latā-jalena
yo vairi-vahnim samayāñcakāra ॥ [ ५ ] [Indravajrā]
[ Read ञ ]
[ Metre Upajāti ]

L. 10. Śrīmān Śrī Candradevaḥ samajani tanayas=tasya sad-
varma-vandhoḥ.
[Read वन्धोः ]
krūr-ārambhe sayāluḥ paraguṇa-mukharo doṣa-vād-
[Read भयालुः ] aikamūkaḥ

L. 11. prekṣyaḥ pīto guṇānām nidhir=iti viṣayā-sakti-pakṣād-
vipakṣe

L. 12. yasmin=adhatta vedhā śriyam=atirabhasād=arthato-
[Read यस्मिन्नाधत्त वेधाः ] nāmataśca [ ६ ]
[Sragdharā Metre]

L. 13. Spṛṣṭaḥ pārthiva-pāṃsu-doha rasa ślaghāghana
[Read पार्थिवपांसुदोहनरसश्लाघाघनं ]
diggajai=rnnetrāṇam=animeṣataḥ parihṛto dūreṇa
vṛndārakaiḥ

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Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālin's readings (with scansion)

Verse 5. Readings same.

Verse 6 :

L.1. — — —,—⌣—,—⌣⌣,⌣⌣ ⌣,⌣— —,⌣— —,⌣— —

Bengali Version

L.2. क्रारम्भ स(द)थालुः ⌣ ⌣,⌣ ⌣ ⌣,⌣— —,⌣— —,⌣— —

English Version

L.2. क्रूरारम्भे ,,

Bengali ,, } L.3. — —पीनो ⌣—,—⌣⌣,⌣⌣⌣,⌣— —,⌣— —,⌣— —
English ,, }

Bengali ,, L.4. यस्मिनाधत्त—,—⌣⌣,⌣⌣ रभसदर्थतो—,⌣— —

N. There seems to be a mark however in the estampage below 'द' after रभस, which looks like *ūkāra*. Also contrast the following *akṣara* with र्थ in line 13 and cf. with त्र in l. 9. It looks as र्ध्व rdhva (?).

L.14. keśeṣv=apsarasām=a-pūrvva-palita-bhrāntim
samāropayan

L.15. Santāno rajasāṃ raṇesu ṣu jayino yasya dyumārggaṃ
gataḥ‖ [৩]

[Delete ষ]

[ Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍitam ]

L.16. Sa khalu Śrī-Vikramapura-samāvasita-śrīmaj=
jaya-skandhā-vārāt=parama-saugato Mahārājādhirājaḥ
ŚrīTrailokyacandradeva-pādānudhyātaḥ Paramēśvaraḥ

L.17. Paramabhaṭṭārako Mahārājādhirāja Śrīmān
Śrī Candradevaḥ kuśalī

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*Critical Interpretation and Notes*

Oṃ is indicated by a symbol called অঙ্কুশ by বররুচি. (See below). It might indicate Gaṇeśa's শুণ্ড too.

V. I :—The Buddhist Triratna—the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Saṅgha are mentioned. The Dharma is likened to a beacon for guiding the congregation of monks ( ভিক্ষুসঙ্ঘ ) across the sea of transmigration.

N.—This verse is practically identical with the opening verse of the Rāmpāl copper-plate. ম in l. 1 seems to have been destroyed in fixing the seal. In l. 2 there are two mistakes of the engraver. In l. 3. the word এব seems to have confounded the engraver. Jinaḥ is the Triumphant or Victorious One—(the Buddha)—করুণৈকপাত্র—the sole receptacle of compassion. করুণা is also the name of a Buddha. The letter ম resembles (the left) portion of ষ. There might have been confusion and mistake in engraving two partly similar letters.

V.2 :—N.—Here, mistakes seem to have been committed both by the composer and the engraver. Unfortunately the facsimile and also the

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Verse 7. – – –,⏑ ⏑ –,⏑ – ⏑,⏑ ⏑ –,– – ⏑,– – ⏑,–

Bengali Version L.1. স্বৃষ্টঃ পার্থিবপাংসু দোহ্নরস শ্লাঘাঘন দিগ্গজৈ
( স্বৃষ্টঃ পার্থিব পাংশুভির্ম্মদরসশ্লাঘাঘনং দিগ্গজৈ )

Eng. ,, ,, – – –,⏑ ⏑ –,⏑ দোহ্নরসশ্লাঘাঘন দিগ্গজৈ
(– – –,⏑ ⏑ –,⏑ দোহ্নদরসশ্লাঘাঘনেদিগ্গজৈ- )

L.2. – – –, ⏑ ⏑ –,⏑ – ⏑,⏑ ⏑ –,– – ⏑,– – ⏑,–

L.3.

L.4. ,– –দ্যুমার্গং গতঃ॥ (৬)

Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālin's readings of the prose portion are same with mine. Only the preamble of the document ( ? ) is actually inscribed.

impression (supplied to me) were both very indistinct at this point. Mr. Bhaṭṭasālin's readings violate metre and do not give good sense. The proposed restoration of this corrupt verse is based on the following considerations. There are several *anuprāsa-s* and *śleṣa-s* in this piece of composition and another *anuprāsa* in this very verse viz. नासीर-जं रजः ; it is therefore natural to suppose that there was one other *śleṣa* in the words—स-ातप-वम=पव—, and also, these letters can be read with certainty. The letter, immediately preceding, is either [र्त्र] or [त्र्‍ऋ] ; if it be part of the word '+अत्यर्थम्', then '+अत्यर्थम्' is the last word of a compound which qualifies आतप-वम्—'parasol' 'for the purpose of—'.

Also the idea is well-known that the dust raised by marching troops served for kings the purpose of canopies or umbrellas. Also there are authorities that umbrellas were decorated by feathers of birds.

King Bhoja's Yuktikalpataru gives in detail descriptions of umbrellas and of materials for their construction, one of which was feather of birds. [ Vide युक्तिकल्पतरु (edited by Paṇḍit Īśvara Candra Śāstrin—C. O. S. No. 1), pp. 62-7—अथ छत्रयुक्तिः ]

Again Agnipurāṇam, chapter 245 [ Ānandāśram Skt. Series, 1900 ] :

चामरी रुक्मदण्डोऽग्र्याच्छत्रं राज्ञः प्रशस्यते ।
हंसपत्रैर्विरचितं मयूरस्य शुकस्य च ॥ १
पत्रैर्वाऽथ बलाकाया न कार्यं मिश्रपत्रकैः ।
चतुरस्रं ब्राह्मणस्य वृत्तं राज्ञश्च शुक्लकम् ॥ २

[Also The Antiquities of Orissa (Vol. I, p. 108)—umbrellas; reprinted in Indo-Aryans (Vol. I, p. 266) by Dr. Rajendralal Mitra].

"The Agnipurāṇa (c. 224).....recommends other materials besides cloth for the construction of royal umbrellas. According to it, 'it is conducive to the good of princes to have their umbrellas made of the feathers of geese or of peacocks, or of parrots or of the herons (*vaka*) but they should not be made of feathers of various kinds mixed together'."

Therefore, the last word of the verse +अपव- very probably meant 'न पत्र-युक्तम्'. The stem of this word was probably अ-पत्र-यस् ( न पत्रयति इति अपत्रयस्, from nominal verb √a-pattra-ya— +असिः " औणादिकः ४।२२—'मिथुनेऽसिः पूर्ववच्च सर्वम्' ". Such verbal derivatives are, however, by no means rare, cf. वेधस् 'वि-दधातीति' वेधाः and सुयशस् 'सुष्ठु अश्नुत इति' सुयशः. The gender of this last word अपत्रयस् (in the neuter) in the verse seems to have been confounded as it was probably declined like वेधस् (masculine).

The general sense of the restored text (V. 2) is as follows :— "There was one Pūrṇa Candra possessing fortune. Clouds of dust were raised by the vanguard of his marching army. These served

[ ( अप्राङ्मषि, not simply for the rainy season alone ) ( अप्रविषये, out of occasion ) ( वपुषः, for his person ) ] the purpose of an umbrella good for use during the summer; but there was a difference, viz., that unlike ordinary parasols, which display birds' feathers as decorations, this dust parasol had no such feathers".

V. 3:—Double entendre.—"It is not necessary for good gold ( कल्याण-सुवर्ण ) to be further purified by fire and weighed in balance; on the other hand, it has of itself the (requisite) weight it should have, ( गरिम्णा युतः )". Suvarṇa Candra did not undergo further ordeals either by fire or by the balance but was by nature possessed of dignity. Consequently Suvarṇa Candra was only a little less than pure gold कल्याण-सुवर्ण-कल्पः ) [—'ईषदूने कल्पप्' । ]

N. The purificatory rites or ordeals mentioned in the verse might refer to Nārada, 1, 252 [ S. B. E. The Minor Law Books—J. Jolly ] :—

"The balance, fire, water, poison, and fifthly consecrated water are the ordeals for the purgation of high-minded persons". [ cf. Yājñavalkya, II, 95 ; Viṣṇu, IX, II ].

N. Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālin's readings have been already criticised. [ The first half of this verse refers to Suvarṇa Candra and not to Pūrṇa Candra, as has been wrongly interpreted. ]

V. 4 :—An instance of the composer's fondness for play upon words. Several derivatives of √लोक् (connected with √ रुच् ) are used and the word त्रैलोक्य is repeated by the poet, very probably to show his high regard for त्रैलोक्यचन्द्र । Possibly there is a comparison of त्रैलोक्यचन्द्र to the moon ; both were पुण्यावलोकः ( of auspicious appearance ) ;—लोक्यः (for the one was heavenly, while the fame of the other spread to the three worlds. Cf. the description of त्रैलोक्यचन्द्र in the Rāmpāl Copper-plate); both of them comforted the animal kingdom समाश्वासितजीवलोकः ( the one being of soothing rays and the other a 'devout Buddhist' परमसौगतः ).

V. 5 :—चतुःपयोराशिसमाप्तपृथ्वीजयाभिलाषी—possibly here is also a reference to Trailokya Candra's being king of Candradvīpa, etc. [ Vide Rāmpāl Copper-plate ]. "With his sword he overpowered his enemies just as the juice of medicinal plants soothes heat."

N. Several plants are known to produce cooling effects and remove heat-strokes e. g. मृणाल and वीरण । Several others remove poison. The juice of भूमिकुष्माण्ड is very cooling.

V. 6 :—सद्धर्मबन्धोः (cf. परमसौगतस्य ) has reference to Trailokya Candra's faith. Buddhism is called the सद्धर्म ( the True Religion ) and also the मध्यममार्ग: ( The Middle Path ) ; सद्धर्म is a mixture of the two.

क्रूरारम्भे स( भ )यालुः 'Timid of doing cruel acts. As in the Epigraph,

the letter 'भ' is turned by extending the upper stroke only a little, into a 'स', it is better to correct the 'भ' into a 'स' instead of into 'द,' as Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālī has proposed ; besides भयालु: gives a good sense. परगुणसुखरो etc.—'Śrī Candra greatly appreciated whatever merit there was in others but was totally free from the fault-finding spirit.' पीतो—(wrongly read before as पीनो )—probably, 'clad in yellow (garment of a Buddhist monk).'

N. There is not much difference in the Epigraph between the letters त, न and र ; cf. अतिरभसात् (line 12) [पीन—would mean 'fat, heaving'—specially applicable to the female bust].

गुणानां निधिरिति—'Śrī Candra was the receptacle of several virtues and so he and he alone might be safely entrusted with the charge of one more precious thing'—with this thought, and with the greatest delight (अतिरभसात्) the Creator placed Śrī (Fortune) 'अर्थतो नामतश्च' in his worldly pursuits (*i. e.* made him prosperous) and also before his name [or, ऊर्ध्वतो नामतश्च—नाम्न: ऊर्ध्वं] , i. e. his name was Śrī Candradevaḥ ( Śrīmān Śrī-candradevaḥ—Śrī added to Candradevaḥ) and not simply Candradevaḥ.

N. The canonical rules for adding the word Śrī before proper names are as follows :—

(*a*) " श्रीशब्दप्रयोगे विशेषस्थानानि—' देवं गुरुं गुरुस्थानं चैत्यं चैत्याधिदेवता: सिद्धं सिद्धाधिकारांश्च श्रीपूर्वं समुदीरयेत् ' ॥"—quoted in Raghunandana's संस्कारतत्त्व and उद्वाहतत्त्व ।

(*b*) " अथ श्रीमुख:—

षडगुरो: स्वामिन: पञ्च ह्रैं भृत्ये चतुरो रिपौ । श्रीशब्दानां त्रयं मित्रे स्त्रैकैकं पुत्रभार्ययो: ॥" This occurs in वररुचि's पत्रकौमुदी । [V. R. S. MSS., No. 201-202. and Rajshahi College Library MS., No. K (a) 128.]

'रभसो वेगहर्षयो:' इति विश्व: ॥ Of course रभस has a meaning like 'force'—properly 'वेग' । But to interpret the word here in this way would destroy the beautiful poetical sense. Brahman using force on Lakṣmī ! Certainly it could not be.

V. 7 :—The restoration of this verse is based on the consideration that elephants are fond of plunging in streams and ponds, and that they also scatter dust over bodies to keep off heat. Two alternate readings are suggested. The first, viz. दोह[न] रस[:] is based on epigraphic reasons ; there is not much difference in the Epigraph among the letters 'त', 'न' and 'र' ;—cf. पीतो ; अतिरभसात् (v. 6) ;—क्षीरान्नक्षीर-जं । (v. 2). There might have been confusion between 'न' and 'र' and probably 'न' has been omitted, as a result of that.

The second reading—दोह-रस [ वाट्, दुग्धरस-धारा ] gives the better sense ; but there is not enough space ; so it is less likely. [The reading दोहद is not apposite, as 'अयमिच्छामात्र-वाचापि विशेषेण गर्भिणीच्छायां प्रयुज्यते'—भानुजीदीक्षित:

The construction would be—

1 पार्थिवपांसुः, दोहन-रसः ( दुग्ध-रस इति ) दिग्गजैः श्लाघाघनं स्पृष्टः । or

2 पार्थिवपांसुः एव दोहन-रसः, तच्च श्लाघया दिग्गजैः घनं स्पृष्टः ।

"The grey dust of earth was touched full of delight, by the guardian elephants of the several quarters, as if it was the tasteful milk (or stream of the milk-fluid) ; but the gods avoided it from a distance on account of the winkless nature of their eyes."

N.—पार्थिव refers to 'King', it will be a noun and not adjective. पार्थिव-पांसु could only be then taken as a षष्ठीतत्पुरुष which would mar the sense wholly]. Gods are called 'अनिमिषाः' on account of their winkless eyes.

"The dust cloud raised during his many victorious fights went to the celestial regions after giving to the hair locks of celestial musicians, a false look of premature old age."

N. The rest of the epigraph is in prose. The Emperor Śrī Candradeva is mentioned in the last line, as in camp at Vikrampur, which was not therefore perhaps the seat of government of the Dynasty.

HARIDAS MITRA

# Śukra's Economics in Hindu Science

## (*a*) *The Logic of Loka-hita* (Utilitarianism)

Political philosophy is, as the very title implies, a branch of philosophy. It may not, indeed, have to discuss the theory of perception or the nature of reality with which the philosophies technically so called have to deal. But in category as well as in substance the intercourse between political philosophy and these other philosophies is intimate.

How do the Śukra authors stand in relation to the philosophical systems of their days ? A question like this may not be inappropriate to ask after having examined the economic categories and doctrines of *Śukranīti* in the *Positive Background of Hindu Sociology*, [vol. II, part I (Political)]. The problem is to ascertain the real value of the materialism such as was propagated by the Śukra authors in the light of the prevailing bodies of knowledge in other fields.

We are aware that the world in which the authors were discussing their special problems, namely, those bearing on the *Saptāṅga*, was a richly diversified one in point of the number of *vidyās*. Their names are legion, so to say, the authors have informed us (IV, iii, 45) ; and

more precisely, we are told, there are thirty-two primary branches of learning (IV, iii, 51-128).

So far as the so-called philosophies (*darśanas*) are concerned, the Śukra authors know them to be perhaps more than six. It is clear, at any rate, that the conventional six are quite well known to them. But it is interesting to note that the six have not been mentioned by them "as a group" (IV, iii, 55-56).

This is a curious item and, incidentally, may possess some value in the question of chronology. The relevant passages in the *Śukranīti* cannot, certainly, be as old as the times when the philosophies were not yet known to be six. These must have to be accorded a date posterior, say, to Haribhadra's *Saḍdarśana-samuccaya-sūtra.*

But how far posterior ? The fact that the authors do not call the philosophies six in number in the same breath as they describe the *vidyās* as thirty-two seems to point to a period in which the figure 6 as indicating the number of philosophical systems has lost its special significance. Can we then take it that the intellectual atmosphere is oriented to the conditions which gave rise to Mādhavācārya's *Sarvadarśana-saṃgraha* (1331) ? But of this more, later (sub-section, d).

The impact of all these sciences, and especially of the six philophies on *Śukranīti* may be postulated as a matter of course. That the authors were working *en rapport* with the professors of other academies, is evident from the chapters on minerals, plants, animals, architecture, sculpture, painting, etc. These chapters may, indeed, be regarded as almost wholesale incorporations from specialised treatises on the subjects dealt with.

But in regard to some of the philosophies, at any rate, the impact seems to be not so much one of assimilation as of antipathy and repulsion. The authors are quite explicit on the question of their intellectual *credo.* They are thoroughly convinced that their own science (*nītiśāstra*) is more important than every other science (I, 20-24). For, what food is in the physical organism of an individual, that the *nītiśāstra* is in the body politic.

The authors do not certainly disparage all the sciences outside their own field by name. They have singled out only four, namely, grammar, logic, Mīmāṃsā and Vedānta (1, 14-20). We are told, for instance, that one can master a language even without studying grammar. In the same manner, treatises on logic may be dispensed with by persons who are bent on the pursuit of truth. Similarly, one

does not have to memorize Jaimini's lectures in order to master the rituals necessary in Vedic performances. Nor is it an absolute necessity to study the Vedantic disquisitions in order to be convinced of the frailties and littlenesses of the "world and the flesh."[1]

The comparative insignificance of these four *vidyās* is further exhibited from another angle of vision. Not every human being on earth, we are to understand, is likely to be in need of these sciences. And as these sciences have no utility outside their circumscribed horizons, they can be useful to a very limited number of persons, to the "specialists." But what can the teeming millions do with these specialized branches of knowledge,—the men and women of the work-a-day world who have to pursue their commonplace round of duties?

The position of Śukra authors has been most categorically declared at the very commencement of their work. "Other sciences," say they "are but *kriyaikadeśabodhi*, *i. e.*, have for their subject matter, certain limited interests of mankind." These must certainly yield the palm to *nītiśāstra* which does not deal with *ekadeśa* (one aspect or domain) of human affairs (*kriyā*), but is, on the contrary *sarvopajīvaka*, *i. e.*, helpful to all, aye, an instrument in, or, so to say, a pivot of, the social order. Verily, Kauṭilya (bk. I, ch. II) had caught the right Śukra tradition, as we have seen before, when he stated that there is but one *vidyā* on earth, namely, political science, in the estimation of Śukra and his scholars.

Such being the value of their science in their own eyes, the materialism that the Śukra authors preach is self-conscious and aggressive. The doses are quite strong and are not diluted with solutions of non-*nīti* thought.

They have not cared to indicate by bibliographical references the kind of philosophical symposium they used to enjoy. But the manner in which they have analysed the economic foundations of the *saptāṅga* does not fail to betray the company they kept. From top to bottom they are interested in the investigation of the utilities and ways and means of human welfare.

Their sole gospel is furnished by social service, *loka-hita* (I. 4-5), or utilitarianism. ( *To be continued* )

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

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1 *The Positive Background of Hindu Sociology*, vol. II, pt. I, (Political), pp. 13-15 (Allahabad, 1921).

# Situation of Rāvaṇa's Laṅkā : On the Equator

At the Third Session of the All-India Oriental Conference held in Madras in 1925 Sirdar Madhavarao Kibe Saheb submitted a paper claiming that the Laṅkā of Rāvaṇa described in Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa was located on a peak of the Amarakaṇṭaka mountain, which is an offshoot of the Vindhya and from which starts the Narmadā, which divides the continent of India into two parts, Northern and Southern. Professor Jacobi of Bonn admitted that this theory was superior to his, as regards the location of Laṅkā somewhere in Assam, when he edited Paumacariya which is a Jain version of the story of the Rāmāyaṇa. It is not a very old work. So also is the Daśaratha Jātaka which preserves the Buddhist version. The same topic formed the subject of a paper which the Sirdar Saheb read at the Session of the First Oriental Conference held at Poona in 1919 ; but the paper submitted to the 3rd Oriental Conference concludes with a remark that "the local information now supplied should leave no doubt that Rāvaṇa's Laṅkā was in Central India."

Leaving aside the above two theories viz., Assam and Central India we may mention here the almost axiomatic theory that Ceylon was Laṅkā and Laṅkā is Ceylon. Many Oriental Scholars stick to this theory as a dead certainty.

We however propose to submit to the reader a new theory regarding the situation of Laṅkā, which is supported by more weighty and reliable evidence collected from our ancient Sanskrit literature and mostly from Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa. This fourth theory may be summed up thus :—"Laṅkā was the capital of the big island known as Rākṣasa Dvīpa situated in the midst of the Southern ocean. This Laṅkā was situated on the equator or the middle part of the earth. The distance between the Southern extremity of India and the Rākṣasa Dvīpa or Laṅkā was a hundred Yojanas i. e. about 700 miles."

First, we propose to quote authoritative evidences to show that Ceylon and Laṅkā were not the same nor was the Laṅkā city situated in Ceylon.

(1) Siṃhala Dvīpa is mentioned in Vanaparva and Sabhāparva of the Mahābhārata. Greek writers called Ceylon by the name Taprobane (Tāmraparṇa). Sahadeva, the Pāṇḍava conqueror of Southern India,

is said to have conquered Tāmra Dvīpa, Rāmaka Parvata, and despatched envoys to demand tribute from king Bibhīṣaṇa of Laṅkā. This Tāmra Dvīpa is of course the ancient name of Ceylon.

(2) In Vanaparva, chapter 51, it is narrated that Śrī Kṛṣṇa went to visit the Pāṇḍavas when they went into exile. Seeing the deplorable condition of the Pāṇḍavas, Kṛṣṇa gave vent to his feelings of anger against the Kauravas and is said to have expressed as follows :—"The prosperity of Dharmarāja at the time of the Rājasūya Yajña was so great that kings of all countries in India were offering services to him in any low capacity whatever, not even minding their position or prestige. The kings of Siṃhala, Barbara, Mleccha and Laṅkā were doing the work of serving food to the guests." Here the compiler of the Mahābhārata mentions Siṃhala and Laṅkā as separate kingdoms.

(3) Next in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (chapter 58, verses 20-29), the Kūrma-vibhāga mentions the names of the countries of Southern India. Among the lists we read :

लङ्का कालाजिनाश्चैव शैलिका निकटास्तथा ॥ २० ॥
दक्षिणाः कौरुषा ये च ऋषिकास्तापसाश्रमाः ।
ऋषभाः सिंहलाश्चैव तथा काञ्चीनिवासिनः ॥ २१ ॥

These countries are said to be on the right side of the Kūrma. Here also we find Laṅkā and Siṃhala as separate countries.

(4) The Bhāgavata (5th skandha, chapter 19, verses 28-30) has enumerated the eight minor islands (उपद्वीप) of Jambu Dvīpa. It is said that

जम्बुद्वीपस्य च राजन्नष्टावुपद्वीपानष्टौ हैक उपदिशंति सगरात्मजैरश्वान्वेषण इमां महीं परितो निखनद्भिः रूपकल्पितान् ॥ २९ ॥ तद्यथा स्वर्णप्रस्थश्चन्द्रशुक्ल आवर्तनो रमणको मंदरहरिणः पांचजन्यः सिंहलो लंकेति ॥ ३० ॥

Here it is clear that the 7th उपद्वीप was Siṃhala and the 8th was Laṅkā.

(5) Varāha Mihira the great astronomer has mentioned in his बृहत्संहिता (chapter XIV) the names of the countries in Southern India.

अथ दक्षिणेन लङ्काकालाजिनसौरिकीर्णतालिकटाः ॥ ११ ॥
काञ्ची मरुचीपट्टनचेर्यार्यकसिंहला ऋषभाः ॥ १५ ॥

It is stated further that the names are given in order, commencing from left to right. Anyhow we can say this much that Laṅkā and Siṃhala were away from each other.

(6) There are many passages in Sanskrit dramas and poetical works stating that Ceylon and Laṅkā were two different islands. At least it can be definitely said that no reference from Sanskrit works

has been yet offered which expressly says that Ceylon is the ancient Laṅkā. And it is quite likely that such a reference cannot possibly be discovered. We give below one of the passages in support of our statement from Bāla-Rāmāyaṇa, a Sanskrit drama in 10 acts by Poet Rājaśekhara. He lived in the 9th century A. C. He is said to have travelled throughout the length and breadth of India and his information may safely be believed to be quite correct regarding the geographical details he has offered. From the passage quoted below it will be clear that he meant for certain that Siṃhala (Ceylon) was different from Laṅkā. For example, in the 3rd act we find that a drama named "Sītā-svayaṃvara" was being staged before Rāvaṇa, the king of Laṅkā for his amusement. Among the kings assembled for seeking the hand of Sītā in marriage there is the king of Siṃhala, named Rājaśekhara. Rāvaṇa taunts him and says:—

रावणः—सिंहलपते किमिदं सन्दिह्यते। न च सन्देहदेहो वीरव्रतनिर्वाहः।

This means, if it means anything, that Rāvaṇa and the lord of Siṃhala were different personages.

Again in the 10th act while returning from Laṅkā to Ayodhyā with Sītā, Rāma first showed the city of Laṅkā and the place where he fought with Rāvaṇa. Bibhīṣaṇa was also their companion. He further showed her the Siṃhala Dvīpa on being questioned about it by Sītā:—

सीता—अखण्डिताखण्डलकोदण्डमण्डलप्रतिरूपः कतरः पुनरेष उद्देशः।
विभीषणः—पश्यस्यग्रे जलधिपरिखं मण्डलं सिंहलानाम् चिबोत्तंसं मणिमयभुवा रोहणेनाचलेन॥
दूर्वाकाण्डच्छविषु चतुरं मण्डनं यद्वधूनां गात्रश्रीभो भवति गलितं रत्नतां शुक्तिगर्भम्॥

The very important thing to be noted in the above verse is that Bibhīṣaṇa does not mention anything about Laṅkā or himself in the above description of Siṃhala or Ceylon, because they had all left Laṅkā in the back ground and details about the same had been given to Sītā already. It clearly appears from the above verse that Siṃhala was a smaller island and the poet means that Laṅkā was situated to the south-west of Siṃhala.

If Laṅkā and Siṃhala were two different islands we must find out the exact situation of Laṅkā.

It has been stated above that Laṅkā was at a distance of a hundred yojanas from the southern limits of India. The island was 100 yojanas in length and 40 yojanas in breadth. The dimensions are certainly not applicable to Siṃhala. Professor S. B. Dikshit the author of the 'Bhāratavarṣīyabhūvarṇanā' says, "that Ceylon is Laṅkā" but the distance of a hundred yojanas as given in Rāmāyaṇa puzzles him and he seems to be uncertain about the identification.

Before we trace the path taken up by Hanumat when he first went to Laṅkā in search of Sītā, let us see whether there is any other evidence to prove that Laṅkā was away from Ceylon.

In the Vāyu Purāṇa, (Bhuvanavinyāsa, chapter 48), the author describes the six isles round about Jambu Dvīpa as follows :— (i) Aṅga Dvīpa, (ii) Yava Dvīpa, (iii) Malaya Dvīpa, (iv) Śaṅkha Dvīpa, (v) Kuśa Dvīpa, and (vi) Varāha Dvīpa.

The third in the above list viz. Malaya Dvīpa is further described in verses 20-30 of the same chapter. It is said about this island that there are many gold mines there and the population consists of several classes of Mlecchas. There is a great mountain named Malaya containing silver mines. Heavenly bliss is obtained on the mountain on every Parva or Amāvasyā day. The famous Trikūṭa mountain is also situated in this island. The mountain is very extensive and has several very beautiful valleys and summits. The great city called Laṅkā is founded on one of the slopes of this mountain. Its length is hundred yojanas while its breadth is 30 yojanas. To the east of this island lies a great Śiva temple in a holy place called Gokarṇa. The above description is clear enough to enable us to infer that Laṅkā Purī was on the mountain Trikūṭa, which was situated in the 3rd isle, Malaya Dvīpa, which was one of the six Upa-dvīpas of Jambu Dvīpa. This Malaya Dvīpa is nothing else but the present Maldives in the Indian Ocean. The Maldives are situated on the equator.

The above inference is fully corroborated and supported by the description of the situation of Laṅkā as given by the great astronomer and mathematician Bhāskarācārya, a resident of Halebid Karṇāṭaka, (born 1037 Śaka or 1115 A. D.). He writes in the Golādhyāya, a work on Mathematics (Bhuvanakośa, 17) :—

लङ्का कुमध्ये यमकोटिरस्याः प्राक् पश्चिमे रोमकपट्टनं च ॥
अधस्तः सिद्धपुरं सुमेरुः सौम्ये ऽथ याम्ये वड़वानलञ्च ॥

The above verse means that Laṅkā is on or about the equator. Astronomers call the equatorial region by the name Nirakṣa i. e. 0° latitude Deśa. In the same chapter in verses 43-49 it is stated that Laṅkā Purī was on the equator and that there was a small difference in the longitudes of Avantī (Ujjain) and Laṅkā. At least such was the firm belief of Bhāskarācārya. The longitude of Avanti is 75° 75′.

Now let us see whether the description about the situation of Laṅkā in the Rāmāyaṇa adds support to the above statement of Bhāskarācārya.

Sugrīva the all-India traveller *par excellence* while mentioning the

geographical details to the south of the Kāverī says (Kiṣkindhā-kāṇḍa, sarga 41, verses 15-18) that "after crossing the Mahānadī Tāmraparṇī, which embraces the ocean as a young maiden, the gate of Pāṇḍya Deśa ( कवाट पांड्यानां ) is to be reached and also the sea coast. The sea will have to be crossed over."

ततः समुद्रमासाद्य सम्प्रधार्यार्थनिश्चयम् । अगस्त्येनान्तरे तव सागरे विनिवेशितः ॥१९॥
चित्रसानुनगः श्रीमान्महेंद्रः पर्वतोत्तमः । जातरूपमयः श्रीमानवगाढ़ महार्णवम् ॥२०॥

These verses describe clearly that this Mahendra mountain is different from the one in the Kaliṅga province and that a side of this had entered in the ocean south-wards and was immersed in the waters of the ocean. Further on, in verse 23 we read that on the western side of this mountain at the other extremity, lies an island which extends over a hundred yojanas, (द्वीपस्तस्यापरे पारे शतयोजनविस्तृतः, compare verse 24 : स हि देशस्तु वध्यस्य रावणस्य दुरात्मनः ). Nothing can be clearer and we may safely infer that the abode of Rāvaṇa known as राक्षसद्वीप with its capital Laṅkā was in the westerly direction from the कवाट of पांड्यदेश or in other words, the southern extreme point on the coast of India. Siṃhala or Ceylon thus fails to answer the most crucial point of the above description.

In the same Kāṇḍa (sarga 60, verse 7) Sampāti says about the mountain where he along with the search party of Hanumat was seated before Hanumat flew over to Laṅkā दक्षिणस्योदधेस्तीरे विंध्योयमिति निश्चितः ). It was from the top of this mountain that Māruti took his gigantic leap into the sky with a view to reach the island of Rāvaṇa.

The identification of पांड्यानां कवाट with कवाटपुरम् or कपाटपुरम् (Tamil) is an intelligent discovery by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar.[1]

The Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya has also referred to Tāmraparṇī Nadī and the Pāṇḍya Kavāṭa (Shamasastry's translation of अर्थशास्त्र, p. 86). Dr. S. K. Aiyangar says, "This पांड्यानां कवाटम्, a door-way of the Pāṇḍyas, is a fine commentary on the कवाटं पांड्यानाम् of the Rāmāyaṇa. The commentator of the Arthaśāstra explains it as a mountain known as Malayakoṭi in the Pāṇḍya country. It is rather of doubtful propriety that a place where pearls are found should be referred to as a mountain. It seems much more likely that the expression पांड्यकवाटम् means the doorway of entrance into the Pāṇḍya country from the sea, and the Malaykoṭi of the commentator therefore would then be the promontory where the Western Ghats dive into the sea"[2]

1 The Beginnings of South Indian History, p. 63.
2 Ibid., p. 68 n.

The above details regarding the doorway of the Pāṇḍya Deśa clearly give us the idea that the southern cape of India, viz. Cape Comorin is the place meant here ; for near this point the Mahendra mountain has dipped into the sea. From the details of the geography of South India as given by Sugrīva we are entitled to infer that the Rākṣasa Dvīpa, the abode of रावण was situated to the west of this mountain range.

We have several authorities to show that Lāṅkā became immersed in the ocean owing to agitations of the waters soon after Rāma went back to Ayodhyā after the fight.

The present Maldives cover up the same position which once was covered by the Rākṣasa Dvīpa. It extended from 6° north latitude down to 1° south of the equator lengthwise while its breadth was from 73½° to 76° west longitude.

When the island was thus going under sea and became uninhabitable, some of the inhabitants might have come to colonize the ancient Tāmra Dvīpa or Tāmraparṇī, which was afterwards called the Siṃhala Dvīpa or Ceylon.

9 Even the geologists maintain that before the 4th millennium B. C. there existed a big continent in the Indian Ocean. Its extent lay from the south of Africa, eastward towards the south of America, to the south of India. In course of time this big continent became immersed in the waters and what portions we have now such as Malaya Dvīpa, Sychellis, Rodrigues, Chagos, Mauritius, Madagascar, Java, Sumatra, Borneo, Ascension, Falkland, Graham, West Antartica etc. are nothing but the mountain tops or plateaus of the old big continent. The Malaya Dvīpa or Maldives is the site of the Rākṣasa Dvīpa of Rāvaṇa with its capital Laṅkā Purī.

V. H. VADER

# Setagiri of the Nāsik Inscription

The Nasik inscription of Balaśrī describes the king Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi as 'Vijh-achavata-pāricāta-sahya-kaṇhagiri-maca-siriṭana-malaya-mahid-aseṭagiri-cakora-pavatapati.'[1] All the mountains mentioned here except Seṭagiri have now been identified but nothing is yet known about Seṭagiri. Mr. Kane in his *Ancient Geography and Civilisation of Mahārāṣṭra* observes, "What is Seṭagiri is not clear. Dr. Bhagvanlal takes it to be 'Ṣaḍgiri.' Is it Śreṣṭhagiri or Ṣaṣṭigiri ?"[2] Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar also in his articles on the Deccan of the Sātavāhana period remarks that the mountain is yet unidentified.[3] But the name Seṭagiri occurs in one of the cave inscriptions of Western India ; and if we properly read that inscription, it will not be difficult to point out unmistakably the mountain which was, in ancient times, known by that name.

Junnar was a very important commercial centre in ancient times. It was situated on the Nana Pass route, nearly fifty miles north of Poona. Not far from Junnar is the steep bare slope of Nana's Thumb as it is known even to this day. The Nana Pass is on the north side of the Thumb and the Guna Pass which is now not used but is said to have been formerly practicable is on the south of the Thumb. This Nana Pass is known for the famous Nanaghat inscriptions[4] of the time of Śātakarṇi, probably the third king of the dynasty. But there is also another less famous inscription at Nanaghat on a cistern which records that it was cut by a merchant named Damaghasa of Kamavana. 'The Nana Pass climbs a steep slope, the zigzags of undressed stones which seems to have once been rock-cut steps of which broken or worn traces remain. On either side of the path the hills rise thickly covered with trees and at intervals seats and reservoirs are cut in the rock.'[5] On the top of the Nana Pass on the right is a platform paved in dressed stones and about 250 feet from the platform is a line of caves and water-cisterns on each side of the path. One of these caves is the famous Nanaghat Cave. On the right side of the path opposite the inscription

1 Lüder's List, No. 1123.

2 p. 23. n. 2 published in the *JBBRAS.*

3 *Indian Antiquary*, 1918, p. 151. 4 *ASWI.*, vol. v, pp. 68-69.

5 *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. 18, part ii, p. 213.

cave, there is an unfinished cave and a little further on there are many more cuttings now in utter ruin. On both sides of the path there are at intervals small plain cisterns. A cistern on the left however has traces of an inscription and another on the right very deep and much like cistern No. 5 at Kanheri bears an inscription in front of the recess. This is about half a mile from the main cave and nearly at the foot of the crag.[1] The inscription on this cistern was deciphered by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji[2] and reads as follows :—

1. Sidham raṇo vasiṭhīputasa catarapanasa satakanisa
2. Savachara 13 hematapakha pacame divase 1 0
3. Kamavanasa gahapatasasa Damaghasasa deyadhama
4. Paniyapuvā deyadhamasa TAGARA PAVATE etha.

Pandit Bhagvanlal held that the old name of Junnar was Tagara mentioned in the Periplus of the Erythræan Sea as a great centre of commerce and also by Ptolemy ; and he read the inscription to suit this identification. Later researches have now conclusively[3] proved that the site of the important town of Tagara was near Ter in the Nizam's Dominions. Evidently 'Tagara pavate etha' would now be meaningless. Apart from this, it would also be difficult to explain the genitive singular, 'deyadhamasa.' The last line must necessarily be read as follows :—

Paniyapuvā deyadhama SATAGARA PAVATE etha.

(The meritorius gift, a water-cistern, here on the mountain Satagara.)

We have indicated above the exact position of the water-cistern which bears the inscription given above. The mountain on which we find this cistern, which was the meritorious gift of Damaghasa of Kamavana, and through which the Nana Pass was cut, was, it may now be assumed, known in ancient times as SATAGARA or SETAGIRI. The country surrounding this mountain was undoubtedly included in the dominions of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi. Considering the importance of the Nana Pass, and consequently, of the mountain, through which it was cut, it is natural to expect a mention of it in the list of mountains included in the dominions of Gautamīputra, given in the inscription of his mother, Gautamī Balaśrī. It will now be found that this important mountain has been mentioned, only its identification was not possible so long.

VIDYASAGAR SADASHIV BAKHLE

1 *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. 18, pt. ii, p. 211.
2 *JBBRAS.*, vol. xv, p. 313. 3 *JRAS.*, 1901, p. 557.

# Hindu Politics in Italian

## IV

Attention may here be invited to another Indian work in which although Machiavelli has not been mentioned by name, the present question, viz., that of the relation of morals to politics has been dealt with in a clear manner. This is R. Shamasastry's *Evolution of Indian Polity* (Calcutta, 1920, pp. xvi-176).[1]

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1 There is plenty of confusion in this work. But, throughout, it is dotted over with bits of rich material, which need a thoroughly clean and consistent working up. The preface gives a good summary of the author's position, and the appendices also are interesting. The volume is worth consulting.

The book is full of long extracts from ancient, mediæval and modern writings, in which the relevant words or phrases are to be met with few and far between. The chronology is often hopelessly promiscuous. Conjectures play a great role in most chapters. One such is that bearing on the cow (over which the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas fought) as being none other than a woman.

"There seems to have been," says S, "an institution of women, called Brahmajayas, Brahmagavis, Vasas or Cows, whom the priests had the exclusive privilege to marry. The Kṣatriya class seems to have been the result of the union of these women with the Brahman priests (p. 43)." He concludes that the priestly class of the Vedic age established an "institution of queens" and reserved to themselves the right of begetting on them a ruling king and warrior soldiers. The king and the soldiers are said to have been "compelled to observe a celibate life" and have "no ruling power over the priestly class." This queer polity "in its pristine Vedic form" is alleged "still to linger in the states of Travancore and Cochin" (pp. 73-74). Conjectural philology has thus been tied up to contemporary ethnology. The arguments are not convincing but curious enough to arrest attention.

Wherever S. gets the words God, temple, etc. he seems to discover a "theocracy." The casual references to Western topics do not indicate familiarity with the subject and are misleading (pp. x, xiv, 116). The ideals of religious preachers are postulated to be actual facts of social

"In advocating the battle of intrigue as a better means than open warfare," says S. (p. 122), "neither Kauṭilya nor his contemporary politicians seem to have troubled themselves with the moral aspect of the question. According to them the end that is sought for is all in all. As to means, it may be fair or foul, moral or immoral."

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life. He considers the "kingdom of righteousness" (*dhammacakka*) to be a real political fabric during certain periods of history (pp. 99, 114-115).

As a study in polity i.e. political institutions, "public law" or constitution, the book necessarily fails to satisfy the demands of critical approach, since among other reasons it takes almost every word in the Hindu, Buddhist and Jaina texts as genuine history without an examination or even a question as to the positive institutional value of the evidence. The author has produced, besides, a more or less general account of Indian antiquities, semi-political and socio-religious or cultural, rather than a strictly constitutional history, as the title implies. Not a word is to be found about the historic republican constitutions. The inscriptions with constitutional value have been ignored. Almost a fourth of the book is given over to the speculative study on the origin of the Kṣatriyas. One wonders very often if the learned author, discoverer and first translator of the *Arthaśāstra*, as he happens to be, has seriously cared to inquire as to what topics are expected to be dealt with in a series of lectures on the history of a polity or polities.

It is time that writers in the field of Indic studies should begin to make a sharp distinction between archaeology, commentarial translation or antiquarian lore and the *special sciences* such as history, economics, politics, psychology, logic, aesthetics, etc. Neither Indian nor foreign students of indology can afford to be indifferent to the standard of scholarship that is employed and demanded in the studies bearing on Western politics, economics, history, philosophy and fine arts. A mere knowledge of the language in which a culture is embedded is not certainly the chief or the only equipment in scientific investigations. Justice can be done to the real subject-matter only when—with or without a knowledge of philology, there is an effective command over one or other of the special sciences.

Whatever the treatise may happen to be, there are certain valuable suggestions to be gleaned from here and there. The Dravidian impact on political organization constitutes one of the important items in

Again, "according to K., might, expediency and self-aggrandisement are the chief objects for consideration, and religion, morality and agreements of peace are of secondary or no consideration (VII, 17). Whoever is rising in power may break the agreement of peace (XIII, 4)" (p. 124).

Further, "Evidently K. belongs to that school of politicians whose policy is to justify the means by the noble end sought to be achieved... who appear to have formed a majority inspite of the prevalence of puritanic forms of moral thoughts based upon the humanitarian principles of Jainism and Buddhism" (p. 133).

Shamasastry has thus no doubt as to the strands of Machiavellism in the *Arthaśāstra*.

It will at the same time have to be recognized without vagueness

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Shamasastry's hints. Then one can guess also that the tug-of-war between the different faiths carried along with it a struggle over the form of government (pp. 140-145).

Such hints thrown out by S. are likely to be helpful, if systematically pursued, in the study of the developments in the morphology of the Hindu state. The race-element in ancient Indian constitution deserves careful investigation as an independent topic in political anthropology. It is strange that the interpretations offered by S. bold as some of them are, remain unnoticed in the writings of subsequent writers. But perhaps it is a natural nemesis, for S. himself has cared not to recognize any of his predecessors in the field of Hindu polity. To ignore previous writers, be it remarked *en passant*, constitutes neither originality nor scholarship.

It may be observed incidentally that the Vedic texts have been attacked by Shamasastry, Nag and Ghoshal from three different angles. Some of the references are generically common. But there are special features in each, not all of which appear, however, to be mutually reconcilable. A student of anthropology with economic bias can make use of all these and other data and induce them to tell a coherent and intelligible story. The possibilities of preparing an account of the origin or beginnings of Hindu politics (comprising laws and morals) seem to be already at hand. It is to be noted that none of the three authors here reviewed have tried to visualize Vedic polity and political thought in the context of Greek and Roman "pre-history," or of fields outside of the stereotyped "Indo-Aryan" domain.

what S. does not do, namely, that the *Arthaśāstra* is a treatise of political philosophy and not the document of an actual constitution. Nobody knows as to whether the rules of diplomacy and warfare discussed in it were put to practice by the statesmen and generals, and if so, when and where. It is quite possible that it furnished manuals for practical guidance for politicians and officers. But for the present it is mainly as a contribution to theory that the treatise deserves consideration.

A considerable portion of what passes for "polity" in Shamasastry's book is really not polity at all but speculation on polity or political philosophy which is an entirely different thing from polity. But this distinction has been ignored and overlooked by authors, Indian and Eur-American, on Hindu politics.

Let us now turn to Ghoshal who in his *History*[1] (pp. 155-156) has much to say on Machiavelli.

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1 It is not possible to agree with many of the interpretations in Ghoshal's *History*. His book has grown virtually into an examination of the theory of kingship. The problems selected by him for survey have imposed limitations on the scope. The author perhaps is not conscious of these limitations, for he does not mention them anywhere in the preface or the text.

While examining the features of the "standard Indian polity" such as are likely to have "shaped much of Hindu political thought" he makes use of evidences whose institutional value is questionable (pp. 13-16). For, the author exploits the same class of data while discussing the theories themselves. How can one and the same evidence be used indifferently for speculation as well as for facts without a word of explanation? The constitutional background ought to have been exhibited on the strength of more historical and concrete material. But he has not cared to attend to this aspect of the problem.

He makes too much of the doctrine of the alleged divinity of the king in the Vedic texts (pp. 27-32). It is ignored that almost every thing is endowed with the so called "divine attributes" in the *Vedas*. Similarly, the significance of the fact that every sacrificer is the equal of Bṛhaspati or identical with Indra, Prajāpati, Varuṇa and other gods, has been lost sight of. The sole constitutional value of the passages cited by the author should lead to the doctrine not that the king's authority is based upon divinity but exactly its contrary, namely, that the divinity itself comes from kingship.

He believes that there are "some remarkable coincidences as well as contrasts." M., as he cites Dunning's *History of Political Theories Ancient and Modern*, is the "first modern political philosopher." To this a contrast is said to be found in Kauṭilya, for he was "preceded

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The doctrine of "king's rule by virtue of his divinity" happens to occupy a large place in this work. But since the author commences with an undue emphasis and false orientation he is perpetually obsessed by the burden of the doctrine and fails to get rid of the nightmare. The treatise therefore labours under a tremendous misconception from beginning to end and loses much of its scientific value.

The explanation of the theory of "class origins" is not happy (pp. 44-45). The oft-quoted *Puruṣasūkta* cannot involve the dogma of the "precedence" of some in regard to others. There is no logic in the haphazard manner in which the Sun and the Moon, the Brāhmaṇa and the Śūdra are described as having been born. Nor do the statements in the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* to the effect that one is "chief", another is "strong" and so forth point to anything more than the fact that each one is some body in his own field (cf. also p. 61).

It is interesting to observe that Shamasastry in his *Evolution of Indian Polity* (pp. 97-140, 145) strongly maintains the thesis that "neither during the Vedic period nor in the times of Kauṭilya divine birth or right of kings seems to have been thought of". In his judgment the caste system was equally unknown during the Kautilyan period (p. 144).

The right place of Vedic thought in the history of political speculation has not been appropriately grasped by the author. While the war-chief and the firecraftsman have been accorded much of the canvas the real centre of political as well as social and economic interest has been virtually ignored.

It is the *viś*-group, the people, or the *demos* that should command the attention of the investigator of Vedic politics. The two paramount factors of that public life are furnished by (1) wars of the tribal *viś* with the Dasyus and (2) wars among the tribal *viś* themselves. External or foreign politics constitute the backbone of *viś*-activities.

The chief is there as head of the expeditionary forces consisting, as they do, of the entire *viś*. And the priest as well as his ritualistic *hocuspocus* has no other function but to serve the war-animus of the *viś*.

It is but as specialized functionaries at the service of the *viś* community that the leaders, temporal and spiritual, acquire their signifi-

by a long line of teachers of the *Arthaśāstra*." But one may ask, "is not M. also the last of an old series like K.? Or, again, is not K. also like M. the first of a new series?"

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cance. It is the *viś*, however, that is abroad "conquering and to conquer."

Neither the polity nor the political thoughts of Vedic *Ṛṣis*, should there be any, can be adequately explained if one approaches the subject from the angle of mythology and religion or from that of the life-history of the chief or the sacrificial minister. This is why Ghoshal has failed to visualize the genuine problems of the fire-sages, harnessed, as they are, to colonizing, conquest and inter-tribal war and peace, and altogether to the evocation and development of the aggressive personality of the *viś*-group.

The same absence of balance in regard to the problems of political theory vitiates G's treatment of the subject during subsequent periods. In his examination of the doctrine of *saptāṅga* he seems hardly to be conscious of the fact that the theorists whose thoughts he is studying considered the king to be but *one* of the seven limbs of the body politic.

Political science as a *vidyā* was not described by them as a royal science or a priestly science. They used terms which had nothing to do with the king or the priest. *Arthaśāstra*, *nītiśāstra*, *daṇḍanīti* are all names that serve to focus the attention on larger, abstract, communal interest. It is secularism as a whole (*artha*), laws or statecraft in their entirety (*nīti*), and punishment or coercion i.e. "sanction" of Austinian sovereignty (*daṇḍa*) that form the subject-matter of their speculation. The term *rājadharma* (king's duties) has indeed been used in *Mahābhārata*, Manu and other *Smṛti* texts. But there it is but a chapter in an encyclopaedia of the duties of men.

Ghoshal has not cared to do justice either to *saptāṅga* or to the science of the *saptāṅga* as understood by the Hindu philosophers. Neither public finance nor international law (understood of course in pre-Grotian sense, nor jurisprudence nor the theory of war has been touched upon by the author. And he is oblivious, as a matter of course, of the *rāṣṭra* (the territory and people) with its economic factors. All these, however, are to be found elaborately dwelt upon in Hindu political philosophy.

Instead the author has furnished his readers with a series of theories of kingship and a bundle of ideas on the relations between the king

The work of K. is described by Ghoshal as "embracing the branches of civil law and military science as well as that of public administration." But was M. less encyclopaedic? A list of his works has already been given. Simply because the old Sanskrit treatises happen to be libraries

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and the priest. An absolutely wrong view has thus been bequeathed on the thoughts of the ancient and mediæval philosophers. It is reasonable to take the book not as "a history of Hindu political theories," as it claims to be, but as a history of Hindu political literature with special reference to kingship. But in any event, the publication is likely to propagate among the readers an one-sided and erroneous judgment on the philosophical worth of the Hindu political theorists.

The *rājya* (p. 85) is equivalent to "state". It is generally taken for "kingdom", but this implies a territorial unit which is comprehended by *rāṣṭra* "one of the seven limbs of *rājya*." And of course it is neither "government" nor "sovereignty". Only, under certain conditions when an abstraction is desired, one might use "sovereignty" as an abstract concept equivalent to the concrete state. But in the doctrine of *saptāṅga* as philosophical category the *rājya* is not sovereignty.

Utathya's lecture in the *Mahābhārata* on righteousness or justice as the *sine qua non* of kingship does not embody a "peculiar Hindu conception," as G. believes (p. 99). It is a very common place item of thought in Stoic and Patristic speculations. It occurs even in the French epic of the thirteenth century *Le couronnement de Louis*. However, G. forgets Utathya later, when he studies *Śukranīti*.

It is not clear why the author should consider the *Dīghanikāya* theory of contract "an isolated phenomenon in the history of Hindu political thought" (pp. 121, 135-136). For, from his own references it is evident that the consequences of the theory are embodied in the older *Dharmasūtra* as well as in the later *Nīti* literature in the shape of the notion that taxation is the price of protection. Besides, since *Dīghanikāya* postulates the existence of a "state of nature" subsequent to the Saturnian age of "no family and no property", it tallies quite well with the traditional *mātsya-nyāya* of Indian speculation, after which the election of the first king is said to have taken place. The Kauṭilya passage on contract has been previously examined in connection with Bottazzi.

This contract theory, be it noted, has proved to be a veritable stumbling block to the author. Again and again he forces himself into

in nutshell one must not, while instituting comparisons with European works, ignore the multiplicity of works written by single authors. For instance, taking a case from ancient Greece, would it be right to mention only the *Laws* of Plato, or must we not include also his

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unnecessary self-contradictions over this problem. Perhaps he considers it to be too democratic for his own hypothesis in regard to Hindu political philosophy. But unfortunately for him, the theory in one form or another appears too often in the texts to be explained away.

G's examination of Śākya's lectures on the "seven conditions of welfare" in regard to republics is perfunctory and extremely unjust. He considers Śākya the Buddha to be a mere "moralist" and not a "political philosopher" strictly so called (p. 123). Yes, but Socrates was nothing else. And yet historians of the precursors of Plato know how to deal with Socrates and the sophists as philosophers as well as political theorists.

"Obedience to the elders" is one of the items mentioned by Śākya. This cannot be ruled away simply as a moral maxim. Age has been enjoying a constitutional value even today. The Japanese *Genro* is an institution based on the principle of obedience to elders. In the present German constitution, which is known to be the "most democratic of all the constitutions" existing in the world, the Reichstag has accorded a distinct position of honour to the oldest member. One need not equate the Śākyan, or for that matter, tribal reverence for age with these latest manifestations. But it is not absolutely irrelevent to note the fact. "Association with the aged" is a Kautilyan maxim as well, although perhaps in a pedagogic sense.

G. has omitted the *Mahāvagga* and the *Cullavagga*, those treatises containing the statutes of Buddhist ecclesiastical polity. As document of *droit constitutionnel* this *Vinaya* literature is unique in ancient Hindu thought. And although mainly institutional in contents, the books might be made to yield some of the theories of the Śākyan monks in regard to the problems of authority, justice, liberty, individuality, democracy and so forth.

Besides, anybody who consults the *Vinaya* texts with the eyes of a jurist will be forced to admit that Śākya or rather the men who collected his sayings were not ordinary moralists. Śākya and the Śākyan "stalwarts" seem to have been trained lawyers and logicians, with whom

*Statesman* and *Republic* as well, while framing an estimate of his contributions to political thought?

But credit has to be given to Ghoshal in regard to an important item. The empirical method of M., says he, "supported as it is by

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the Roman jurisconsults like Gaius and Ulpian and the mediæval "prince of jurists", Bartolus, would have enjoyed trying their mettle. The analysis of legal and constitutional forms and the investigation of procedure, evidence and other items relevant to corporational transactions that these two *vaggas* exhibit, constitute some of the greatest monuments of Hindu genius in the field of political philosophy.

G. cuts short his examination of Śākya's moralizings on the plea that they do not embody any political theory. But in that event why does he devote almost a third of his entire book to the moralizings in the Vedic, Dhamasūtra, Mahābhārata and later literature? Nearly every pretension of the Brāhmaṇas and the rival claims of the Kṣatriyas, on which the author bestows plenty of attention, should, to a critical and impartial student, appear to be nothing but moral sermons administered by each group to its victims.

Asoka's *edicts* likewise should demand the attention of the student of political theory. For, Asoka has undoubtedly a great place in political philosophy. In the midst of the ethical propaganda one can discover certain ideas that are no mean contributions to the world of political thought. The "problem of the Empire," *i. e.* imperial nationalism is manifest in Asoka's solicitation for administrative uniformity. A second contribution of Asoka to political philosophy consists in the formulation of the doctrine of "enlightened despotism" in the manifesto which compares the subjects to the children. Then, on the question of diverse religions in a state Asoka's mind had certain thoughts which deserve careful consideration in an estimate of political theory. And so on.

These omissions in the realm of what may with certain reservations be described as the so-called Buddhist political philosophy are undesirable features in a general history of Hindu political ideas.

The chapter on Kauṭilya is poor in quality and very disappointing (pp. 124-158). It has degenerated into a summary of the translation on certain selected topics, which, again, do not rise above the conventional. One encounters here neither the labour of research nor the brain of interpretation. And unfortunately, just those contributions

frequent references to the history of classical antiquity, has some resemblance to the empiricism of K. which is fortified by occasional references to the Indian traditional history." The point need not be stressed too far but will have to be admitted against Winternitz who

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which constitute the greatness of Kauṭilya in the history of politics, namely, his superb thoughts on finance, *maṇḍala*, strategy and tactics, have been seduluously avoided by the author.

He has, besides, been shunted off the right track by an unwarrantable, wrong attitude in regard to the Kautilyan treatise. He believes that it is chiefly a book of practical guidance for statesmen with very subsidiary, if at all any, significance in the general *science* of politics. A correct judgment should be quite otherwise. Kauṭilya's book is political science *par excellence*, furnished, as it happens to be, with a wealth of concrete illustrations from statecraft such as are unknown even in the *Mahābhārata*. The existence of plentiful realistic data must not be interpreted as imparting to the volume the character of a mere handbook on the art of government meant for the ministers, the bureaucracy, and the army officers.

The philosophical discussions that mark its chapters throughout open up to us a mind or minds to whom society, state, laws, wealth, war etc. furnish the categories as well as problems of thought.

The "divine origin of the king," the "king's divine nature" and such phrases together with the terms "canons" and "canonical treatises" occur in the book at almost every page. And the author finds himself in a maze of perplexities.

While discussing the categories as explained in the post-Kautilyan literature, in *Mahābhārata* and *Manu*, he concedes that "divinity" can be interpreted as a "metaphorical" assimilation of the king's functions with those of the specified deities (p. 180). But on the last but one page of the book (p. 277) he finds it inconvenient to "set much store" by the same contention. Herewith, again, most probably the trouble arises from the author's hypothesis which it is difficult to reconcile with the secular and democratic elements such as are actually to be found in Hindu theorising.

He believes that the idea of "Viṣṇu's entering the person of the king" is a solid substance. This myth is supposed to have been deliberately created in order to strengthen the principle of authority (p. 181). Perhaps so. But he himself lays the axe at the root of the

believes that the "historical point of view is entirely foreign to the author of the *Arthaśāstra.*"

The subject has been touched upon previously in the examination of Formichi's *Salus Populi.* It was referred to likewise in the notes to the present writer's English translation of *Śukranīti* ( 1914 ).

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kingly divinity when he has to concede, again, that the duty of protection is imposed on the king by God Himself (pp. 184-186). Thus, the duty of the people towards the king is balanced by that of the king towards the people. That is, the people is no less "divine" than the king. What is left to the king to brag of as a speciality, as a *differentium* ?

If the author be prepared to admit this doctrine of reciprocity as a teaching of the *Mahābhārata,* why should he consider it to be "incongruous" with the Buddhist theory of contract in any substantial sense (p. 172) ? For, that theory enunciates nothing more than the idea that the king is "an official paid by his subjects for the service of protection."

Whether the king be "ordained by God," or "elected by the agreement of the people," he is a "servant" in any case and has the duty of protection "which is the sole justification of his existence, "as the texts cited by the author indicate. Thus considered, "pragmatically" speaking, the older Buddhist, *Brāhmaṇa, Dharmasūtra* and *Arthaśāstra,* as well as the Kautilyan and the later Manu and *Mahābhārata* theories should appear to be identical, although no doubt, for the present, nothing more than fractions of the idea in question can be discovered in each.

The "divine" origin does not introduce a really new element to the thinkers who happen to be secularists. Nor does the secular, Buddhist conception have to be described as "repugnant" to those who want to glorify kingship with higher "sanctions".

In other words it is not absolutely necessary to believe that the doctrine of the divinity of the king was deliberately formulated with the object of "counteracting the individualistic tendencies of the Buddhist canon expressed in this case in its remarkable theory of contract" (see also p. 267). The question has once been discussed in another context while reviewing Bottazzi's book.

One is at a loss to find why the author has to trouble himself with a legion of inconsistencies. It is amusing, again, to notice

But, says G., "the comparison serves however to emphasize an essential difference between the ideas of the two masters."

One "essential difference" is thus described. "To M., we are told, politics is associated with the ideal of territorial aggrandisement while

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(p. 188) that he refuses to read an "unequivocal enunciation of the doctrine of resistance" in the following passage: "The king who tells his people that he is their protector but does not protect the people should be slain by his combined subjects like a mad dog afflicted with rabies." If there be no resistance inculcated here, what else could it be?

At one point G. considers Utathya's lecture on righteousness, as we have seen above, to be a peculiar feature in Hindu political philosophy (pp. 98-100). But, again, dealing with *Śukranīti*, he says that the first statement of the theory is to be found in this treatise (p. 258). He evidently forgets that the distinction between the good king and the tyrant is also one of the points in Utathya's lecture.

The inclusion of Āryadeva's *Catuḥśatikā* has added to the value of the book (p. 209). The idea that the king is a mere *gaṇa-dāsa* (servant of the *gaṇa* or community) is found to be current in mediæval times. The notion is equivalent to that of *Śukranīti* which evaluates the kingly office as one of *dāsatva* or servitude (p. 258). It is curious, however, that the author should consider this to be a rather unusual and exceptional notion, especially when he has been able to trace it so far back as to pre-Kautilyan literature (p. 133).

The "conclusion" is, philosophically, a very weak performance. "Probably in no other system" (p. 266), "Hindu mind" (p. 268), "Hindu view" (p. 270) are vague and meaningless phrases. An intimate acquaintance with "other systems" will serve to disprove, in general, the specialities claimed for the "Hindu mind". Besides, the author's history of two thousand and five hundred years down to 1600 A. C. must have proved it beyond doubt that there were minds and minds in Hindu India among the thinkers, and that there was no such thing in the singular number as the "Hindu mind."

The author thinks that the Hindu theories of contract did not attain to the development they acquired in Hobbes and others (pp. 274-275). Quite so. The author concedes also that the state of nature was conceived by certain Hindus as a state of war and by others as a golden age. Here also he is ready to admit parallels in European thought.

But it is queer that he should find no agreement between the Hobbe-

K's goal is, next to the security of the state, its achievement of political influence over the circle of states." One is surprised that any serious student should have pronounced such a judgment. Just where almost every reader of the Italian and the Sanskrit treatises would find a most

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sian absolutism of *Leviathan* and those Hindu theories which promulgate obedience to the king on the basis of the contract. Not less arbitrary is the attitude which refuses to identify the cult of tyrannicide, resistance to the king, and desertion of a ruler by his subjects, etc. with those strands of social contract theory in Europe which inculcate revolution and expulsion of the ruler (p. 276).

One of the objects of G. is to suggest, on the basis of the Indian data, the "multilinear evolution of human social organisations." This is perhaps but a hypothesis with which he starts (p. x). But the logic of facts forces him to situations which exhibit not the multiformity but a more or less unlinear advance (excluding the western theocratic phases, generally) so far as the ancient East and the ancient West are concerned. The author is not conscious that the chapters have cumulatively worked against what may have lain at the back of his mind.

The few differences that he points out do not happen to be more than verbal or non-essential differences (pp. 266-267). Or, perhaps, the diversity is often due to the fact that some of the items are but more developed forms, representing the later stages in the growth of the specimens under observation.

If he has found it convenient to cite Jenks' *Law and Politics in the Middle Ages* in order to supplement, illustrate and explain certain phases of Indian evolution he might have done so all along the line by exploiting, say, Poole's *Illustrations of the History of Mediaeval Thought*, Littlejohn's *Political Theory of the Schoolmen and Grotius* and Figgis's *Divine Right of Kings*. Only, we have to remember that one should place under investigation the *like classes* of ideas. What the author considers to be "peculiar to Hindu political thought" will appear on closer examination to be universal.

In any case, the author has attempted to examine some of the Hindu doctrines as *doctrines* i. e. as contributions to political philosophy. He has thus imparted once in a while a more than archaeological, and a higher than mere translational, tone to *indianisme*. His *History* is critical, constructive and thoughtful.

At certain points the work has assumed the character of a real

marvellous identity in subject-matter as well as methodology G. has discovered an "essential difference."

The fundamental aim of M. in his *Prince* is to discuss the ways and means of saving his fatherland from the *imminente pericolo delle usurpazioni straniere* (imminent danger of foreign usurpation), as says

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brain study, a genuine philosophical essay. Finally, the credit of attempting a continuous history of ideas must be recognised,—although marked very often by incoherence, confusion and absence of clear thinking in regard to the problems of political science.

One must not, moreover, ignore the fact that on account of the absence of well-documented institutional history an acceptable history of political speculation is for some time not a question of practical politics. As a preliminary spade-work, Ghoshal's study, strenuous as it is, should therefore be appraised as possessing a substantial importance. And it will not fail to furnish leading strings to subsequent workers in "intensive research."

The "conclusion" (pp. 264-272), be it repeated, is not borne out by the preceding chapters. Here he seeks to emphasise the contrasts between the Eastern and Western theories. But if he had cared to examine the details while dealing with the topics discussed in the main chapters he would have given an altogether different verdict. The conclusion does not seem, therefore, to be organically connected with the book. Nay, it may have been an after-thought added, like a part of the preface and the "appendix" (pp. 273-278), in order to combat the idea of philosophical agreement or analogy between the East and the West.

It will of course have to be conceded, as has been pointed out before, that a verbal identity is the least to be expected in philosophical speculation. Even between two European thinkers who in general features may be regarded as belonging to the same type of theory one must be prepared for differences in methodology and conclusions. Not all the "divine righters" of Europe have philosophized alike, nor have all the Western "social contractists" thought out their problems along the same grooves. It is not possible to think of the entire West under a single category. Once this be admitted it will not be difficult to detect hundreds of points of contact between the diverse tendencies in Asia and as many diverse trends of thought in Eur-America, with special reference to the ancient and mediæval, generally speaking, "pre-industrial" epochs.

Foscolo, another great poet of the Italian *risorgimento* in his *Prose Letterarie* (1856), vol. II. M's treatise concludes with the following chapter (XXVI): *Esortazione a liberare l'Italia da' Barbari* (Exhortations to liberate Italy from the Barbarians).

On the other hand, it is an irony of fate that the self-conscious propounders of the cult of *vijigīṣu*, aspirant to conquest, *cāturanta* or *cakravartin* ( world-emperor ), and *pax sārva bhaumica* ( peace of the world-empire ) should have been so miserably misunderstood and reduced to tame cats by the side of M's "ideal of territorial aggrandisement." G's position would appear to be absurd to anybody who possesses the slightest acquaintance with the Kautilyan doctrine of *maṇḍala* or the Hindu conception, generally, of foreign affairs.

In regard to morals, G. concedes that "it appears at first sight that K. rivals and even surpasses M. in his sacrifice of these principles to the end of public welfare." Thus there is no difference at all ; we are here encountering a real identity.

But K. is said to "reserve his immoral statecraft in general for extreme cases." As if M. does something else ! Still one may ask: what are the Kautilyan analysis of the "six expedients" and discussion of the treaties as well as prescription of the ways and means in regard to the "extirpation of thorns" ? Are we to take them as general lectures, or do we find therein an examination of "extreme cases" ?

When all this is taken into consideration G's statement that "K. advocates the kind and even benign treatment of the subjects" in an acquired territory and on this basis to argue that K. is different from M. or that K's politics is "based upon a deeper knowledge of human nature than that of his European counterpart" do not need any profound attention on the part of the reader.

But all the same, G. does not mince matters. Although he tries to slight on certain occasions (p. 155) the "fashionable comparison" between K. and M., he is frank enough to admit the existence of "Machiavellian statecraft" in Hindu political theory (pp. 102-105). Bhāradvāja's opinions on home and foreign policy constitute, we are told, the "earliest specimens" of Machiavellism. This Bhāradvāja is referred to by K. in a passing way. But chapter CXL of the *Śāntiparva* (Book XII) of the *Mahābhārata* embodies the cult of Bhāradvāja *in extenso*.

Bhāradvāja says that one should carry one's foe on one's shoulders as long as the time is unfavourable but when the opportunity arrives, the enemy should be dashed to pieces like an earthen pot on a piece

of rock. Another bit of Bhāradvājism is thus worded : "The remnants of debt, fire and enemies increase over and over again ; hence one should not tolerate these remnants." This maxim could be cited from *Kāmandakīnīti* as well.

Such and other principles, in which every body would see evidence of clear, perspicuous and straihght-forward mentality, have been described by Ghoshal as "cold calculating treachery and heartless cruelty." G. rises to a higher pitch. "The heartless exponent of a wicked Machiavellianism," says he, "is also the pusillanimous advocate of a selfish materialism." "Finally," in Bhāradvāja, then, "the Machiavellian creed of the old *Arthaśāstra* is as it were incarnated." Bhāradvāja spoke like a man, he is being judged as a lamb.

It is evident that the Catholic Fathers who burnt Machiavelli in effigy at Ingolstadt in 1600 have found in Ghoshal an admirable Hindu inheritor of their spiritual indignation. G. is not prepared to submit to the "subordination of morality to politics" and does not hesitate to out-Jesuit the Jesuits in their horror of Machiavellism.

It is reasonable, then, as a scientific proposition, to "beard the lion in his own den" and examine this Machiavellism itself just from the platform of morals.

Denuded of all extraneous particulars Machiavellism may be boiled down to two cardinal dicta. These are as follows :

1. The enemy, actual or potential, must be crushed at all costs. And, here, the end justifies the means.

2. The manner in which a person behaves as the servant of a group, party or state must be different from that in which he appears as an individual in regard to other individuals.

History as well as biography by the actual records corroborates the truth of each of the above tenets.

Speaking of Woodrow Wilson's *College and State* (New York, 1924) in the London *Nation*, a writer says : "Mr. Wilson's peculiar strength was in attachment to his ideals, even at the expense of ordinary standards of conduct ; he recognized no such thing as consistency or logic or gratitude as in the slightest degree embarrassing him. Mr. W. had indeed learnt the practical utility of a strong adherence to principle combined with a certain unscrupulousness in its application. In Europe, however, he had to meet an unscrupulousness even greater than his own. "Diamond-cut-diamond tussles" are the facts of *Realpolitik*

Secondly, there is nothing illogical or inhuman in the above two

propositions. The only objection may come from those whose very conceptions of ethics, and especially of psychology, are questionable as being too absolutist and metaphysical.

A "mind" that is not oriented to the enemy, inimical attitudes, "responses" of hostile situations, unfriendly "reactions" and so forth may possibly exist in the lowest orders of vegetable and animal organisms. But in the nervous system of the higher orders of creation the enemy is one of the positive data of consciousness. A psychology that would refuse to recognise the fact of an enemy-element in human relations as one of its premises can only do so by refusing to be real.

But once the enemy-element is admitted, what is the solution of the problem from the side of the *élan vital*? The answer would carry with it the natural and necessary ethics. The "categorical imperative" is quite simple, in the present instance.

A and B are enemies *in esse* or *in posse*.

Now, Bradley comes forward with *"My station and its duties."* The Hindu also knows his *sva-dharma* ( one's own duties ). In other words, there is no universal morality, there are moralities and moralities. If A is lazy enough to neglect his *sva-dharma* in regard to B, B is going to use the "functions" of his own "station" and see to it that A be polished off the earth.

No consideration of love and good will can interfere here, for we have begun with the datum that A and B are enemies. What is good or right for the one is automatically bad or wrong for the other. The God of A is the Devil of B. Anthropology may be requisitioned in evidence of this aspect of inter-racial psychology.

And since every individual has his own duty, his own right and wrong, his own good and bad, on all occasions that one sits in judgment on Machiavellism one is committing an undue interference with things which one does not understand. For, what is moral in one's judgment may be thoroughly immoral in another's.

Now to the second point. Morality is diverse not only with diverse individuals as just stated but is diverse even with the same individual in diverse situations. And here, again, the problem is one of the psychology of personality.

No individual is a person in the singular number. He embodies a number or a bundle or a growing stream of many persons. Each and every personality is a complex of varying attitudes, behaviours, reactions and responses to the objective world. An individual as father is

not the same person as son, as nephew and so forth. He "behaves" to an inferior in a way different from that in which he attitudinizes himself to a superior. A person's reactions to the encouraging words of a friend are entirely different from those to the hostile criticisms of the same person, not to speak of the individual who hates him.

Such pluralities are the data of human psychology gathered from all different angles of vision. Differences of age, differences of health, differences of sex, differences of income, differences of social position are all to be taken into consideration by an objective student of the human mind. The doctrine of "my station" or *sva-dharma* bears on its shoulders, as a matter of course, a plural system of duties for every person.

What, then, is wrong with Machiavellism which does nothing but postulate the double morality of human beings as private citizens and as public servants? To compel a person to behave in one and the same way in the morning, noon, evening, at breakfast, in office, in theatre, or as father, police officer, school teacher, political ambassador is to ignore the pluralistic complexities of the human *psyche* and force one to neglect the duties of his varying "stations." This is equivalent to demanding a morality that is unreal.

As soon as psychology is reconstitued on the pluralistic basis the ethics of pluralistic morality will grow into the ABC of human thought. And Machiavellism will need no special apology.

But in the mean time it is interesting to observe that such a distinguished English authority as Dr. Figgis has not shrunk from attempting to speak out. An explanation, which is tantamount to justification, of Machiavellism is to be found in his essays, *From Gerson to Grotius* (Cambridge 1907). And so far as the historic appreciation of Machiavellism as a purifying element in political science is concerned, Bluntschli's *Geschichte der neueren Staatswissenschaft* (History of Modern Political Science, Munich, 1881) has furnished the cue to many who might otherwise have been led to consider Machiavelli as an untouchable *pariah*.

It is time that the bazaar gossip about M. should disappear from the world of serious thought. The calumny propagated by his enemies must not blind the students of science to the truth that Machiavelli is the world's first nationalist, the seer of ideas which centuries later were to develop into the life-blood of Mazzini and acquire a juristic form in the work of Mancini (Turin, 1851), thereby influencing the development of modern international law. Besides, it is too late in the day to remain impervious to the fact that Machiavelli is one of the greatest

patriots of the world, one of the profoundest benefactors of humanity, and to cite Spinoza's appreciation in *Political Tract*, one of the most *scharfsinnige* (penetrating) thinkers of all ages.

*A General Estimate of the Italian Researches*

I did not know Italian when in 1921 part of my interpretation of the political and economic theories of the *Sukranīti* was published in vol. II of the *Positive Background of Hindu Sociology* (Allahabad), nor when my *Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus* appeared in 1922 (Leipzig). The bibliography in these publications is therefore to this extent defective, especially since on the question of theory the Italian researches throw valuable light. Besides, as the Italian scholars have devoted their attention exclusively to political philosophy it was not possible to make use of their results in my Bengali book, *Hindu Rāṣtrer Gaḍan* (The Morphology of the Hindu State), of which the manuscript has been sent to the publishers in November 1924, because it deals solely with the actual institutions.

It will have been noticed that although the amount of work done by the Italians does not bear comparison with that by the Germans much of it is important in methodology as well as conclusions and deserves a wider publicity among the students of old Indian politics. There is perhaps one item on which the work is likely to be the butt of unfavourable criticism.

The tendency is very manifest among the Italian scholars to attribute "modern" ideas to the Hindu texts.[1] If by "modern" they do not mean anything later than, say, 1700, or, at any rate, if they do not include the tenets and ideals of social thought as developed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries their position would in the main appear to be acceptable. Otherwise the trend of their writings can lead but to the formulation of a "vague universal" or "eternal human nature" in which 1925 A.C. should seem to be as simple, young and elemental as 1925 B. C.

But this is an absolutely wrong sociology, failing, as it does, to give due weight to the epochal momentums in historic and philosophic experience. And although one may argue that there is nothing new under the sun such an interpretation of culture-history would remain blind to the objective progress of the world achieved cumulatively in thought and deed through the ages.

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1 See the previous discussions marked by the footnotes 3 and 10.

But the *Leitmotif* of these Indic researches in Italy militates, unconsciously, perhaps, against the Hegelian dogma of an alleged distinction in "spirit" between the East and the West. And from this standpoint Italian scholarship is to be appreciated as a great ally of Young Asia in the *risorgimento* of social science.[1]

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

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1 The peculiar universalism of Italian indologists does not seem to be an accidental phenomenon. Although none of them have anywhere mentioned as one of their spiritual guides the *Nuova Scienza* (New Science) of their great sociologist and philosopher, Vico (1670-1735), his ideas constitute, so to say, the very essence of their being.

The doctrines of a *storia ideale eterna* (ideal and eternal history), *idee uniformi note appo intieri popoli tra essi loro non conosciato* (uniform ideas born among nations that do not happen to know one another), *mente comune di tuttiipopoli* (common mentality of all peoples), *costanti uniformita* (constant uniformity) in the laws of nations, *uniformita del corsa che fa l'umanita nelle nazione* (uniformity of course travesed by mankind among the nations, and *ricorse delle cose umane* ("repetition" in human offairs, *i.e.* history repeating itself) with *identita in sostanza e diversita de modi lor dispiegarsi* (identity in substance although diversity in the mode of expression),all belong to the *decouvèrate generali* (general discoveries) and *principi fondamentali* (fundamental principles) of the world view established by Vico. It is but these axioms that the Italian indologists have imbibed from this their Montesquieu, Kant or Saṅkarācārya almost as life's breath and employed, perhaps automatically, in the special field of their investigations.

See the brochure, *Pagine Scelte* (Select Pages) from Vico, edited by Ceva (Florence).

# Indian Literature Abroad

## IV

In 520 A. D. the 28th Buddhist patriarch Bodhidharma came from India and landed in Canton. He was the founder of the Contemplative school of thought and although he never wrote or translated any book, his character and teaching showed great literary activity among the Indian as well as Chinese monks. Wu-ti gave him royal reception, but he was unable to grasp what Bodhidharma preached. Not being able to come to any understanding with Wu-ti, he went northwards and settled in the Wei kingdom. Wu-ti had international fame as a patron of Buddhism, and in 538 A.D. a hair of the Buddha was sent to him by the king of Fu-nan.[1]

Bodhidharma.

Fu-nan is Cambodia. In the next year Wu-ti despatched a mission to Magadha (India) to obtain Sanskrit books. It returned in 546 with a large collection of manuscripts, accompanied by the learned Paramārtha, who spent twenty years in translating them. He was also known as Guṇarata. He came from Ujjain of Western India and arrived at Nanking, the then capital of the Liang Dynasty in 548. He continued his work of translation during that Dynasty and till 569 A. D. of the next dynasty of Ch'an (557-589). He translated 10 works during the Liang and 38 or 40 works in the next, altogether about 50 works, of which 32 works remain to this date. Paramārtha must have been a great Abhidharma scholar, as all his extant books except five are on Abhidharma. The most important of his works was the translation of the *Śraddhotpāda-śāstra*, a very important book on Mahāyāna philosophy, attributed to Aśvaghoṣa.[2] The Sanskrit original is lost. But this serious loss has been greatly compensated by the English translation of the book entitled *The Awakening of Faith* by Abbot Suzuki of Japan. The great teacher Asaṅga wrote a book called the *Mahāyāna-samparigraha-śāstra*. Two commentaries were

Paramārtha.

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1 Pelliot, 'Funan,' *BEFEO.*, 1904. See also Finot, 'Hindu Kingdoms in Indo-China', *I. H. Q.*, 1925, vol. I, p. 610.

2 Nanjio 1249, 1350; Tok. Ed. xxii, 5.c.

written on it—Bodhisattva Wu-Sung (or Agotra ?) having done fasciculi 1-10, and Bodhisattva Vasubandhu the remaining fasciculi. Now Paramārtha translated into Chinese, in 563 A. D., fasciculi 11-20 and 41-48, and the rest was done by Hiuen Tsang and Dharmagupta. The original *Samparigraha-śāstra* of Asaṅga was also translated by Paramārtha in that year.[1] He translated the Abhidharma books of Vasubandhu into Chinese for the first time, and thereby demonstrated to the Chinese people that the intellectual achievements of the Indians in philosophy were much subtler than theirs and the Buddhist literature did not contain merely books on Dhāraṇis and idle speculations on future heavens. Following are some of the important books of Vasubandhu :

(1) *Nirvāṇa-sūtra-pūrva-bhūtotpannābhūta-gāthā-śāstra* (Nieh-p'an ching p'an-yu-chin-wu-chieh lun)[2]. This is a literal translation of the Chinese title and we cannot say what its original was.

(2) Śāstra of the Sūtra of (Buddha's) last teaching[3].

(3) *Buddha-gotra-śāstra* [4].

(4) *Vijñapti-mātra-siddhi*[5], is a treatise on the philosophy of the Yogācāra school. It was thrice translated into Chinese by Bodhiruci, Paramārtha and Hiuen Tsang, but the extent of the translation differs from each other.

(5) *Madhyānta-vibhaṅga Sūtra*[6].

(6) *Tarka-śāstra*[7].

Paramārtha did not confine himself to translating Mahāyāna Abhidharma works only ; some of the Sarvāstivāda books translated by him are :

(1) *Abhidharma-koṣa-(vyākhyā)-śāstra*.[8] This is one of the greatest philosophical works of the Buddhists, and Paramārtha rendered great service to China by translating it into Chinese, although it

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1 Nanjio 1183. It was previously translated by Buddhaśānta in 2 fasc. only—Nanjio 1184 ; translated also by Hiuen Tsang.

2 Nanjio 1207 ; Tokyo Ed. xxii, 1 i, 7 leaves.

3 Nanjio 1209 ; Tok. Ed. xxii, 1 k, 1 fasc.

4 Nanjio 1220 ; Tok. Ed. xxii, 2 k, 4 fasc.

5 Nanjio 1238-*Vidyāmātra-siddhi* ; Tok. Ed. xxii, 4 e.

6 Nanjio 1248 ; Tok. Ed. xxii, 5 b, 2 fasc. 7 chap.

7 Nanjio 1252 ; Tok. Ed. xxii, 5 e, 1 fasc.

8 Nanjio 1269 ; Tok. Ed. xxiv, 5 b, 6, 22 fasc. 9 chaps ; see under Hiuen Tsang.

was at a later date translated for the second time by Hiuen Tsang.

(2) Vasuvarman's *Catursatya-śāstra.*[1]

(3) Guṇamati's *Lakṣaṇānusāra-śāstra.*[2]

Vasumitra's *Aṣṭādaśa-nikāya-śāstra*[3] was also rendered by him into Chinese. Besides these, he translated some five books, of which the authors are unknown. One of these is *Lokasthiti-abhidharma-śāstra*[4] which seems to be a Nibandha, "the subject of the first chapter being the motion of the earth and that of the 19th chapter that of the sun and the moon. The latter chapter is the principal text for some Buddhists who make astronomical calculations for the almanacs." But besides these books on Buddhism he translated *Śāṅkhya-kārikā* of Īśvarakṛṣṇa which is known in Chinese translation as *Suvarṇa-saptati-śāstra* or *Śāṅkhya-kārikā-bhāṣya.* "In a note at the beginning of the book it is stated that the work was compiled by the heretical Ṛṣi Kapila, explaining the twenty-five tattvas (or truths), and it is not the law of Buddha. Towards the end of the translation as well as of the text we read that there were 60,000 verses composed by Pañcaśikha (Kāpileya) whose teacher Āsuri was the disciple of Ṛṣi Kapila, and that afterwards a brāhmaṇa named Īśvarakṛṣṇa selected 70 verses out of 60,000." (Nanjio, 1300).

This Vṛtti translated into Chinese was identical, or at any rate exhibited many points of contact with the Bhāṣya of Gauḍapāda (H. H. Wilson, Oxford, 1837); it was accepted by Beal,[5] Kasawara, and others long ago, and is placed beyond doubt by Dr. Takakusu, who, after searching comparison of the Bhāśya of Gauḍapāda with the Vṛtti translated into Chinese, arrives at the conclusion that "in citations, illustrations, and even entire passages, the coincidences between the two commentaries are as numerous and far reaching as to preclude the possibility of their being explained away as accidental." Dr. Takakusu identified the author of the Kārikās with the author of the Vṛtti, and believes that by thus making Īśvarakṛṣṇa himself the author of both the Kārikās

Śāṅkhya-kārikā

1 Nanjio 1261; Tok. Ed. xxii, 6 a, 5 fasc, 6 chap.

2 Nanjio 1280; Tok. Ed. xxv, 3 b, 2 fasc.

3 Nanjio 1284; Tok. Ed. xxv, 4 d, 9 leaves only.

4 Nanjio 1297; Tok. Ed. xxv, 8 d, 9, 10 fasc.

5 S. Beal—On a Chinese version of the Śāṅkhya-kārikā etc., *JRAS.*, 1878, pp. 355-360; J. Takakusu, (French article on the Sāṅkhya System), *BEFEO.*, 1904.

as well as this Vṛtti, he could partly take the edge off Gauḍapāda's subsequent appropriation of author's work as his own.

Prof. S. K. Belvalkar, however, is of opinion that Sanskrit *Māṭhara-vṛtti*, is the lost original of the *Sāṅkhya-kārikā-vṛtti*, which was translated into Chinese by Paramārtha between A. D. 557 and 562.[1]

The reason why he translated this book should be known to the students of Buddhist philosophy. The Buddhists had to fight hard in the intellectual field with the most well-founded and deep-rooted systems in India, viz., the Śāṅkhya and Vaiśeṣika. Besides, the Mahāyāna had not merely to fight against the orthodox Hindu philosophers, but also against the different Hīnayāna schools of thought, specially the Sarvāstivādins. Bodhisattva (Ārya)deva wrote a book on the refutation of four heretical Hīnayāna schools mentioned in the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra.* The four schools treated there were (1) the Śāṅkhyas, who believe in oneness ; (2) the Vaiśeṣikas, who believe in difference ; (3) the Nirgrantha-putras, who believe in both ; and (4) the Jñātiputras, who believe in neither. Bodhiruci (508-535) translated that book of Āryadeva during this time.[2]

Disputations with heretics.

During the Liang and the Chan Dynasties at Nanking the intercourse, which began under Wu-ti with Indo-China, seemed to have increased ; Mandra, Saṅghapāla (Varman), Subhūti all were inhabitants of the country of Funan, mentioned above (Nanjio, A pp. II, 101). Mandra arrived in Nanking in 503 A. D., and began the work of translation. But he was not well acquainted with the Chinese Language, and his translations are not quite perfect. He translated *Saptaśatikā-prajñā-pāramitā* (Nanjio 21). *Dharma-dhātu-prakṛty-asambheda-nirdeśa*[2] (Nanjio 23) or the moral of the indivisibility of the rest of the Dharmadhātu—both of these books are found in the Tibetan. *Ratnamegha-sūtra* (Nanjio 152) was translated jointly by Mandra and Saṅghapāla. Subhūti's translation of the *Ratnamegha* is lost. Saṅghapāla is the translator of nine books, most of them being minor Sūtras and Dhāraṇī, the only important book being Arhat Upatiṣya's *Vimokṣa-mārga-sūtra*, which he translated in 12 fasciculi. Saṅghapāla was a priest from the Fu-nan country (Camboja). After his arrival in China, he became a pupil of Guṇabhadra, who was then in China. Saṅghapāla was well-

Mandra.

1 See R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, pp. 171-184.

2 Nanjio 1259.

versed in several languages and translated various texts belonging to Hīnayāna as well as Mahāyāna schools, during his stay in China (A.D. 505-520). He died at the age of sixty-five in A. D. 524.[1] His master Guṇabhadra was also a noted scholar of the Mahāyāna school. On his way to China, Guṇabhadra stopped at Siṃhala-dvīpa (Ceylon) and other southern countries. After his arrival in China in A. D. 435 until A. D. 443, he was actively engaged in the work of translation. Thus though we do not know which of the two Paṇḍits brought the original of the *Vimokṣa-mārga*, it is certain that it was brought from a centre of southern Buddhism, either from Ceylon or from Camboja. So the text *Vimokṣa-mārga* or *Vimutti-magga* is in all probability anterior to Buddhaghoṣa, whose arrival in Ceylon is put at A. D. 420.

Saṅghapāla 505-524 A.D.

Vimokṣa-mārga, Vimutti-magga and Visuddhi-magga.

The author of this text is Upatissa Sāriputta ; he is not Sāriputta, the friend and contemporary of Buddha, but a Sinhalese monk who probably flourished in the 1st century A. D. and was the fifteenth great thera from Mahinda. Mr. Nagai (*JPTS.*, 1917-19) points out that the *Visuddhimagga* of Buddhaghoṣa is but a revised version of the *Vimuttimagga* of this Upatissa. The work is entirely lost in Ceylon and it exists only in the Chinese translation referred to. Mr. Nagai shows how the Chinese text agrees generally with the text of the Visuddhimagga. He says, "In short, the Visuddhimaggas are one and the same work appearing in different dress" (p. 80).

Another translator, a royal monk, Upaśūnya, son of the king of Udyāna of Western India, came to China and lived under the Liang, the Chian and the Northern Wei Dynasties and translated four books. In A. D. 565 he translated one sūtra called *Suvikrānta-vikrami-paripṛcchā*[2] which was a part of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā*. The Sanskrit text of this was obtained from a śramaṇa of Khotan, whom he met in China a few years back.[3] Later on he translated three works, of which two exist. Of the Liang Dynasty 19 works by unknown authors are still preserved.

Upaśūnya or Yueh-Po-Shu-Na.

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1 Pelliot, Fu-nan in *BEFEO.*, 1903, No. 3, p. 285 ; Nanjio, App. II, 106.

2 Nanjio 9 ; Tok. ed. V, 6 b ; 7 fasc.

3 Nanjio, App. II, 106.

Buddhism predominant.

In Wu-Ti, the first Emperor of the Liang Dynasty, Buddhism found the most devoted follower. The arrival of Bodhidharma the 28th Patriarch [1] was hailed with great reverence in China. "At the beginning of the sixth century", says Edkins,[2] "the number of Indians in China was upwards of three thousand. The Prince of the Wei kingdom (386-534 A. D.) exerted himself greatly to provide for their maintenance in monasteries, erected on the most beautiful sites. Many of them resided at Loyang, the modern Ho-nan-fu. The temples had multiplied to thirteen thousand." Hu, the dowager empress of Wei, a fervent devotee, though of indifferent morality in both public and private life, sent Sung Yun and Hui Shêng [3] to Udyāna (N. W. India) in search of Buddhist

3000 Indians in China.

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1 The follwing is the list of names of the 28 Patriarchs :—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Mahākāśyapa | 2 | Ānanda |
| 3 | Sāṇavāsa (?) | 4 | Upagupta |
| 5 | Dhṛtaka | 6 | Mechaka |
| 7 | Buddhanandi | 8 | Buddhamitra |
| 9 | Pārśva Bhikṣu | 10 | Puṇyayaśas |
| 11 | Aśvaghoṣa | 12 | Kapimala Bhikṣu |
| 13 | Nāgārjuna | 19 | Kāṇadeva |
| 15 | Ārya Rāhulata | 16 | Ārya Saṅghanandi |
| 17 | Saṅghayaśas | 18 | Kumarata |
| 19 | Jayata | 20 | Vasubandhu |
| 21 | Manura | 22 | Haklanayaśas (?) |
| 23 | Siṃha Bhikṣu | 24 | |
| 25 | Basiasita | 26 | Putnomita |
| 27 | Prajñātara | 28 | Bodhidharma |

In 472 A. D. Chi-Chia-Yê translated (?) a history of the succession of 23 patriarchs from Mahākāśyapa to Bhikṣu Siṃha. (Nanjio 1340).

Bodhidharma, the real founder of Dhyāna school, is the last or the 28th Patriarch.

2 Chinese Buddhism, p. 99.

3 See Chavannes, Voyage de Sung Yun dans Udyana et le Gandhāra, 518-522, *BEFEO.*, 1903, No. 3. See also Foe-Koue-Ki by Remusat, p. 48-51; Beal, Travels of Fa-Hian and Sung-Yun, Buddhist Pilgrims—Trübner, 1869. His narrative was also translated into German by Neumann (Edkins, op. cit., p. 100).

books, of which they brought back 175 (Eliot, op. cit., III, p. 284). "The decline of Buddhism in its motherland drove many of the Hindus to the north of the Himalayas. They came as refugees from the Brahmanical persecution, and their great number will assist materially in accounting for the growth of the religion they propagated in China. The Prince of the Wei country is recorded to have discoursed publicly on the Buddhist classics." (*Chinese Buddhism*, p. 99.)

Readers must have noticed that books on charm or magic known as Dhāraṇīs had begun to be translated into Chinese; but the Chinese literati were extremely annoyed at this and hated the importers of these gibberishes. Priests were put to death for practising magical arts. During this period a Chinese monk, Hui-Chiao, compiled the *Memoirs of Eminent Priests* (Nanjio 1490) in 519 A.D. The book was in 17 fasciculi and contained lives of 275 men separately, to which 239 were added in course of narration. They are either Indians or Chinese, and not only priests but also laymen, who lived in China sometime between A.D. 67 and 519.

During the Wei rule there were only eight translators who translated seventy-seven works, of which (51 only remaining) thirty were ascribed to Bodhiruci alone, ten to Buddhaśānta, five to Chi-chia-yê,[1] three to Ratnamati,[2] two to Dharmaruci,[3] one each to Hui-Chiao,[4] Than-Yao,[5] Fa-Chang.[6] Bodhiruci[7] was a śramaṇa of Northern India, who arrived in Loyang in 508 A. D. and up till 535 A. D. translated 30 or more works on Sūtra, Vinaya and Abhidharma. Some of his more important works were *Vajracchedikā-prajñā-pāramitā* (Nanjio 11), *Laṅkāvatāra* (No. 176), *Aparimitāyus Sūtra* (No. 1204). He translated Vasubandhu's commentary on *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* (No. 1232) which had been once done by Dharmaruci. I have already referred to the book by Āryadeva on the Indian heretics, which Bodhiruci translated. Another book, dealing with the conception of Nirvāṇa according to heretical schools of thought mentioned in the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra, was translated into Chinese. Bodhiruci translated a few Indian astronomical books into Chinese with the help of several

Bodhiruci.

1 Nanjio, App. II, 110. 2 Ibid., 113. 3 Ibid., 111.
4 Ibid., 108. 5 Ibid., 109. 6 Ibid., 112. 7 Ibid., 1

Indian and Chinese monks. The translation of the astronomical works was done in more than 200 chapters.[1]

An important work on Abhidharma called *Pratītya-samutpāda-śāstra* composed by Suddhamati of India was rendered into Chinese by Bodhiruci (Nanjio 1211). It is known as Dvādaśa-nidāna-śāstra in Chinese translation. Chi-chia-yê, a śramaṇa of western region translated five books in 472 A. D. Of these the history of the patriarchs (6 fasc.), which he did along with Than-Yao, is the most important. This is a well-known history of the succession of 23 patriarchs from Mahākāśyapa to Bhikṣu Siṃha (Nanjio 1340).

Chronologically, among the translators of the Northern Wei Dynasty, the first was a Chinese śramaṇa, named Shih Hui-Chiao or Than-Chiao. He compiled a work in A. D. 445 known as *Damanaka-nidāna-sūtra* (Nanjio 1322 ; Tok. Ed. XXIV, 36 and 49). It was a story-book known as 'Tales of the Wise and the Fool.' It has a Tibetan version,[2] which, according to Cosma de Koros, was translated from the Chinese. This is further corroborated by Pelliot, Laufer and other sinologues.

Tales of the Wise and the Fool.

In his *Guide for the Examination of the Canon,* a Chinese work of Chia-Su (1654 A. D.) the author says that this book is a Hīnayāna sūtra, but we do not know the source of this statement.

Shih-Than-Yao, a śramaṇa, whose native place is not known, translated in about 462 A. D. two or three works, of which only one has come down to us.

In the beginning of the sixth century *Śraddhā baladhānāvatāra-mudrā-sūtra* (Nanjio 90), which has a Tibetan translation, and *Sarva-buddha-viṣayāvatāra* (Nanjio 245) which was translated in the south by Saṅghapāla a little later, were rendered into Chinese by Dharmaruci. Dharmaruci (Nanjio, App. II, 111) came from Southern India and translated three books in the first

1 P. N. Bose, *Indian Teachers in China*, Madras.

2 This story was published with Tibetan text and translated into German as early as 1843—*Dsang lun oder der Weise und der Thor* von I. J. Schmidt, St. Petersburg, 1843 ; also *Tibetan Tales* (derived from Indian Sources), trans. from the Kahgyur by Schiefner, done into English by W. R. S. Ralston, London, 1906. There is a Turkish version of the story. See *Indian Literature in Central Asia, infra.*

decade of the sixth century. One of them was lost in 730 A. D. In 508 A. D. two books on Abhidharma, *Mahayānottara-tantra-śāstra* (Nanjio 1236) and Bodhisattva Vasubandhu's great commentary on the famous *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* (Nanjio 1233) were rendered into Chinese by Ratnamati, a śramaṇa of Central India.

Buddhaśānta, a monk from Central India, was the last translator, in the Northern Wei Dynasty. He arrived in China in 524 A. D. and worked till 439 A. D., the Sui having been established in 539. He translated 10 or 11 works, but today 9 works remain. Most of his books were Sūtras, the only important book that he translated was Bodhisattva Asaṅga's *Mahāyāna-samparigraha-sūtra* (Nanjio 1184), which was translated again in 593 by Paramārtha.

The Northern Wei Dynasty came to an end in 534 A. D., and the Eastern Wei founded their dynasty at Yeh and ruled from 534-550, followed by the Northern Chi, who had also their seat of government at Yeh from 550-577 A. D. In the South after the death of Wu-ti of the Liang Dynasty Yuan-ti, who reigned from 552 to 555, became a staunch supporter of Taoism. He was himself a great scholar. He had accumulated 140,000 volumes, which he burnt down when he learnt that the troops of Wei had marched on his capital, and neither his learning nor his collection of books was of any avail in his calamity. I have little doubt that numerous Sanskrit and Buddhist books must have been consumed in this conflagaration. In the South under the Eastern Wei and Northern Chi Dynasties, Buddhism continued to be patronised by the state. During the short reigns of these two dynasties six translators translated 31 books in 202 fasciculi.

Buddhism under the E. Wei, N. Chi and Liang Dynasties.

Gautama Prajñāruci, a brahmin of Benares, was the most prominent among them. He translated in 538-541 about 18 works (some say 14), of which fifteen existed in 730 A. D. and thirteen of them are found today in the Ming Tripiṭaka. I would like to mention a few of his works. The *Vimaladattā-paripṛcchā* became very popular with the Indian Buddhists of China (Nanjio 45). It was a sermon given by Buddha at the request of Vimaladattā, a daughter of king Prasenajit. It had been translated first by Chu-Fa-Hu or Dharmarakṣa and then by a Chinese monk Nieh-Tao-Chan during the Western Chin Dynasty and for the third time by Prajñāruci. There exists also a Tibetan translation of the work. His other books were *Vyāsa Paripṛcchā*

Prajñāruci.

(No. 60), *Īśvararāja-paripṛcchā* (No. 63) which had once been translated by Kumārajīva, *Niyatā-niyatagati-mudrāvatāra* (No. 132) which was at a later date translated by I-tsing, *Paramārtha-dharma-vijaya-sūtra* (No. 210), *Aṣṭa-buddhakasūtra* (No. 410 also in Tib.), *Prātimokṣa Vinaya* (No. 1103) and others. But his greatest work was the translation of the *Saddharama-smṛtyupasthāna-sūtra* [also in Tibetan] in 70 fasc. or 7 chapters (No. 679). The subjects of the seven chapters are:—(1) the results of the ten kinds of good conduct (contrary to duṣkṛti), (2) birth and death, (3) the different hells, (4) the condition of Pretas, (5) birth as a beast, (6) condition of deva and (7) kāya-smṛti-upasthāna. He also translated a well-known work called *Madhyāntānugamaśāstra*, (Nanjio 1246), composed by Nāgārjuna and Asaṅga, the latter having explained the text of the former. It treats of the doctrine of the first varga of the *Mahā-prajñāpāramitā-śāstra* None of the Sanskrit originals hare come down to us.

The next important translator of the Eastern Wei period was Vimokṣa-prajñā or Vimokṣasena. He was a śramaṇa from Udyāna and was a descendant of the Śākya family of Kapilavastu. In 541 he translated five works in collaboration with Prajñāruci and other monks.

Vimokṣasena.

He translated four of Bodhisattva Vasubandhu's books viz., *Tripūrṇa-sūtropadeśa* (No. 1196), *Dharma-cakra-pravartana-sūtropadeśa* (No. 1205), *Karma-siddhi-prakaraṇa* (No. 1222) of which a Tibetan translation exists, and *Ratna-cūḍa-sūtra-caturdharmopadeśa* (No. 1241). The other work on Abhidharma which he translated was Nāgārjuna's *Vivāda-śamana (sastra ?) śāstra* (No. 1251), *Susthitamati-paripṛcchā* (No. 48) a book on Mahāyāna Sūtra ascribed by some to Prajñāruci. *Nirvāṇa-śāstra* or *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra-śāstra* is a short commentary on that well-known book by the great Vasubandhu. It was made accessible to the Chinese public by one Dharmabodhi, about whom we know nothing.

During the Northern Chi Dynasty (550-577 A. D.) only two translators are known, one an Indian, the other a Chinese gṛhapati or Upāsaka, who translated *Ārya-jina-bodhisattva-paripṛccha*. The Indian śramaṇa was Narendrayaśas, who had come from Udyāna or Gandhāra District of Northern India, translated seven works, together with Gautama Dharmajñāna, son of Prajñāruci of Benares mentioned above. They translated the following books into Chinese : (1) *Pitā-putra-samāgama* in 17 fasc. and 29 chapters (No. 23—16), (2) *Candra-prabhā-vaipulya* (No. 63), (3) *Sumeru-garbha* (No. 66), (4) *Mahākarunāpuṇḍarīka*

Narendrayaśas and Dharmajñāna.

*sūtra* (No. 117), (5) *Candradvīpa-samādhi-sūtra* (No. 191), (6) *Pradīpadāniya-sūtra* (No. 428), (7) *Abhidharma-hṛdaya-śāstra* (No. 1294), —compiled by the venerable Upaśānta—a commentary on Dharmajina's *Abhidharma-hṛdaya*, the original book having been translated during the Eastren Chin Dynasty by Hwui-Yuen in 391 A. D.

At this stage some great changes in the political history took place greatly hindering the progress and prestige of Buddhism for a time and created an atmosphere of lull. The Yü-Wan family founded the Northern Chou Dynasty at Chang-an in 557; they became powerful and destroyed Northern Chi in 557 A.D. Wu-Ti, the emperor of Northern Chou Dynasty put a ban on Buddhism and Taoism, ordered temples to be destroyed and priests to return to the world. Narendrayaśas and other Buddhist monks had to flee away for their lives. But as usual the persecution was not of long duration. Five years later Wu-Ti's son withdrew his father's edict. The Chou Dynasty came to an end in 581 A. D., followed by the Sui Dynasty. The Chou Kingdom, before it became a menace to Buddhism had harboured a few Buddhist monks in Chang-an before 578 A. D. These monks were :—Jñānabhadra, who together with Jinayaśa translated one sūtra on the Pañca-vidyā, or the Five Sciences, but this was lost in 730 A. D. and we cannot say what the contents of the original were; Jinayaśa a śramaṇa of Magadha who translated (564-72) six works in collaboration with two of his Indian disciples. Two of their translations *Mahāmeghasūtra* (No. 187) and *Mahāyānābhisamaya* (No. 195) are still preserved. Yaśogupta, who is mentioned as a disciple of Jinayaśas, together with his fellow-scholar Jinagupta, who did such wonderful work in the Sui period, translated a book on Dhāraṇī. (No. 327).

Political unrest.

Minor Writers of Chou Period (557-581 A. D.).

*(To be continued)*

PRABHAT KUMAR MUKHERJI

# King Harṣa and Aihole Inscription

Verse 23 (line 11) of the Aihole inscription of the time of the great Cālukya King Pulakeśin II runs as follows:—

"Aparimita-vibhūti-sphīta-sāmantasenā-makūṭamaṇi-mayūkhā=
krānta-pādāravindaḥ |
Yudhi patita-gajendrā=neka-bībhatsabhūto bhaya-vigalitaharṣo
yena cākāri *Harṣaḥ* ||[1]

Prof. Kielhorn who edited the inscription translated the verse in the following way:—

"*Harṣa*, whose lotus-feet were arrayed with the rays of the jewels of the diadems of hosts of feudatories, prosperous with unmeasured might, through him had his mirth melted away by fear, having become loathsome with his rows of lordly elephants fallen in battle."

The translation, as it stands, seems to have nothing to be said against it; for the sense of the verse is apparently clear enough, and it cannot possibly admit of any other interpretation. The verse is taken to have reference to the repulsing of Harṣavardhana of Kanauj by the great Cālukya King Pulakeśin II, as *Harṣaḥ* the last word in the verse is taken to be a proper name evidently referring to Harṣavardhana.

But according to Prof. Dubreuil of Pondichery this particular inscription has no reference to King Harṣa. He makes the definite statement: 'It is noteworthy that the Aihole inscription makes no mention of King Harṣavardhana.'[2]

We do not know what leads the Professor to arrive at such a conclusion in the face of what appears to be an undoubted reference to the self-same King Harṣa in the verse already quoted from that very inscription. It may be the Professor bases his statement on a new interpretation of the verse different from the one generally accepted. Or it may be that he did not take notice of this particular verse of the inscription. If, however, it was due to the former fact he or some other scholar would do real good by placing that interpretation before the world of scholars, as it has not already been done by the Professor in his book to substantiate his statement, referred to above.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

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1 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. VI, p. 6.

2 Ancient History of the Deccan by Prof. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil (English translation), p. 113.

# MISCELLANY

## The Jānapada and the Paura

In chapters XXVII and XXVIII of the *Hindu Polity*, Mr. K. P. Jayaswal has tried to prove that in ancient times, there existed in the Indian states two powerful corporate bodies, *viz.*, the *Jānapada* and the *Paura*. The former had as its members the people of the *Jānapada*, *i. e.* the whole state *minus* the capital city, while the membership of the latter was confined to the citizens of the metropolis, the franchise of the members of both the bodies depending upon the ownership of property of a certain value. The members were for this reason "rich people. And those who were not rich, were not poor either" (pt. II, p. 99). "The poor but highly intellectual class of brahmins probably was not there" owing to the property qualification (p. 101). Both the *Paura* and the *Jānapada* bodies had their place of meeting and office at the capital, enabling them to act in unison whenever needed, and "matters of importance were discussed in a joint parliament of the two bodies" (p. 79). Probably the presidency capital in the empires had each a *Paura* body, though they did not possess separate *Jānapada* bodies, because their head-quarters at the imperial capital represented the whole country. These two bodies the *Jānapada* and the *Paura* were very powerful. They could make or mar the government and throw it into trouble if they so desired. I need not enter here into the details about the various functions, political or otherwise, stated by Mr. J. to have been performed by them. Suffice it to quote here an extract from his résumé at the end of chapter. XXVIII: "We had an organism or a twin organism, the *Paura-Jānapada*, which could depose the king, who nominated successor to the throne, whose kindly feelings towards a member of the royal family indicated his chance of succession, whose president was apprised by the king of the policy of state decided upon in the council of ministers who were approached and begged by the king in all humility for a new tax, whose confidence in a minister was regarded as an essential qualification for his appointment as chancellor, who were consulted and referred to with profound respect by a king aspiring to introduce a new religion, who demanded and got industrial, commercial, and financial privileges for the country, whose wrath meant ruin to provincial governors, who were coaxed and flattered in public

Mr. Jayaswal's conclusions.

clamations, who could enact statutes even hostile to the king, in fine, o could make possible or impossible the administration of the king."

I wish I could have accepted Mr. J.'s conclusions regarding the istence of the *Jānapada* and the *Paura* bodies in ancient India with eir various powers and functions. In an empire or in a large king- )m, the *Jānapada* body with its various branches all over the domain ould have been nothing short of, if not larger than, a body like the ritish Parliament, at least in the numerical strength of its members nd the vastness of its area of operation. The initiation and mainte- ance of such an organisation would certainly have been an addition o the list of India's glorious achievements in the past, if it could be )roved to have existed by indubitable evidences. But the materials hat Mr. J. has collected in the two chapters do not convince me of he soundness of the conclusions based on them.

The arguments upon which Mr. J.'s contention is based may be summed up into the following :—

Summary of Mr. J.'s arguments.

(1) The significance of the technical terms *Jānapada* (with its synonyms) and *Paura* (with its synonyms) found in use in Indian literature and inscriptions has been hitherto missed by all including the commentators.

(2) The plural *Jānapadāḥ* and *Paurāḥ* may denote the members of *Jānapada* institution as well as the people of the *Janapada*. The right meaning in a particular context can be inferred from its use in a collective sense.

(3) The existence of laws enacted by the *Jānapada* and the *Paura* and recognised by the Hindu law-codes testifies to the existence of those corporate bodies.

(4) The testimony of the references in literature and inscriptions to the various functions performed, and the extensive powers wielded, by both the *Jānapada* and the *Paura* bodies shows that the said corporate bodies existed in ancient India.

For convenience of treatment, I shall examine the evidences collected in the chapters as far as possible in the order in which they appear, instead of following the aforesaid divisions into which they can be classified.

The meaning of Paura-Jānapadaḥ in the

Mr. J. quotes the following *śloka* from the Kumbakonam edition of the *Rāmāyaṇa* : Upatiṣṭhati Rāmasya samagram abhiṣecanam, Paurajānapadāś cāpi Naigamaś ca kṛtāñjaliḥ (II. 14. 54). On consulting the work I find that the passage follows :—

Mr. J. says (p. 63) that "the verb *upatiṣṭhati* ( *is waiting* ) is in the singular and this requires the subjects in each case joined by *ca* ('and', 'as well as' ) to be in the singular. But in the text, only the *Naigama* ( corporate association of merchants of the capital ) is kept in the singular and the word *Jānapada* has been altered into a plural nominative and plural instrumental. The instrumental form is resorted to for a forced grammatical justification ( 'the Jānapadas *with* the Naigama' ). The correct reading, in the nominative singular, *Jānapadaś ca* is still found in some Mss. But it is rejected by modern editors as incorrect". I think the śloka that he has quoted as footnote 1 at p. 63 of his work is what he wants it to be in its correct form. In that case *Paura-jānapadāś ca* occu rring in the śloka should be *Paura-jānapadaś ca.* The second verse of the reconstructed śloka would then be *Paura-jānapadaś cāpi naigamaś ca kṛtāñjaliḥ* and this form has been reached by tagging the variant reading 'upatiṣṭhati' found in manuscripts *ka, kha, gha, ca, ja* to the form *Jānapadaś cāpi naigamaś ca* found in the manuscript *ta* (not "in *some* manuscripts" as stated by Mr. J. ). Now assuming that the term *Paura-jānapadaḥ* in the singular is the correct reading, it is not clear how it can have a meaning different from what is conveyed by the term *paura-jānapadāḥ*, for the compound here is 'madhyapadalopin karmadhāraya : paurasahito jānapadaḥ'. According to Pāṇini's *Sūtra* (I. 2. 58-Jātyākhyāyām ekasmin bahuvacanam anyatarasyām) on which Patañjali comments thus: Jātyākhyāyāṃ sāmānyābhidhānād aikārthyaṃ bhaviṣyati yat tad vrīhau vrīhitvaṃ yave yavatvaṃ Gārgye Gārgyatvaṃ tad ekam, tac ca vivakṣitaṃ tasyaikatvād ekavacanam eva prāpnoti, iṣyate ca bahuvacanam evam artham ihocyate ; jānapada in the singular denotes the citizens just as vrīhi in the singular ( barley-corn ) as instanced in the *Bhāṣya* denotes 'barley-corns'. Cf. *Arthaśāstra* IV, 1—Paurvapuruṣikaṃ nidhiṃ *jānapadaḥ* śuciḥ svakaraṇena samagraṃ labheta (an honest *citizen* can take a treasure-trove after proving that it is his ancestral property). Again cf. Arthaśāstra II, 34—Dvādaśapaṇam amudro *jānapado* dadyāt (a citizen of the country leaving or entering it without a pass is to pay a fine of 12 paṇas ). In the North-western recension of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (D. A. V. College Sanskrit Series, No. 7, 1923 ) the śloka is worded thus :

Paurā-jānapadaśreṇī naigamaś cāgato janaḥ
Asau Vasiṣṭho Bhagavān brāhmaṇaiḥ saha tiṣṭhati (II. 16, 27 )

nsion of the *Rāmāyaṇa* edited by Gorresio we find the following a in the place of one relied on by Mr. J. :—

Purodhaso mantriṇaś ca paura-jānapadā janāḥ,
Darśanaṃ te' bhikāṅkṣanti pratiboddhuṃ nṛpārhasi. II, 12, 21.

re the expression used is 'paura-jānapadā janāḥ', in which there nothing to show that the people were present there in their represenive capacity as members of the corporate bodies *Paura* and *napada*[1].

Now as to the evidence of the Khāravela Inscription which Mr. J. oks upon as unquestionable (pp. 62-64) : The text settled by Mr. J. is follows :—"Anugaha-anekāni satasahasāni visajati Poraṃ Jānapadaṃ" *BORS.* III, 456). This has been translated by him thus : "(He) bestows numerous privileges by hundreds and thousands on (the corporate bodies) the Paura and the Jānapada" ( Ibid., p. 463). The reason assigned by him for the translation is "the use of *Jānapadaṃ* (in the singular) shows that as he town had its paura, the Janapada (country) had its Jānapada body. This is crroborated by the Arthaśāstra which mentions the communal ssociations of the country ( deśa ) like that of the caste ( III, 10 )" *JBORS.*, III, 448 ). The use of the two words *poraṃ* and *jānapadaṃ* in the Khāravela Inscription does not advance a bit Mr. J.'s contention, because the two terms can well signify the people of the town and the people of the country. Even if there be no sūtra in the Prākṛt grammars governing the present point, corresponding to the sūtra from Pāṇini quoted previously, the rule in Prākṛt grammars (e. g. *Vararuci's Prākṛta-prakāśa*, ix, 18 ; Hemacandra's *Siddhahemacandra*, viii, 4, 448 and Lakṣmīdhara's *Ṣaḍbhāṣācandrikā*, I, 1, 2 ) that Sanskrit grammars will apply to cases for which there is no express provision in the former enables us to take *poraṃ* and *jānapadaṃ* in the sense of the people of the town and the country. In connection with the word *Jānapada*, Mr. J. states, "that there was such a body can be established

'oraṃ Jānaadaṃ in the Khāravela nscription.

1 Mr. J. quotes ( p. 62 fn. ) 'vane vatsyāmy ahaṃ durge Rāmo rājā bhaviṣyati' (*Rām.* II, 79, 12 ) for illustrating his point that 'durga' is sometimes used as a synonym of 'nagara'. It is so used no doubt, but in the passage quoted by him, 'durge' is an adjective of 'vane' and [illegible] of access ). In the next verse (13) Bharata

if we find the term in the singular, not in the sense of one man but in the collective sense." As the use of the singular as shown above does not imply that the term stands for an institution, *poraṃ* and *Jānapadaṃ* cannot be taken as institutions on the strength of their use in the singular.

Were Jānapada (deśa), Jāti and Kula corporate bodies with power of enacting laws.

Mr. J. (pp. 64, 65) states, "In the Mānava-Dharmaśāstra, the laws of caste ( jāti), *Jānapada*, and guild (śreṇī) are recognized. It is undoubted that the other two institutions of this group were corporate institutions. The code of Yājñavalkya mentions *jānapadas*, *ganas*, *śreṇis*, and *jātis* (castes) as units who 'also must be compelled to follow their own laws.'"

These are all to Mr. J. resolutions of the corporate bodies having the force of law, and the law courts enforced these laws against the offending members. They regulated primarily the conduct of those bodies and were called *samaya* i. e. 'law or resolution agreed upon in an assembly ( sam-aya ).' *Samaya*, *sthiti* and *saṃvid* were all legal enactments passed by the different assemblies of the *Paura*, *Jānapada*, etc. and corresponded to what we at present call statute as opposed to *leges* embodied in the Hindu common law ( pp. 106, 107 ).

The two passages from the Hindu law-codes mentioning, according to him, the laws of the corporate bodies are :—

Jāti-jānapadān dharmān śreṇidharmāṃś ca dharmavit,
Samīkṣya Kuladharmāṃś ca svadharmaṃ pratipādayet.
( Manu, VIII, 41 )

Vyavahārān svayaṃ paśyet sabhyaiḥ parivṛto' nvaham,
Kulāni jātīḥ śreṇīś ca gaṇān jānapadān api.
( Yājñavalkya, I, 360 )

'Dharma' in the first couplet has been taken to mean legal enactments of *jātī*, *jānapada*, *śreṇī*, and *kula* on the ground that as *śreṇī* is admittedly a corporate body and *kula* is also so on the strength of arguments advanced by him at pp. 85 ff. part I, ch. 9 of his book, the other terms *jātī* and *jānapada* must be taken in the sense of corporate bodies designated by him as caste-corporate-association and country-corporate-association. I admit that *śreṇī* was a corporate body, but *śreṇīdharma* in the present context does not appear to mean a resolution (of the body) having the force of law. On the other hand, to my mind, it has the sense of customs prevailing among the class of people constituting the *śreṇi* of a

The nature of śreṇīdharma.

ed among themselves to be bound by a particular rule (or resolution) ed (or passed) by themselves, it may be called *dharma* in the wider otation of the term, but cannot be called *dharma* in the sense of enactment. Medhātithi while commenting on the passage of u (VIII, 41) quoted above says that the rules followed by members ıe same profession are called *śreṇīdharma, e. g.* tradesmen agree ng themselves that they would not sell a particular commodity for articular period. These rules should be distinguished from either oms or legal enactments though the word *dharma* is comprehen- enough to include them all. The customs applicable to the mem- of a particular *śreṇī e. g.* of peasants or cattle-rearers are different ı the rules framed by their respective guilds. There is no evidence these guilds could make legal enactments. If any changes took e in the customary law that governed them, they were brought about rly through the various influences operating on those people, or ıugh the changed applications of the customary law to the peculiar umstances of particular cases.

As regards the *dharma* of *Jānapada, Jāti,* and *Kula* mentioned in passages from Manu and Yājñavalkya, the meaning will be ır if we bring together similar passages from other codes of ıdu law.

Gautama (XI, 20, 21) has Deśa-jāti-kuladharmā āmnāyair aviruddhāḥ pramāṇam. Karṣaka-vaṇik-paśupāla-kusīdi-kāravaḥ sve sve varge.

ıt from ages from aw-codes.

In Vasiṣṭha (XIX, 7), we have Deśadharma-jāti-kuladharmān ananupraviśya rājā caturo varṇān dharme sthāpayet.

Bṛhaspati as quoted in the *Vīramitrodaya* (vyavahāra, p. 29) says,

Deśajātikulānāñ ca ye dharmāḥ prāk pravartitāḥ,
Tathaiva te pālanīyāḥ prajā prakṣubhyate' nyathā.

ıdhāyana (I, 1, 17-22) is very explicit on *deśadharma* :

Pañcadhā vipratipattir dakṣiṇatas tath ottarataḥ. Yāni dakṣiṇatas i vyākhyāsyāmaḥ. Yath aitad anupetena saha bhojanaṃ striyā saha ɔjanaṃ paryuṣitabhojanaṃ mātulapitṛsvasṛduhitṛ gamanam iti. Ath ıarata ūrṇāvikrayaḥ sīdhupānam ubhayatodadbhir vyavahāra āyudhī- kaṃ samudrasaṃyānam iti. Itarad itarasmin kurvan duṣyatītarad ʻasmin. Tatra tatra *deśaprāmaṇyam* eva syāt.

In this passage from Baudhāyana, there is an enumeration of some stoms peculiar to certain deśas. The drinking of rum, selling of animals ving teeth in both the upper and the lower jaws, for instance, have

been cited as peculiar to the northern countries, while eating in the company of an uninitiated person, marrying the daughter of a maternal uncle or a paternal aunt has been mentioned as peculiar to the southern countries. From these instances we get an insight into the nature of the *deśadharma*. Cf. *deśadṛṣṭadharma* in the following passages from Manu and Kātyāyana quoted in the *Vīramitrodaya* ( p. 13 ).

Baudhāyana etc. on deśadharma.

Vinītaveśābharaṇaḥ paśyet kāryāṇi kāryiṇām,
Pratyahaṃ deśadṛṣṭaiś ca śāstradṛṣṭaiś ca hetubhiḥ (Manu).
Yasya deśasya yo *dharmaḥ pravṛttaḥ sārvakālikaḥ*,
Śrutismṛtyanurodhena *deśadṛṣṭaḥ* sa ucyate ( Kātyāyana ).

Āśvalāyana means by *Jānapadadharmas* local customs. Customs which were to be observed at the marriage ceremony, different in different localities, are not recorded in the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*, says its author, and those which were common everywhere were mentioned. (*Asv. Gr.* S., I, 7 Atha khalūccāvacā *jānapadadharmās* tān vivāhe pratīyāt. Yat tu samānaṃ tad vakṣyāmaḥ ).

Now as to *Kuladharma* : The following verses from Kātyāyana as quoted in the *Vīramitrodaya* (Vyavahāra, p. 29) throw light on its nature :

Explanation of Kuladharma.

Gotrasthitis tu yā teṣām kramād āyati dharmataḥ,
Kuladharmaṃ tu taṃ prāhuḥ pālayet taṃ tathaiva tu.

(Customs peculiar to a *gotra* that have come down from generation to generation as *dharma* constitute *Kuladharma* of the people of the *gotra* for their observance as such). As an instance of the *gotrasthiti* or *kula-dharma* (cf. Maskari on Gautama XI, 22 ) we may point to the custom of keeping a tuft of hair on the head in a particular position, e. g. on the right side of the head of the Vasiṣṭhas, on the centre or the back of the head by the members of other gotras (*Hiraṇyakeśi Gṛhya Sūtra*, II, 6, 12 ; *Āpastamba Gṛ. S.*, VI, 7 ).

Instances of *jātidharma* are found in the commentaries on the law-codes. Haradatta while explaining *jātidharma* remarks ( Gautama, XI, 20 ) that a custom like the following is prevalent among the śūdras, viz., at the time of marriage the bridegroom accompanied by the bride and holding in one of his hands a receptacle containing a thousand lamps goes round a post erected for the purpose. Maskari (Gaut., XI, 22 ) cites as an example of *jātidharma* the total abstention of the Ābhīras from colouring their teeth.

Instances of Jātidharma.

The explanation of word *arthān* in the following passage of

tama (XI, 23) on *Śreṇīs* by the word *ācārān* by both Haradatta Maskari is significant: Tebhyo (Karṣaka-vaṇik-paśupāladi-kārubhyaḥ) yathādhikāram *arthān* pratyavahṛtya dharmavyahā. The passage clearly refers to the customs of the *śreṇīs*.

The passage from the *Arthaśāstra* quoted by Mr. J. in this connection in support of his contention is *deśajātikulasaṅghānāṃ samayasyānapākarma vyākhyātam* in which each of the terms *deśa, jāti* and *kula* has been taken to have connection with the word *saṅgha* to form the expression *deśasaṅgha, jātisaṅgha,* and *kulasaṅgha.* But such a construction is unwarranted. The words *deśa, jāti, kula,* and *saṅgha* uld be taken separately, as has been done in another passage at 105 of the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra,* viz.,

truction of assage jātikula- hānām etc. e Kauṭi-

Deśasya jātyāḥ saṅghasya dharmo grāmasya vāpi yaḥ,
Ucitas tasya tenaiva dāyadharmaṃ prakalpayet.

*Jāti-saṅgha-kula-karma-vṛttastavam* on which the *Nayacandrikā* nments thus:—jātiḥ kṣatriytvādiḥ, saṅghaḥ Kāmbojādiḥ, kulam hijanaḥ, karma jīvitam, vṛttam ācāraḥ—teṣāṃ stavam. A reference the context of the passages will also show that by *kula* is eant a family and by *deśa* and *jāti* country and caste, i. e. people longing to a country and a caste.

Mr. J. cites (p. 66) a passage from Bṛhaspati quoted in the *Vīramidaya* (p. 120) in which *deśasthiti* has been taken by him to mean the laws of deśa (or janapada) association. But the context does not support the contention. Preceding e passage is found the following line:—*Caritrasya vyavahārabādhaṃ āha Bṛhaspatiḥ* which shows that *deśasthiti* is *caritra.* Bṛhaspati mself (as quoted in the *Parāśaramādhava,* III, p. 198) identifies *śasthiti* with *caritra*:

śasthiti.

Dharmeṇa vyavahāreṇa caritreṇa nṛpajñayā,
Catuḥprakāro 'bhihitaḥ sandigdhārthavinirṇayaḥ.
.....
Deśasthityā tṛtīyena śāstravidbhir udāhṛtaḥ.

hat *caritra* means custom is clear from the following passages of rhaspati quoted in the *Parāśaramādhava* (III, p. 17):

Yad yad ācaryate yena dharmyaṃ cādharmyam eva vā,
Deśasyācaraṇaṃ nityaṃ caritraṃ tadd hi kīrtitam.

Kātyāyana as quoted in the *Vīramitrodaya* (p. 117) also expressly tates that *deśasthiti* is custom (deśasthitiḥ pūrvakṛtāṃ caritam).

Mr. J. (pp. 106, 107) looks upon *samaya* as the resolution of a

corporate body having the force of law. According to him *samaya* and *saṃvid* were statutes of fiscal and political nature, *saṃvid* being probably the same as *deśasthiti* that is enforceable against every body in the country and passed by the 'country-corporate-association.' He (p. 66) finds in the following verses of Bṛhaspati quoted in the *Vīramitrodaya* ( p. 189 ) a reference to such legal enactments passed by the corporate bodies called *grāma* and *deśa* :

Grāmo deśaś ca yat kuryāt satyalekhyaṃ parasparam,
Rājāvirodhidharmārthaṃ saṃvitpatraṃ vadanti tat.

The term signifying the resolution is, according to him, *saṃvid*. That *saṃvid* is the same as *samaya* will be apparent from the fact that the sections dealing with *saṃvid* in the Hindu law-codes use *samaya* as the synonym of *saṃvid*. For instance, in Manu the treatment of the subject of *saṃvid* commences with these verses :

Yo grāmadeśasaṅghānāṃ kṛtvā satyena saṃvidam,
Visaṃvaden naro lobhāt tam rāṣṭrād vipravāsayet.

The following śloka proceeds on the assumption that *samaya* is *saṃvid* as will be apparent on the face of it.

Nigṛhya dāpayec cainaṃ samayavyabhicāriṇam,
Catuḥsuvarṇān ṣaṇ niṣkāṃś chatamānañ ca rājatam.

Similarly in the *prakaraṇa* called *saṃvidvyatikrama*, Yājñavalkya (II, 186) enjoins the Brāhmaṇas whom the king has settled in the capital (II, 185) to observe the *sāmayikadharma* and also *rājakṛtadharma* which are not in conflict with *nijadharma*.

The same is the case with the *Parāśaramādhava* (B. S. S., vol. III, p. 346), the *Vīramitrodaya* (Vyavahāra, p. 423) and the *Vivādaratnākara* (Bibl. Ind., p. 177). In view of this identity of *saṃvid* and *samaya*, I do not think that the distinction which Mr. J. draws between *samayas* and *saṃvids* (pp. 106, 107) is justified. Cf. *Amarakoṣa* on *samaya*.

To arrive at the right meaning of the term *samaya*, we should examine the circumstances in which the law-givers and the *nibandhakāras* enjoin that *samayas* should be made. Bṛhaspati is the law-giver who is explicit on this subject and has therefore been quoted in the commentaries like the *Parāśaramādhava*, *Aparārka* and also in the *nibandhas* like the *Vīramitrodaya* and the *Vivādaratnākara*. He says that *samayakriyā* should be resorted to in times of danger (bādhākāla) e.g. from tigers and thieves ; or in connection with works of religious merit (dharmakārya) such as the construction of a temple, excavation of a tank, performance of a sacrifice, etc. For carrying out these works of common interest and public utility, a few people agree among

selves to contribute their shares (of labour or money) necessary he purpose (kāryam asmābhir aṃśataḥ) and this agreement is ed to writing in order that in the case of any one of them refusing deem his promise, the king might be appealed to for punishment. ıe *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, in the *prakaraṇa* devoted to *samayasyā-ikarma* (performance of agreements), the last couplet states that king should support those people who carry out works of public efit performed as the results of agreements. Kauṭilya includes eṣās (public shows) in the list of works done through *samayas*. s reminds one of the *Barwaris* of later times taking place ough the performance of an agreement among a number of people h this difference that there is no fear of punishment from the vernment for the breach of the agreement. It may be noticed that uṭilya even mentions the agreement between an agricultural labourer d the people of the grāma as an instance of *samaya*. These *nayas* cannot be called laws or resolutions having the force of law. ıey are mere agreements, breaches of which were punishable by e king. A glance at the parties making the agreement as mentioned the law-codes will also show that they may be mere groups of en with no corporate character such as a few Brāhmaṇas settled the king in the capital (see Yājñ. II, 185 and Bṛhaspati quoted in ıe *Vīramitrodaya*, p. 423). That *samaya* was an agreement of the sort ıentioned above and not a resolution committed to writing and having ıe force of law passed by corporate bodies will be evident from the ollowing śloka of Bṛhaspati quoted in the *Vīramitrodaya* ( Vyav., . 426), the *Parāśaramādhava* (III, p. 253) and the *Vivādaratnākara* . 178) in connection with the treatment of *saṃvid*:

Kośena lekhyakriyayā madhyasthair vā parasparam,
Viśvāsaṃ prathamaṃ kṛtvā kuryuḥ kāryāṇy anantaram.

The passage mentions madhyasthas, lekhyakriyā and kośa (*i. e.* livya) as safegaurds against breaches of the *samaya*. The mere nention of *saṃvitpatra* might lend colour to the supposition that the egal enactments of the corporate bodies passing them were 'recorded on a roll.' But the mention of the *madhyasthas* militates against the idea of the *samayas* being legal enactments, as neither *madhyasthas* nor *kośas* (oaths) are needed for the passing of legal enactments.

Mr. J. points out (p. 106) that according to Āpastamba all laws originated in *samayas* (legal enactments passed by corporate bodies). The commentator Haradatta however explains *samaya* by the expression *pauruṣeyī vyavasthā* (I, 1, 1), and *āryasamaya* in the following

way : āryāḥ śiṣṭāḥ Manvādayaḥ teṣāṃ samayo vyavasthā ( i. e. the injunctions of Manu etc. ). *Parāśaramādhava* ( III, p. 19 ) gives instances of *deśasamaya*, from which it is clear that he takes the word *samaya* to mean custom : Karṇāṭakadeśe balān mātulasutā-vivāho na doṣāya, keraḷadeśe kanyāyā ṛtumatītvaṃ na doṣāya.

At p. 67, Mr. J. makes the statement that "when a document registered by the deśa-adhyakṣa is termed by Vyāsa the law-giver a Jānapada document, the *adhyakṣa* of *deśa* is the President of the *deśa* assembly or the Jānapada." But it will be evident from the following passages that deśādhyakṣa had no connection with the sort of popular assembly that Mr. J. has in mind. It is stated in the *Viṣṇusmṛti* ( Bibl. Ind. III, 7-14, p. 11 ) that the king should appoint the deśādhyakṣa whose position is higher than that of the śatādhyakṣa i. e. adhyakṣa of a hundred villages, after whom come the daśādhyakṣa and the grāmādhyakṣa :

Deśādhyakṣa.

Tatra svasvagrāmādhipān kuryāt. Daśādhyakṣān. Śatādhyakṣān. Deśādhyakṣāṃś ca. Grāmadoṣāṇāṃ grāmādhyakṣaḥ parihāraṃ kuryāt. Aśakto daśagrāmādhyakṣāya nivedayet. So' pyaśaktaḥ śatādhyakṣāya. So' pyaśakto *deśādhyakṣāya*.

Cf. *Mahābhārata*, Kumbhakonam ed., Śānti, 87, 2ff.

Grāmasyādhipatiḥ kāryo daśagrāmapatis tathā,
Viṃśatitriṃśatīśaṃ ca sahasrasya ca kārayet.
Grameyān gramadoṣāṃś ca grāmikaḥ pratibhāvayet
Tān ācakṣīta daśine daśiko viṃśine punaḥ.
Viṃśādhipas tu tat sarvaṃ vṛttaṃ *jānapade jane*,

Cf. also *Śukranīti*, I, 347.

caturdikṣv athavā *deśādhipān* kuryāt sadā nṛpaḥ.

A passage of the *Viṣṇusmṛti* ( VII, 3 ) which Mr. J. himself has quoted as footnote at p. 67 makes it clear that the *adhyakṣas appointed by the king* signed documents : Rājādhikaraṇatanniyuktakāyasthakṛtaṃ tadadhyakṣakaracihnitaṃ rajasākṣikam.

*Janapadamahattara* as well as *rāṣṭramukhya* has been taken by Mr. J. as the leader of the *janapada* assembly. In support of his opinion he has referred to a passage in the *Daśakumāra-carita* ( ch. 3 ). A glance at the passage will show that there is nothing in it to indicate that the *Janpada-mahattara* was the leader of any assembly. He has been referred to in the passage as a gṛhapati (householder) and a śatahali i. e. possessing a hundred ploughs. From these terms only this much is clear that he

Janapada-mahattara.

ı influential citizen but no inference can be drawn as to his ction with any popular assembly. In the footnote in support contention he points out the use of the expression *grāmaghoṣa-ttaraḥ* in the *Rāmāyaṇa* ( II, 83. 15 ). Govindarāja explains the *mahattaraḥ* by the word *pradhānabhūtaḥ* but the latter word othing in it to show that it implies the leadership of an assembly. influence due to various causes can make a man prominent village. As regards *ghoṣa* Mr. J. says on the strength of the rks of Patañjali and Kātyāyana on Pāṇini ( IV, 3, 127 ) that ı was a small township with corporate arms and seals. Again at . of Pt. I of his book he remarks, 'Kātyāyana points out that ni's IV, 3, 127 will apply to township called *ghoṣa* also, *ghoṣa-ṇam api kartavyam.* This leads us to the inference that town-s or municipalities had their corporate symbols or arms'. The a of Pāṇini with the vārtika of Kātyāyana runs thus :

Saṅghāṅkalakṣaṇeṣv añ-yāñ-iñām aṇ. Ghoṣagrahaṇam api kartavyam. he affix *aṇ* comes in the sense of 'this is his' after a patronymic d ending with the affix añ, yañ or iñ, the words so formed ressing a multitude, a mark, or a sign. The word *ghoṣa* 'a cow-pen' uld also be read along with *saṅgha* etc.*). As a matter of fact *ṣa* has nothing to do with *aṅka* or *lakṣaṇa*. The sūtra enumerates senses in which the affix is added to certain words. These ses are four, viz.

(1) congregation, ( saṅgha )
(2) mark ( aṅka )
(3) sign ( lakṣaṅa )
(4) a hamlet or cow-pen ( ghoṣa ).

This is clear that the sūtra or the vārtika does not speak of the *ka* and *lakṣaṇa* ( arms and seals according to Mr. J. ) of a *ghoṣa.* or do the words *aṅka* and *lakṣaṇa* mean arms and seals as will be ident from the kārikā on this sūtra : "Lakṣaṇa means a mark which the property of that person and forms a *distinguishing* feature of at person, as *vidyā* learning is a *lakṣaṇa* of the clan of Bidas, the das being famous for learning. The word *aṅka* is a mark which shows at the thing so marked is the property of another, as a mark on a ow shows to what person or clan that cow belongs. The *aṅka* ough occurring in a person or thing does not belong to that person or ing, as the mark of a cow does not belong to the cow, but the *lakṣaṇa* the mark which belongs to the person or thing wherein it is found."

Mr. J.'s statement that suits filed by a person hostile to the *paura*

or city assembly or to the *rāṣṭra* or the *jānapada* assembly could not be entertained by a law-court proceeds on the assumption that the words *pura* and *rāṣṭra* are synomyms for the *paura* assembly and *jānapada* assembly. Mitramiśra does not explain the two words by the expression *paura-jānapada* meaning thereby the *paura* and *jānapada* assemblies as stated by Mr. J. On the other hand it is clear from this portion of the sentence used in connection with the explanation of the śloka viz. *rājñā svarāṣṭre pratiṣiddhaḥ* (*Vīr.*, vyav., p. 44) that *svarāṣṭra* has been used in the usual sense of the king's own dominion. It does not bear the sense of the *jānapada* assembly. Mitramiśra explains the śloka thus :

'Purarāṣṭraviruddho—yatra *nagare rāṣṭre* ca yā vyavasthā purātanī tadvirodhāpādako vyavahāro nādeyaḥ paurajanapadakṣobhāpādakatvāt. Kenacin nimittena prācīno'pi rājñā svarāṣṭre pratiṣiddhaḥ so'pi rājājñābhaṅgaprasaṅgān nāṅgīkartavya iti', the gist of which is that a suit in which a *long standing vyavasthā* prevailing in the *town* and the *country* has to be contravened is not to be entertained by the law court as that might be a cause for displeasure of the people of the town and the country. But if a *vyavasthā* though old be done away with by the king, a suit for remedy against the *vyavasthā* which has been rescinded cannot be entertained, as it involves the transgression of the king's order. Cf. *Aparārka* on Yājñavalkya, II, 6 which explains in this connection the term *purarāṣṭraviruddha* by the expression *purarāṣṭrācāraviruddha.*

The statements (p. 68) that "*Paura* does not relate to all the towns in the kingdom as it has been translated by both Indians and Europeans," and that the "earlier Hindu writers understood by the technical *Pura* and *Nagara* the capital" are baseless.

Pura does not mean the capital only.

The terms *pura* and *nagara* were no doubt applicable to capitals, but at the same time there was nothing to bar the application of the terms to denote the towns in the kingdom other than its capital. The *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* ( 4, 9 ) mentions for instance both the *nagara* and the *rājadhānī* in the same expression in a sentence : grāmanagaranigama-jānapada-rāṣṭra-rājadhānīṣu. The *Śukranīti* also asks the king to inspect the towns ( *Purāṇi* ) in his kingdom in the following verse :

Grāmān *purāṇi* deśāṃś ca svayaṃ saṃvīkṣya vatsare ( I, 374 ).

In another passage of the *Śukranīti*, one of the duties of a Government official has been prescribed as reporting to the king the number of *puras*, villages, etc. in his kingdom :

*Purāṇi* ca kati grāmā araṇyāni ca santi hi ( II, 102 ).

J. relies on a passage in the *Divyāvadāna* to show that Aśoka's
nāla, who had been sent by the former to Takṣaśilā to pacify
ple there, entered the *Paura* assembly. This passage has been
om the description of an evil dream dreamt by Aśoka about
. If a dream be taken as a reflection of actuality, in the present
e have in the work the description of what has been put as
y. In this, Kunāla has been described as entering Takṣaśilā
ilām anuprāptaḥ—*Divyāvadāna*, p. 408 ) and the people of the
ve been described as bringing him into the town (Takṣaśilāṃ
aḥ *Ibid.*, p. 408). This clearly shows that the word *pauram* in
sage on which Mr. J. relies is a wrong reading or a misprint for

the strength of passages in which the word *samūha* has been
r. J. has attempted to show that *grāma* was a village associa-
tion, and *paura* was the corporate body at the capital.

The *Vīramitrodaya* ( p. 11 ) explains *paura* as *pura-
ṃ samūhaḥ*. Here *samūha* has been taken by Mr. J. as a
al term meaning a corporate association because Caṇḍeśvara
*Vivādaratnākara* ( p. 669 ) quoting Kātyāyana explains *pūga* as
*tināṃ samūhaḥ*, and *saṅgha* as *ārhatasaugatānāṃ samūhaḥ*.
Mr. J. has not been able to prove that *samūha* in these passages
een used in the sense of a corporate association. *Samūha* has
ise of a collection, and the first passage quoted by Mr. J. means
ection of citizens. The terms *pūga* and *saṅgha* are known to
rporate bodies from other evidences, but *paura* is not known to
body of that sort. The mere passage *puravāsināṃ samūhaḥ*
not prove that it was also a corporate body, because *samūha*
merely a multitude. It remains to be proved that *samūha*
a corporate body, and it is only begging the question to state
e strength of the use of the word *samūha* that *paura* was a
ate body. Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini ( V, 1, 59 )
ks *saṅghaḥ samūhaḥ samudāya ity anarthāntaram* ( *saṅgha*,
*a*, and *samudāya* have the same meaning ). This shows that
and *samūha* are used in the sense of a mere multitude like
*āya*. The word *saṅgha* is no doubt used in the sense of a
ate body in particular cases, but in such cases, the context
clearly show that it denotes a corporate body. The sense of
ide borne by the word *saṅgha* is clearly seen by the use of
*ha* in the passage of Kaiyaṭa on Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* on
V, 1, 59.

The next passage on which Mr. J. relies for proving that *grāma* and *paura* were corporate bodies ( the one being the village association and the other the association of the capital ) is the passage of Bṛhaspati quoted in the *Vivādaratnākara* ( p., 669 ) :

Gaṇapāṣaṇḍapūgāś ca vrātāś ca śreṇayas tathā,
Samūhasthāś ca ye cānye vargākhyāś[1] te Bṛhaspatiḥ.

Mr. J. has taken *samūhastha* as an adjective of *vargākhya* in this passage as will be apparant from his use of the expression *samūhastha vargas,* but *samūhastha* in the second verse is clearly an adjective of *anye* and therefore the meaning is 'and other collections are called vargas.' The expression *samūhastha vargas* or 'bodies incorporated' cannot be derived from the verse. The sense of *varga* is class or multitude of similar things animate or inanimate ; [vide *Kaśikā-vivaraṇapañjikā* (*the Nyāsa*) on *Kaśikā*, V, 1, 60 :

Saṅghaśabdo hi prāṇisamudāye rūḍhaḥ, vargaśabdas tu samūhamātre ].

The next passage ( p. 69 ) upon which Mr. J. takes his stand is

Grāmapauraganaśreṇyaś caturvidhāś ca ( sic ) vargiṇaḥ.

The expression *caturvidhāśca* has been put by Mr. J. as *cāturvidhāś ca* in fn. 4 at p. 70, and as *cāturvidyaś ca* in fn. 2 at p. 73. The last expression is the actual reading of the *Vīramitrodaya,* p. 11 from which he has quoted. At p. 69 the distorted reading has caused the disappearance of a class of individuals contemplated in the verse, viz. the *cāturvidyas* i. e. those who have acquired the knowledge of four branches of learning. A corporate body of all such men is not known. Hence the expression *caturvidhāś ca* has fitted into the verse better in the present connection than *cāturvidyaś ca* quoted by him correctly later on could have.

As to Mr. J.'s statement that 'Kātyāyana speaks of separate laws of the samūhas' on the basis of the passage *samūhānāṃ tu yo dharmas tena dharmeṇa te sadā* ( *Vivādaratnākara,* p. 180 ), Caṇḍeśvara himself explains in connection with the previous śloka that *dharma* here means *pāramparika ācāra,* which does away with the possibility of assuming that these *dharmas* were legal enactments made by the *samūhas.* The following statement of Mr. J. appearing as a footnote at p. 69 should be examined :

(1) "Cf. Mitramiśra's comment on another corporate body (sārtha).

1 The correct reading should be *vargyākhyās te.* See *Parāśara-mādhava,* III, p. 26, fn. 2.

*lito janasaṅghaḥ* 'associated body of men,' *VM.*, p. 11." Here it suited Mr. J.'s purpose to omit the portion of the sentence preceg the words *milito janasaṅghaḥ* viz. *grāmadevayātradau*, because learly states that *janasaṅgha* refers to the collection of men assemd on the occasions of the celebrations of festivals of the village or deities. The crowd assembled then cannot evidently be called a porate body.

Mr. J.'s remark that "Amara and Kātya, lexicographers, in giving meanings of *Prakṛti* says that the term means amongst others *Paura*, i. e., the Associations ( Śreṇayaḥ ) of the *Pauras*" contrats his position that there was only one association of the Pauras the capital, as the lexicographers here refer to several *śreṇis* of the *uras*. Moreover, Mr. J. himself distinguishes between what he lls the *Paura* body and the *śreṇis* of merchants etc., in the city. y identifying the *śreṇi* with *Paura* he has contradicted himself.

The use of the words *paurajānapadaṃ janam* in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, , 111, 19 can well mean the people of the *pura* and the *janapada*, and ıe use of the words *kim āryam anuśāsatha* which has been translated ıto 'what do you order His Highness' is only a polite form of expresion and does not mean that the supposed *paura-jānapada* body really ccupied such an elevated position as to be able to order Rāma [Cf. *Abhijñānaśakuntala*, V, Rājā (to Purohita)—Anuśāstu māṃ bhavān]. The passage of the *Rāmāyaṇa* on which the translation has been ased is different in both the Kumbhakonam and the Nirṇayasāgar ditions as the reading is 'kim āryam nānuśāsatha' [why are you not speaking to ārya (Rāma)].

The use of the word *pariṣadaḥ* in Bharata's speech (*R.* II, 111, 24,) is not a conclusive proof of a reference to the *Paura* and the *Jānapada* bodies as the term is applicable to the state-council, the Mantriparişad, etc., on which salaried officials had their seats.

From the above considerations, it appears that the *Paura* or the *Jānapada* body did not exist at all. The division of the *Paura* and the *Jānapada* bodies into the inner and the outer sections is also without any good ground to support it. '*Ābhyantaras*' in relation to the *Pauras* means, according to the commentators Rāma and Govindarāja on the *Rāmayaṇa*, II, 2, 51, the *sevakas* ( those who serve the king ), and the *antaḥpuracārijanas* ( those attached to the king's palace ), while accor ding to Nīlakaṇṭha on the *Mahābhārata*, Śānti, 87, 25 '*bāhyas*' in relation to the *jānapadas* means *āṭaviko dasyusaṅghaḥ* i, e. marauding foresters. That *bāhya* has

reference to the *āṭavikas* is also seen in this passage of the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* ( VIII, 4 ): *Bāhyo mitrāṭavīstambhaḥ*. Thus by implication, *bāhya* in relation to the *pauras* means those *pauras* who are not attached to the palace as royal entourage, and *ābhyantara* in relation to the *jānapadas* means the people within the *janapada* not living in the forests.

As to the *Paura* or the *Nagara-vṛddhas* there is no reason to infer that they were not elders among the people of the town. There is no ground for thinking that the *Paura-vṛddhas* constituted the council of elders which might be identified with the inner body of the supposed *Paura* body.

As regards the rule of etiquette from which Mr. J. infers the existence of the popular basis of the supposed *Paura* body representing even the lowest interest, the passage from the *Gautama Dharma Sūtra* VI, 11 on which he relies has been misinterpreted. *Pūrvaḥ paurah* has been taken to signify a *paura* ex-member while its correct interpretation is *vayasā pūrvaḥ* i.e. senior (see Haradatta and Maskari). The correct translation of the passage is given in the S. B. E., vol. II, pt. 1, p. 209:

"But (on the arrival of an) officiating priest, a father-in-law, paternal and maternal uncles who are younger (than oneself), one must rise ; they need not be saluted.

In like manner (any) other *aged fellow citizen*, even a Śūdra of eighty years and more (must be honoured) by one young enough to be his son."

A glance at the following passages of Manu ( II, 137 ) and Yājñavalkya (I, 116) will show that there was the practice of a Brāhmaṇa doing honour to a Śūdra on account of his old age irrespective of any connection of him with any corporate body :

.....mānārhaḥ *Śūdro 'pi daśamīṃ gataḥ* (Manu, II, 137).

Vidyākarmavayobandhuvittair mānyā yathākramam,
Etaiḥ prabhūtaiḥ *Śūdro'pi vārdhake mānam arhati* (Yājñ., I, 116).

Then again Mr. J.'s statement is (p. 72, fn. 1) that the *Gautama Dharma Sūtra*, VI, 9-15 "lays down an exception with regard to etiquette between *Pauras*. Even if the difference in age were of ten years, fellow *Pauras* were to treat each other as if born on the same day" (14-15). Here the assumption is that the *Pauras* are so called because they are the members of the *Paura body*. But Mitramiśra (Saṃskāra, p. 466) while explaining a passage from Manu (II, 134) on this point (daśābdākhyaṃ paurasakhyam) remarks :

*Ekapuravāsināṃ* adhikataravidyādiguṇarahitānāṃ daśābdaparyan-ıṃ jyeṣṭhtve saty api sakhā ity evam ākhyāyate na tu abhivādyaḥ. uragrahaṇaṃ pradarśanārtham, tena ekagrāmavāse' py evam bhavati. Among *persons living in the same town*, but not having superiority y reason of learning, wealth or any other qualifications, if the ifference in age be up to ten years, they should treat each other as iends, and no salutation is necessary. The *pura* has been used here nly as a typical example and so the remark applies also to people ving in the same village). This shows that the rule of etiquette nentioned here prevailed among townsmen and villagers known to ne another. Cf. *Aparārka* on Yājñavalkya, I, 26; *Smṛticandrikā*, aṃskāra, p. 107; *Parāśaramādhava*, I, p. 325.

I find no basis for the statement that the *Paura* had a Registrar nd the document given by him was regarded as a superior kind of vidence. Mr. J. quotes this passage from Vasiṣṭha (Führer's ed., p. 84) n support of the remark: cirakam nāma likhitaṃ purāṇaiḥ pauralekha-kaiḥ. Neither this line nor the passages in Vasiṣṭha preceding or succeed-ng it refer to the superiority of the *pauralekhya* to the other kinds of *lekhya*. On the other hand, the *Śukranītisāra* (II, 282) states that the *pauralekhya* is a document of an inferior kind:

Uttamaṃ rājalikhitaṃ madhyaṃ mantryādibhiḥ kṛtam,
*Pauralekhyaṃ kaniṣṭhaṃ* syāt sarvaṃ saṃsādhanakṣamam.

The inference that the supposed *Paura* body was a popular institution because the *pauralekhya* (which Mr. J. takes as the document of the *Paura* body but which really means a document belonging to a citizen as opposed to the king) was called *laukika* in contradistinction to *rājakīya* is erroneous. The kinds of *laukika* document, mentioned in the law-codes e. g. *Parāśaramādhava*, III, p. 119, *Vīramitrodaya*, p. 159, clearly show that they were so called because their contents were related to the affairs of the subjects as opposed to those of the king. The difference between these two classes did not rest on the fact as to who registered the documents, for we see that whenever the documents were registered, they were done by an official appointed by the king:

Rājādhikaraṇe tanniyuktakāyasthakṛtaṃ *tadadhyakṣakaracihṇitaṃ* rājasākṣikam—*Viṣṇusmṛti*, VI, 3. *Deśādhyakṣādilikhitaṃ* tatra jānapadam kṛtam—*Vīramitrodaya*, p. 201. (As to *Deśādhyakṣa* being a king's official, see *Viṣṇusmṛti*, III, 7-14).

As regards the non-political functions of the *Pauras* mentioned by Mr. J. (72 ff.) the inferences are not at all sound.

(*a*) According to him the first function is that of administering the properties left by deceased persons in collaboration with the government officials. The passage on which this conclusion is based is this :

Prahīṇadravyāṇi rājagāmīni bhavanti. Tato 'nyathā rājā mantribhiḥ saha nāgaraiś ca kāryāṇi kuryāt (Vasiṣṭha, XVI, 19, 20).

['Property entirely given up (by its owner) goes to the king. If it be otherwise, the king with his ministers and the citizens shall administer it.' (Bühler, S.B.E.). Bühler adds this note on *tato 'nyathā* : 'If the owner gave his property up temporarily only, e. g. went on a journey or a pilgrimage, leaving it without anybody to take care of.']. The use of the word *nāgara* cannot support the conclusion that a member of the supposed *Paura* body has been meant.

(*b & c*) The words *Śāntika* and *Pauṣṭika* have been interpreted by Mr. J. into 'policing the town' and 'contributing to the material strength of the citizens.' This interpretation is utterly absurd. The passage of Bṛhaspati quoted in the *Vīramitrodaya*, p. 424, on which he bases his statement relates to the Brāhmaṇas settled by the king in the city and not to any institution (Vedavidyāvido viprān śrotriyān agnihotriṇaḥ, Āhṛtya sthāpayet tatra teṣāṃ vṛttiṃ prakalpayet—*Vīramitrodaya*, p. 423). The verses quoted by him have been translated by Prof. Jolly (S.B.E., vol. XXIII) thus :

'They (Brahmins established by the king) shall perform for the citizens constant, special and voluntary rites, as well as expiatory and auspicious ones, and pass decisions in doubtful cases.'

*Śāntika* and *Pauṣṭika* have reference to rites that are calculated to avert evil and promote welfare respectively. The performance of these rites was part of the duties of the priest as will be apparent from the following evidences: (1) *Atharva Pariśiṣṭa*, III, 1, 10—Purodhāḥ śāntikapauṣṭikaprāyaścittīyābhicārikanaimittikordvadehikāni Atharvavihitāni karmāṇi kuryāt. (2) *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra*, IV, 31—Atharvavihitaṃ nityaṃ kuryāc chāntikapauṣṭikam.

Again in connection with the enumeration of the kinds of *sruva* the *AV. Pariśiṣṭa*, XXI, 3, 1 and 3 states that a *sruva* made of gold is used in a *Śāntika* rite and one made of silver is used in a *Pauṣṭika* rite (Sauvarṇaḥ Śāntike proktaḥ and Pauṣṭike rājataṃ vidyāt). This shows clearly the meanings borne by the terms *Śāntika* and *Pauṣṭika*.

(*d*) I have already shown that the mere use of the word *paura* does not prove that there was a *Paura* body. The term *paura* in the passage *grāma-paura-gaṇa-śreṇyaś cāturvidyaś ca vargiṇaḥ* may mean

tizens appointed by the king for trying cases in view of this passage the *Śukranīti* ( IV, 5, 16-18 ):

Vyavahāravidaḥ prājñā vṛttaśīlaguṇānvitāḥ,
Rājñā niyojitavyās te sabhyāḥ sarvāsu jātiṣu.
Kīnāśāḥ kārukāḥ śilpikusīdiśreṇinartakāḥ,
Liṅginas taskarāḥ kuryuḥ svena dharmeṇa nirṇayam.

(*e*) The quotation from Bṛhaspati in the *Vīramitrodaya*, p. 425, elating to works of religious merit and public utility, does not appear o have any connection with the supposed *Paura* body. The way in vhich these works were carried out has been explained already in onnection with *Samayakriyā*.

Mr. J. identifies the organisation which according to Megasthenes existed in the city of Pataliputra to look after its municipal administration with the supposed *paura* organisation. He says that 'the most important point to mark is the phrase the *City Magistrates* which in the mouth of a Greek will signify popular officers and not officers appointed by the king. The royal officer, governor of the city, the *Nāgaraka*, as described in the *Arthaśāstra*, was distinct.' This position however is not tenable. The words 'magistrates of self-governed cities' used by Arrian (XII) in connection with the description of the seventh caste have evidently misled Mr. J. The meaning of these words becomes clear on a reference to the preceding paragraph describing the sixth caste of what Arrian calls superintendents (informants). They used 'to spy out what goes on in country and town, and report everything to the king where the people have a king, and to the magistrates where the people are self-governed.' Here Arrian is drawing a line between monarchies and city-states and the magistrates are informed by the superintendents in a city-state just as the king in a monarchy listens to the information. The passage does not at all contemplate the city of Pataliputra during Candragupta's reign as the head of the state was the monarch and not the 'magistrates.'

Administration of Pataliputra.

In Hamilton and Falconer's translation of the passage of Megasthenes quoted in Strabo we find no doubt that the term 'magistrates' has been used, but its meaning becomes clear on a reference to McCrindle's translation of the same passage. In the former translation we have: "of the magistrates some have charge of the market, others of the city, others of the soldiery," while in the latter we find "*of the great officers of State*, some have charge of the market, others of the city, others of the soldiers." The magistrates were therefore

officers of state appointed by the king and not the 'magistrates' ( of Arrian ) who were the heads of the democratic city-states. Moreover Megasthenes states that those who had charge of the city were divided into six bodies of five each, while those who directed military affairs were also divided into six divisions with five members to each. If we suppose that these members were elected by the people we shall have to accept the conclusion that the control over the military in Candragupta's dominion was vested not in the emperor but in the people,—an inference which does not tally with facts. What Megasthenes therefore really means is that the municipal administration of the city was vested in six bodies of officials, each body comprising five of them and this arrangement cannot be identified with the *paura* organisation supposed by Mr. J. The existence of the *nāgaraka* whose duties have been described by the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* does not of itself prove that the city magistrates were 'popular officers.' The *nāgaraka* might well have been an executive officer working under the six boards of officials. Moreover it is evident from the *Arthaśāstra* that each department of government was put under several heads who were transferred from one department to another from time to time (II, 9 Bahumukhyam anityaṃ cādhikaraṇaṃ sthāpayet). The use of the word *mukhya* to signify an official head of a department also shows that from expressions like *'pauramukhyas,'* the inference cannot be drawn that they must be the office-bearers elected by the people and not government officials appointed by the king.

I do not understand why Mr. J. states (p. 75) that 'the boards of five and the full board of thirty disclose the same arrangement as the quorums of three, five, ten, twenty and upwards in the Pariṣads of Law, Buddhist Saṃgha, and the *pañcaka*, *daśaka* and *viṃśaka saṅghas* of Patañjali.' Here as also in another passage on the same page where he says that a *varga* means an assembly or quorum, the meaning of the term 'quorum' has been stretched too far. Quorum has always a reference to a constituted body of persons from among whom a certain number must be present at a meeting to render its proceedings valid. In regard to the Pariṣads of Law, different numbers of persons constitute the Pariṣads on particular occasions to carry on the work and there is no bigger constituted body with reference to which the persons meeting to do the work can form a quorum. The absence of this constituted bigger body of persons makes the application of the the word 'quorum' in respect of the chapters of Buddhist monks and the boards of five or thirty of Megasthenes quite inappropriate, because

the quorum of a body of five, for instance, would be constituted by a lesser number than five. As regards the *pañcaka*, *daśaka* and *viṃśaka saṅghas* of Patañjali (Pāṇ., V, I, 58, 59), the word *saṅgha* has been used in a general sense meaning only a collection : *saṅghaḥ samūhaḥ samudāya ity anarthāntaram.* In this connection the commentator Kaiyaṭa adds *viṃsatiḥ parimāṇam asya gosaṅghasya viṃśako gosaṅgha iti* which shows that even the lower animals can be referred to as forming a *saṅgha* (i. e. collection). The verses of Bṛhaspati referred to by Mr. J. speak of the number of *samūhahitavādins* to be appointed by the people of a village, etc., and not of quorums of committees of *hitavādins.*

The term *varga* does not appear to signify an assembly or quorum. The *Nyāsa* (*Kāśikāvivaraṇapañjikā*) of Jinendrabuddhi on the Sūtra of Pāṇini, V, I, 60 expressly states that the term means a mere *collection of animate or inanimate objects* (Saṅghaśabdo hi prāṇisamudāye rūḍhaḥ, *vargaśabdas tu samūhamātre*). When a few people do some work collectively they can well be referred to as *vargins* or *samūhasthas.* Hence *varga* or *samūha* does not necessarily imply that the people combined for a common object must have a corporate character. The passages referred to by Mr. J. in this connection should therefore be read in the light of the evidence furnished by the *Nyāsa* quoted above.

In the last three paragraphs of the chapter (pt. II, XXVII) Mr. J. has tried to prove on the strength of evidence of the *Arthaśāstra*, II, 14 that the *Paura* association was allowed by the state to have coins minted by the state-official *Sauvarṇika.* Moreover he states that "the connection between the city guild of merchants and the city corporation was so intimate that both came to be regarded as identical." On the basis of this intimate connection or identity Mr. J. wants to apply the conclusion that the *Naigamas* had coins struck in their own names to the *Paura* Association. It has been shown already from the examination of all the direct evidences brought together in the chapter that they have failed to prove that the *Paura* or the *Jānapada* body at all existed. As regards the minting of coins by the *Sauvarṇika*, the passage in the *Arthaśāstra* speaks of *Paura-jānapadānāṃ rūpyasuvarṇaṃ.* It is doubtful whether the expression *rūpyasuvarṇaṃ* means gold and silver coins though Dr. R. Shamasastry has translated it as such, because the text of the *Arthaśāstra* refers to a coin by the addition of the word *rūpa* to the name of the metal out of which it is manufactured e.g. *rūpyarūpa*, *tāmrarūpa* (II, 12, p. 84). Moreover the commentator Bhaṭṭasvāmin while explaining

the second sentence in the chapter relating to *Sauvarṇika* states that the officer has to look after the manufacture of *Kaṭaka-keyūra*, etc. (*i.e.* ornaments). Nowhere does he mention in the chapter the minting of coins, on the other hand, he expressly states while commenting on the passages relating to the duties of the *Lakṣaṇādhyakṣa* in chap. 12, bk. II, that he was in charge of the Mint and supervised the manufacture of coins of different description (Lākṣaṇādhyakṣaḥ—ṭaṇkaśālādhikārī). From this it is likely that if the minting of coins from bullion offered by the citizens was permitted, it would have been mentioned by the *Arthaśāstra* in connection with the *Lakṣaṇādhyakṣa*. Assuming that the citizens were allowed the privilege of getting coins manufactured out of the bullion supplied by them there is nothing to show that the privilege was enjoyed by the *Paura* association implying thereby the existence of such an association.

The identification of the *Naigama* with the *Paura* association made by Mr. J. rests on very weak arguments. The *Naigamas* were not confined to the metropolis while the *Paura* association of Mr. J. was confined to it. If a *Paura* association could evolve from the *Naigama* in the capital city, similar *Paura* associations could have evolved from the *Naigamas* of the various towns in the realm. The passages that have been quoted in support of his identification of the *Naigama* with the *Paura* association rests on the assumption that the term *paurāḥ* wherever used means 'members' of the *Paura* association while it can well bear the ordinary meaning of citizens.

(*To be continued*)

NARENDRA NATH LAW

## Āditya, the supposed author of an Arthaśāstra

G., in the *I. H. Q.*, I, pp. 384f., has already pointed out that Mr. Jayaswal's "Āditya Arthaśāstra" rests on a misinterpretation of Āśv. Gṛ. S., III, 12, 16, where the commentator Nārāyaṇa has given the right interpretation. Nārāyaṇa's interpretation was followed already in the German translation of Ad. Stenzler (1864): "Auf der Seite der Sonne oder des Uśanas sich aufstellend, kämpfe er", i. e., "Let him fight, arrayed, on the side of the Sun or of Uśanas" (that is, not with his face turned to the Sun in day-time, or to the planet Venus at night.' Mr. Jayaswal seems to have followed H. Oldenberg, who translates (Sacred Books of the East, vol. xxix, p. 234): "He should commence the battle in the line of battle invented by Āditya or by Uśanas". But Stenzler had already referred to the Mahābhārata, XII, 100, 20: yato vāyur *yataḥ sūryo yataḥ śukras* tato jayaḥ, and to Mallinātha's commentary on Kumārasambhava, III, 43, where a verse is quoted:

*Pratiśukram* pratibudham praty aṅgārakam eva ca/
Api śakrasamo rājā hatasainyo nivartate//

and

Yasyāṃ diśi sthitaḥ śukro jīvitecchur na tāṃ vrajet/

Kauṭilya also says (x, 3, Sham., p. 369) that the army should be arrayed with its back turned to the Sun (pṛṣṭhatas sūryam). Thus there can be no doubt that Nārāyaṇa's interpretation is correct, and that there never was an "Arthaśāstra of Āditya". Nor can the Āśvalāyana-Gṛhya-sūtra be claimed as a witness for the existence of an Arthaśāstra in the times "when the Kalpa-sūtras were still being completed." (Jayaswal, Hindu Polity, I, p. 4.)

M. WINTERNITZ

## The Evidence of Pāṇini on Vāsudeva-Worship

Mr. K. G. Subrahmanyam has (*I. H. Q.*, March, 1926) attempted to refute my conclusions published in a paper in the *I. H. Q.*, vol. i, no. 3. But I am afraid I have to confess that he has not convinced me any more than I have convinced him.

I wrote: "If the derivatives 'Vāsudevaka' (according to rule iv. 3. 98) is taken to mean 'worshipper of Vāsudeva', then, for the very same reason, 'Arjjunaka' another derivative under the same rule must also be taken to mean 'worshipper of Arjjuna.' But unfortunately we cannot stop here. The same is the meaning in which the suffixes according to rules 96, 97, 99, and 100 also are employed."

What is Mr. Subrahmanyam's answer to this?

His quotation from Patañjali was not needed, for, I have myself referred to that. Mr. Subrahmanyam, however, overlooks the importance of the word *'athavā'* in the passage quoted. That Vāsudeva may be regarded as a proper name ('saṃjñā') is only a second thought with the Bhāṣyakāra. Besides, if Vāsudeva is a proper name, Arjjuna is no less so; and the rule in question is more necessary for the form 'Arjjunaka' than for the derivative from Vāsudeva, which latter might be obtained under rule iv. 3. 99. And whatever be the meaning of the suffix under rule iv. 3. 98, it cannot be one for Vāsudevaka and another for Arjjunaka.

Yet curiously enough, Mr. Subrahmanyam suggests that "*Bhakti* should be taken to have been used in both its senses of religious adoration and *anurakti*". And presumably, so far as Arjjunaka and the derivatives under rules 96, etc. are concerned, it should mean *anurakti* only and it should mean religious adoration for Vāsudeva and Vāsudeva alone. But, what is our authority for this bisection of meaning? And how do we know that one half of this meaning applies to one set of words and the other half is reserved for Vāsudeva only? Is it not simply because Bhandarkar cannot be supported otherwise? Whether I have been right in my interpretation of the rule iv. 2. 24 (*sā asya devatā*) or not is a separable question and may stand over for the present. For even if it be decided against me, my main argument will remain unaffected.

Put briefly, our dilemma is this: If we are to support Bhandarkar we must be prepared to think that in Pāṇini's time there were not only

worshippers of Vāsudeva but even worshippers of *cakes* (iv. 3. 96) and *countries* (iv. 3. 100) and all that. But if on the other hand, we are not prepared to believe in religions of so widely divergent characters, then, Bhandarkar cannot be supported.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

## Recent Advance in South Indian Epigraphy

Among the places of archæological interest examined in the course of the year ending March, 1924, for which the report has been lately issued, was Tirukôshtiyur in the Sivaganga Zamindari of the Ramnad District. This is the birth-place of Tirukôshtiyur Nambi, the teacher of the great religious reformer, Rāmānuja, and it was at this place that the latter revealed the teachings of the *guru* to the whole world. The temple of this place has acquired a special sanctity on account of its having been sung by five of the early Vaiṣṇava Āḻwārs. In spite of its antiquity only a single inscription in Vaṭṭeḻuttu of the time of the early Pandyan king, Māran Śadaiyan, has been discovered. Puttanaṅgādi in the Wynaad taluk of Malabar District contains a shrine built in the ordinary South Indian style, perhaps owing to the close proximity of the place to the Mysore territory—a thing rarely to be found among the temples of the west coast, which are usually simple structures built of brick, wood and mortar. The remains of an ancient Buddhist *stūpa* as well as an early Brāhmī inscription of the 2nd century A.D. were discovered at Alluru, five miles from Yerrupāḻem, a place on the Bezwada-Hyderabad railway line. The mound is about 10 feet high, measuring 250 feet in circumference and has a diameter of about 20 feet at the top. Arrangements are to be made early for its exploration. Another *stūpa* has also been discovered on the Ramireddi-palli hillock, 6 miles from the Madura railway-station on the same line, by the side of which have been found 3 beautifully sculptured *dagoba* slabs like those of Amarāvatī representing some episodes from the life of the Buddha. These are possibly only a few remaining out of many such slabs originally planted round the base of the mound as its railing. These two *stūpas* are only 15 miles from the famous *stūpas* of Amarāvatī, and they are bound to contain important relics. The collection of the year includes the photographs of the bronze figures of Todur Mull and his two wives preserved in the Varadarājaperumāḷ Temple

at Conjeevaram. This Todur Mull should not be confused with the famous minister of Akbar. He was a general under Sadat-ullah Khan, the Nawab of the Karnatic, in the early part of the 18th century. Lala Todur Mull seems to have brought back the image of Varadarāja to Kāñcī from Udaiyarpalayam whither it had been taken for safety when the Mughals invaded the Karnatic about 1688. The inscription mentioning the fact of restoration gives the date 1710 A. D. (Śaka 1632) as the year of consecration.

Over 700 inscriptions were secured in this year, though there were only 9 copper-plates. Among the latter are two Eastern Ganga records dated in the years 154, and 110 of the Ganga Era; and these might prove to be of some use in the reconstruction of the history of that dynasty. Two more are Eastern Cālukya grants; while among the acquisitions are inscribed stones bearing some very early records in Telugu verse and of the time of the Eastern Cālukya king Guṇaga Vijayāditya III.

The Brāhmī inscription (No. 331 of 1924) discovered at Alluru near the *stūpa* is an incomplete fragment of 17 lines on a pillar and may be assigned palæographically to the 2nd century A. D. as most of the characters resemble those of the inscriptions of Yajñaśrī Śātakarṇi II while a few others resemble those of the records of Śātakarṇi I and Usavadata. The inscription unfortunately mentions no king, but records a number of gifts of land and money made to a school (*Nikāya*) of the *Pūrvaśailas*, a sect of Buddhist monks. The grants recorded appear to have included a *vihāra* built for the use of Buddhist monks.

The two Eastern Ganga records are also potentially important; the first is a record of Maharaja Indravarman dated in the year 154 of the Ganga Era; and the second belongs to Devendravarman and is dated 110 of the family era. A record of Nṛpatuṅga Pallava dated in the 24th year of his reign (No. 414 of 1923) has been deciphered; while another of the 16th (26th) year of the later Pallava Kó-Perunjinga (No. 432 of 1924) illustrates the procedure adopted by the government, as at present, for recovering from reversionary heirs the arrears of rent due on lands, even after the demise of the owner, by selling a portion. An inscription of the Cola Parāntaka I, dated, in his 9th year (No. 261 of 1923), has a new introduction; and its importance lies in the fact that it is the first stone record so far known of a Cola king before the time of Rājarāja I, containing an introduction of eulogy. This introduction is purely an eulogistic one without re-

counting any of the king's exploits. Another Cola record (No. 266 of 1923) is interesting, because it describes an individual endowment the annual interest on which was to be given away as prize-money to the best reciter of the Jaimini-Sāma-veda at the local temple on the night of the asterism Tiruvādirai in the month of Margaḷi; and it was stipulated that no prize-winner should compete a second time. Another (No. 333 of 1923) records a grant of land to a Brahmin for expounding the *Prabhākaram*. An inscription of Rājendra Cola I refers to a free dispensary established by the queen Kundavai-Pirāttiyār; this is perhaps the earliest of such grants known. The dispensary was to be named after Sundara Cola. Another of the 28th year of Rājendra I (No. 228 of 1923) describes an act of the village assembly and refers to the monarch as "*Pūrvadeśamum Gangaiyum, kidāramum konda*"—i. e. who conquered Pūrvarāṣṭra (identified by Mr. Hiralal with the Chattisgarh division of the Central Provinces), a portion of Mahākośala and Bihar, and Kidaram (identified by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar with Kerti in the north coast of Sumatra). Inscription No. 433 of 1924 disproves the theory that Rājādhirāja II was the son of Rājarāja II and strengthens the position of the former in the genealogy of the Later Colas.

There are numerous inscriptions about Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara Pandya (A. D. 1190-1217), the heroic Māravarman Sundara Pandya I, the conqueror of the Colas and other Pandya rulers. Two of them (nos. 91 & 73 of 1924) give us some details regarding the rate of taxation prevailing at the time on the various kinds of produce; and they tell us that allowance was made for the taxation only on the actual produce yielded by the lands. An inscription of a later Vīra Pandya (dated Śaka 1298 = 40th year of the reign = 1370 or 1371 A. D.) tells us of a long-standing feud between the caste-people and the *paraiyas* (untouchables) of a certain locality on a question of the payment for services done by the latter. Inscription No. 39 of 1924 tells us of the various taxes which fell on land—the *kadamai*, the *antarāyam* tax paid in money, the *viniyogam*, and the *vādak-kadamai*. It refers to a dispute about the sale of lands, and tanks irrigating them, near the temple at Tirumalai, to the two brothers.

The Vijayanagara inscriptions discovered this year are not very significant. Some records of Harihara II mention the transactions of the village-assemblies; and we can see from these how the village assemblies which were powerful local institutions during the Cola period seem to have gradually died out after the decline of the Cola empire; and

the few transactions noticed in these Vijayanagara inscriptions were possibly among the very last acts of the assemblies before their complete disappearance. Acyuta Rāya comes in for a good amount of detailed information, as well as the *Golaki-maṭha* which was, judging from inscriptional and other evidences, a very important religious institution of South India from the 11th century onwards. The *'Golaki-maṭha-santāna Śivācāryas'* occurs in different records and there are even at the present day representatives of the *maṭha* in the preceptors of the Bericheth Śaiva merchants and a portion of the Tamil-speaking Vāniya (oil-monger) caste.

Among the miscellaneous inscriptions are some relating to the Kākatīyas, some to the Setupatis of Ramnad ; while 10 inscriptions in the Marathi language belonging to Maharaja Serfoji (A.D. 1798-1833) of Tanjore, the famous pupil and friend of the missionary Swartz, have been secured from the Bṛhadīśvara Temple at Tanjore which he repaired in various parts. Record No. 424 (of A. D. 1803) gives in chronological order the history of the Bhonsle family, describing in detail the achievements of Shāhaji and his great son Śivājī and containing a detailed history of the Maratha Rajas of Tanjore. Inscriptions Nos. 301, 302, and 303 of 1923 secured from Tirukôshtiyur and dated in the 11th year of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pandya give us a glimpse of the criminal administration prevalent in the 13th century in the Pandya country. These 3 records contain a continued narrative of a single event. These should be read with the various other instances of criminal administration noticed in previous reports. Everywhere we hear that sentences of punishment were passed in full assembly.

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI

## Rūpakas—how many are they ?

Two forms of Sanskrit Kāvya (poetry) are generally recognised—

(1) Dṛśya or Abhineya—capable of being represented on the stage, and (2) Śravya—to be heard.

The first form has again been subdivided into two main classes,—

(*a*) Rūpakas—principal plays, and (*b*) Uparūpakas—minor plays.

The number of Rūpakas, as given in the Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata,

Sāhityadarpaṇa, Daśarūpa and other Sanskrit works on dramaturgy, is *ten*, and the list is as follows :—

(1) Nāṭaka, (2) Prakaraṇa, (3) Bhāṇa, 4) Vyāyoga, (5) Samavakāra, (6) Ḍima, (7) Īhāmṛga, (8) Aṅka, (9) Vīthī, and (10) Prahasana.

This is a point on which oriental scholars have, up till now, found no ground to differ.

But recent discoveries in the field of Sanskrit dramatic literature have brought us face to face with a very singular exception as regards the enumeration of the Rūpakas.

Bhagavadajjukīyam—a Prahasana, which differs remarkably on many points from all other plays of the same type, gives a list of no less than *twelve* Rūpakas in its Prastāvanā. "The list of ten Rūpakas in all our Nāṭyaśāstras includes the Nāṭaka and Prakaraṇa, while our author mentions ten kinds of plays sprung from Nāṭaka and Prakaraṇa, and mentions, besides Īhāmṛga and other kinds of Rūpakas found also in the usual lists, Vāra as the first and Sallāpa as the seventh. Sallāpa, i.e. Saṃlāpaka or discourse, appears as a type of drama elsewhere,[2] but Vāra seems to be otherwise quite unknown".[3]

Among the Prahasanas hitherto published Bhagavadajjukīyam holds a very unique position. It differs from Mattavilāsa inasmuch as it purports to be a "comedy proper" rather than "a real farce and satire" as Mattavilāsa claims to be. But on that account it is in no way inferior to Mahendravikrama's play.

Nothing definite can be said about the age of the play. Like the thirteen dramas attributed to Bhāsa, it also omits to mention the names of both the work and the author in the prologue. But the names are found in the colophon and in the opening verse of the old commentary published with it. But this does not go towards solving the much-vexed problem of its age. All that we can gather after a careful perusal of the work is that it was written at a period when Buddhism was on the decline in South India ; but even then the condition of the Buddhist society had not become so corrupt as it was at the time when Mattavilāsa was composed. Thus the play seems to go back to a very early period—earlier perhaps than that of Mattavilāsa. For obvious reasons, it cannot be called a compilation as Pandit Krishna Pisharoti

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1 नाटकप्रकरणीहवासु वारेहासगडिमसमवकारव्यायोगभाणसल्लापवीथ्यु त्सृष्टिकाङ्कप्रहसनादिषु दशजातिषु नाट्यरसेषु शृङ्गारमेव प्रधानम्···।—भगवदज्जुकीयम्, प्रस्तावना।

2 An Uparūpaka is also of the same name.

3 Winternitz—Preface to Bhagavadajjukīyam.

has tried to show in his paper on Bhāsa. Neither can its author Bodhāyana be possibly identified with the great Vṛttikāra of the Brahmasūtras as Prof. Winternitz has suggested.

Thus we see that many a new problem has been raised by the publication of the play. At present the materials that may lead to the solution of these problems are quite scanty and consequently insufficient. We hear that three works connected with acting in Kerala—Āṭṭaprakāra, Kramadīpikā and Kūṭiāṭṭakrama[1]—have been recently discovered. May we not venture to hope that these valuable discoveries of Tamila-Malayalam works on dramaturgy would throw some light on questions that still remain open.

ASHOKANATH BHATTACHARYA

## The First commentary on the Mahābhāṣya

In connection with the date of a certain Vedantic writer I had recently to consult the list of the *gurus* who occupied the pontifical throne at the *Advaita Maṭha* of Conjeeveram and for this purpose referred to the *Guru-ratna-mālā*, one of the five works published in the volume styled *Vedānta-pañca-prakaraṇī*, printed at the Śrī Vidyā Press, of Kumbhakonam and I was more than surprised to find in it the following stanza:—

अभियुञ्जदथार्च्यं पूज्यपादानपल्लोन्यादिनिषाकसिद्धनेतृन् ।
अथ गौड़पदाफणीशभाष्यप्रथमाचार्यकपण्डितान् प्रपद्ये ॥[2]

It may be translated as follows :—'I seek the help of Gauḍapāda who first spread a knowledge of the *Bhāṣya* of Patañjali,[3] whose feet were adored by Ayārcya, once his opponent and who was the preceptor of *Niṣāka* mystics[4] like Apolonya.' The references here are obviously to Apollonius of Tyana and to king Iarchas mentioned in his 'Travels'.[5] This work, *Guru-ratna-mālā*, is ascribed—with what authority it is not known—to Sadāśivendra whose Vedantic works like the *Ātma-vidyā-vilāsa* are well-known in the south. There is a commentary by one Ātmabodha on the work which also is printed in the same volume.

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1 Vide the Introduction to the play by the Editor.

2 p. 20. 3 For the allusion here, see *Patañjali-carita* of Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita (Nirnaya Sagara Press).

4 *JRAS.*, vol. 17 (1860), p. 90. 5 *Ibid.*

It introduces in explaining the stanza the name of Damis,[1] a fellow-traveller and friend of Apollonius and Prāvṛti, a Śaka chief of Takṣaśilā[2] and states that Ayārcya was a Buddhist. These are remarkable statements and, if authentic, would be of great importance in determining the date of Gauḍapāda and deciding the question whether Apollonius of Tyana visited India or not. The work, though published long ago is, I think, not yet widely known.

M. HIRIYANNA

## A Short note on Mr. Jayaswal's interpretation of a Mahābhāṣya passage in his 'Hindu Polity' (p. 122)

In the above book, at the close of the chapter on 'Franchise and Citizenship,' the author concludes thus :

"The cause of Patañjali's perplexity seems to be a confusion which arose by treating a Vārttika of Kātyāyana, viz. गोवचनविद्याख्येभ्यो बहुलं वुञ् as a Sūtra of Pāṇini. As a matter of fact, गोवचनविद्याख्येभ्यो बहुलं वुञ् is given as a Vārttika (No. 18) to Pāṇini, IV. 2. 104 (Kielhorn, p. 296). The same rule could not be both a Vārttika of Kātyāyana and a Sūtra of Pāṇini. It has already come as a Vārttika, and by treating it as a Vārttika the sense becomes clear. Kātyāyana completes Pāṇini by giving a general rule on allegiance owed to well-known Kṣattriya rulers."

At the outset, our sense of admiration seems as it were to be awakened from its torpor by the author's originality in discovering and pointing out the perplexity of Patañjali. With due deference to the author, we are inclined to be more sympathetic towards Patañjali for the very reason that no commentator after him has doubted his sanity in taking the rule under discussion to belong to Pāṇini, and not to Kātyāyana as Mr. Jayaswal would have it. To do justice to Patañjali, we should recognise the fact that he had not the advantage of a critical edition of the Vārttikas, as Mr. Jayaswal and ourselves are privileged to have. On the textual side, we are not prepared to believe that Mr. Jayaswal would have consciously committed himself to the statement that the rule concerned should be taken to be a Vārttika of Kātyāyana, and not a Sūtra of Pāṇini. Verily, the rule in question, comes from the mouth of Kātyāyana, and our thanks are due to the

1 *JRAS.*, vol. 17 (1860), p. 70. 2 *Ibid.*, p. 76.

illustrious editor of the Mahābhāṣya, Dr. Kielhorn, for having so printed it. But we have to draw the attention of Mr. Jayaswal to a technique in Śāstric treatises, called अनुवाद. It is a verbatim quotation of a certain statement or statements, for the purpose of discussion with reference to a particular point under consideration. To make our point clear, it is necessary to refer to the particular discussion in brief. In this particular instance, Kātyāyana is dealing with the Sūtra IV.2.104 (अव्ययात्त्याप्) which enjoins the addition of a suffix 'tyap' after indeclinables, so that we get the forms like अमात्य etc. There is a similar rule (IV.2.114—वृद्धाच्छः) which enjoins the addition of the suffix 'cha' to words beginning with a Vṛddhi vowel. The word आरात् is an indeclinable having a Vṛddhi vowel for its first letter. Therefore it comes under the operation of the two Sūtras, IV.2.104 & 114. Kātyāyana, by his second Vārttika under the rule IV.2.104, says that the rule I.4.2 (विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यम्) operates, and we should have the suffix 'cha' added to it and not 'tyap'. Then he proceeds as a contextual sequence to discuss the scope of the rule IV.2.114, in its turn, and from the Vārttika No. 7 onwards, he enumerates the rules of Pāṇini which supersede IV.2.114. Some of these rules he refers to in his own words and some he literally quotes. For instance, the Vārttika No. 11 वर्गान्ताच्चाशब्दे यत्खौ (Kiel., vol. II, p. 295) refers to the two rules of Pāṇini IV.3.64 & 65. This is of the former type. An instance of the latter type would be the Vārttika No. 20. (पत्रपूर्वादञ्) which is a rule (IV.3.122) of Pāṇini. In fact, two succeeding Vārttikas (Nos. 21 & 22) also happen to be verbatim quotations of the Sūtras IV.3.125 & 126 of Pāṇini. Consistently with what Mr. Jayaswal has stated with regard to the rule (Vārttika No. 18), we should perforce consider the rules (Vārttikas Nos. 21 & 22) to be the only Vārttikas; and as no rule could be both a Vārttika of Kātyāyana and a Sūtra of Pāṇini, we are constrained to request Mr. Jayaswal to discover the person or persons who are under confusion and perplexity with regard to these rules. Unless and until he complies with our request, the alleged confusion and perplexity attributed to Patañjali only deserve to be classed with optical illusions like mirage.

We are further at a loss to understand how according to Mr. Jayaswal, the taking of the rule under consideration to be a Vārttika of Kātyāyana would make the sense clear. If it is taken at all as a Vārttika, it is read under rule IV.2.104, and not under IV.3.98, as he seems to imagine. And even supposing that the rule embodied in the Vārttika applies to IV.3.98, there is no need to accept what Mr. Jayaswal says, if

we remember that Kātyāyana was removed from Pāṇini by two or three centuries. What guarantee is there that the word Vāsudeva, the name of a deity in Pāṇini's time, had not become the name of a Kṣatriya in the days of Kātyāyana? So, the position taken by Mr. Jayaswal seems to be untenable. In this connection, we would like to refer Mr. Jayaswal to an article appearing in the March issue of this Journal, vindicating the late venerable scholar, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, in holding that the Sūtra IV.3.98 of Pāṇini should be taken as an evidence of Vāsudeva-worship in the times of Pāṇini.

While we yield to none in our admiration of Mr. Jayaswal for his fertile imagination and for his valuable suggestions, we have to point out that such instances as the present do show that Mr. Jayaswal has ventured beyond his depth; and we cannot but yield to the temptation to conclude with a pithy remark of the famous rhetorician, Ānandavardhana :—सूक्तिसहस्रद्योतितात्मनां महात्मनां दोषोद्घोषणमात्मन एव दूषणं भवति ॥

(Dhvanyāloka, N. S. edn., p. 94).

K. G. SUBRAHMANYAM

## A passage of the Abhidharmakośavyākhyā

The following passage occurs in the *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*, Bibliotheca Buddhica ed., p. 23, ll. 22 ff. :

"luhyata iti loka iti. (1) asminn eva rohita vyāyāmamātre kalevare lokaṃ prajñāpayāmi lokasamudayaṃ ceti sūtram. (2) luhyate pra-luhyate tasmāl loka iti ca bhagavataivoktam. luhyate vinaśyatīty arthaḥ. lujir iha gṛhīto na lokiḥ. nairuktena tu vidhānena gakārasya sthāne kakāraḥ kṛtaḥ."

There are here some mistakes which have escaped the notice of the editors, Professors Lévi and Stcherbatsky. Professor Poussin, too, seems to have overlooked some of these mistakes as he has quoted the sentences, marked (1) and (2) in his French translation of the above work (part 1, p. 14) with the same mistakes and without any remark thereon. One may, therefore, be allowed to point them out in the following few lines.

In our Visvabharati Library we have a transcription of the *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* made from a Ms. in the Darbar Library, Nepal, which was secured through the kindness of the Mahā-

rājādhirāja himself. The readings found herein are identical with those in the printed text except for one single instance which will be noted in its proper place. There are, however, a few corrections which are made only arbitrarily as will be shown presently.

The first point to be noted is the words *luhyate* and *praluhyate* which occur over and over again. These are afterwards corrected to *lukyate* and *pralukyate* respectively by, we do not know, whom without any authority in the transcription referred to. Now, how are they derived? And what do they mean? Certainly they are not from √ *luh*—√ *ruh* originally √ *rudh* 'to grow'; nor from √*luh*—√ *rudh* 'to restrain,' *r* and *dh* becoming *l* and *h* respectively owing to Prakritism. The fact is that the original readings here are *lujyate* and *pralujyate* respectively, the words being derived from √ *luj*—√ *ruj* 'to break' or to be utterly lost (*vināśa*). It is perfectly clear from the words of Yaśomitra himself when he says in that connection: *luhyate* (wrongly for *lujyate*) *vinaśyatīty arthaḥ lujir iha gṛhīto na lokiḥ* (pp. 23-24). *Luhyate* (for *lujyate*) means 'one becomes destroyed'. Here is √ *luj* and not √ *luk*. This is supported also by the commentary (*bhāṣya*) in Tibetan version giving the derivation of *loka* (*Abhidharmakośa* with its *bhāṣya*, Bib. Bud., p. 13, l. 18): *ḥjig pas ḥjig rten no*. The original Sanskrit of this as preserved in the *Vyākhyā* cannot be other than *lujyata iti lokaḥ*. Tib. *ḥjig* = Skt. *vināśa*, and Tib. *rten* = Skt. *ādhāra* or *āśraya*; therefore, that which is the *rten* or *āśraya* of *ḥjig* or *vināśa* is *ḥjig rten* = *vināśāśraya* (a vanishing one). See *Mahāvyutpatti*, CLIV, 16 "*lujyata iti lokaḥ*." Thus there cannot be any doubt that the actual readings here are *lujyate* and *pralujyate*, as one would expect and as actually found in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (Bib. Ind., p. 256) quoted by Poussin himself. The Pali form *lujjati* in the same connection (Saṃyutta-Nikāya, iv, 52: "*lujjati° tasmā loko ti vuccati*") leads to the same conclusion.

In the last sentence of the passage quoted above from the *Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā*, the word *gakārasya* which is found also in our transcription must be corrected to *jakārasya* as evident from the above discussion.

In the sentence (1) *vyāyāma* is wrongly taken for *vyāma* 'fathom' as in our transcription and in the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*, II, 48: vyāmamatte kalevare. The word *vyāyāma* has here no sense whatever. That the measure of one's *kalevara* (body) is one fathom is found, perhaps for the first time, in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, vii, 1, 1, 37: *vyāmamātro vai puruṣaḥ*.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

## Mr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar's criticism of Hindu Political Theories—A Reply

In the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol.I, Nos. 3-4, Vol. II, Nos. 1-2, a series of papers entitled *Hindu Politics in Italian* have appeared from the pen of Mr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, the distinguished Indianist. The professed object of the writer is to "summarize and review almost all that has appeared in Italian (sic) on the subject of Hindu political theories and institutions." However, he has thought it fit with remarkable relevancy to indulge in general reviews of a number of recent Indian publications dealing with this branch of investigation. Among the works that have been so honoured is the *History of Hindu Political Theories* which, though casually noticed in an earlier number of the I.H.Q. (Vol. I, No. 4), has been subjected to a long and searching examination in the current issue.

The critic prefaces his general review of the H. P. T. by lamenting what he fancies to be the limited scope of the work. This point is connected with the critic's highly original idea of the scope of an historical investigation of political theories, and may be conveniently considered at a later place. Meanwhile it will be sufficient to state in reply to his objections (1) that the large place given in the H. P. T. to the theory of kingship is the inevitable consequence of the nature of its subject, (2) that other topics which properly fall within the scope of a history of Indian political ideas have received in the same work their just share of recognition, (illustrations of such topics are the relation of Politics to Law, the scope and method of the Arthaśāstra and its relation to other sciences, the relation of Politics to religion and morality, and, last but not the least, the theory of republics), (3) that where there are no limitations, no occasion arises for being "conscious" of their existence. To say in the face of this evidence that the H. P. T. is "virtually" "an examination of the theory of kingship" is to mis-state facts.

It is not true to say that the application of the literary data, say, of the Smṛtis and the Epics, to serve as a picture of concrete political institutions was made "without a word of explanation." For at least two grounds were mentioned in the H. P. T. for justifying or extenuating the same, namely, the absence of a connected history based on the objective study of facts, and the non-idealistic character

of the theoretical data. The critic complains of the "use of evidences" "whose institutional value is questionable," but a few pages below he answers his own objection by admitting the "absence of a well-documented institutional history" of ancient India as yet.

In connection with the vedic doctrine of the king's divinity it was specially pointed out in the H. P. T. (pp. 30-31) that the Brāhmaṇa like the king was habitually regarded as a god, and that the status of divinity was a privilege of all persons entitled to the Śrauta sacrifice. To state in the face of this that the sharing of divine attributes of the king by others in the vedic religious conceptions is 'ignored' in the H. P. T. is to state the reverse of truth. The facile generalisation that the "sole constitutional value" of the vedic passages in this connection lies in their pointing to the derivation of divinity from the kingship, a view which is pointedly contradicted by the evidence of a Brāhmaṇa passage (quoted, H. P. T., pp. 32-33), is in line with the critic's characteristic manner. Coming to the later periods, it was sought to bring out the ideas of the king's divinity in their proper "places" in the thought of the Arthaśāstra, the Mahābhārata, the Smṛtis and the Purāṇas. But care was taken at the same time to distinguish those contemporary phases of speculation that were free from this influence. As regards the idea of the king's divinity an attempt was specially made to distinguish between its different forms so as to show how in some cases the divinity was merely metaphorical, and in other cases, was attached to the king in some direct fashion. It thus appears that the "tremendous misconception from beginning to end" with which the critic charges the author exists only in his own imagination. It is odd to find the critic turning for support to Shamasastry's *Evolution of Indian Polity* just after he has condemned its "failure to satisfy the demands of critical approach."

As regards the vedic "theory of class-origins" the Puruṣasūkta does *not* mention the Brāhmaṇa, etc. to have been born "in a haphazard manner," for it connects the Brāhmaṇa, the Rājanya (Kṣatriya), the Vaiśya and the Śūdra with the mouth, the arms, the thighs and the feet of Puruṣa, the great primæval Man. That this or a similar metaphor forms the foundation of the whole system of Hindu social precedence and, in particular, of the Brahminical pre-eminence, is a proposition which may be new to the critic, but is familiar to every student of Indian antiquities. The critic's explanation of Taitt. Saṃ., VII. 1. 1. as meaning nothing more than that "each one is somebody in his own field" is based conveniently upon the suppres-

sion of the latter part of the Brāhmaṇa story which conveys the important "statements" that the Vaiśyas are to be eaten and that the Śūdras are dependent upon others (See H. P. T., p. 46 *n.*).

While finding fault with the treatment of "Vedic thought" in the H. P. T., the critic offers the precious advice to the "investigator of Vedic politics" to devote attention to the "real centre of political as well as social and economic interest," namely, the "viś-group, the people or the demos." Criticism of this kind shows, if anything, the critic's ignorance of the subject which he professes to treat. "Vedic politics" and "Vedic thought" consist of successive strands represented by the Ṛgveda Saṃhitā, the Atharvaveda Saṃhitā, Yajus Saṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇas, the Upaniṣads and the Kalpasūtras. Now granting that at the period of the Ṛgveda, the Viś was the centre of common interest, a point in itself highly debatable in view of the impossibility of fixing the relative position of the king and the people in the Ṛgvedic polity with the same precision as, say, in the Homeric polity,——is the critic unaware of the fact that the Brāhmaṇa and the Sūtra periods witnessed a progressive advance of the king's and the Brāhmaṇa's power, and disappearance of the tribal Samiti and Sabhā? Besides even if we admit for the earlier period that "the genuine problems of the fire-sages (?)" were those concerned with "colonizing, conquest and inter-tribal war and peace," their consideration would properly fall within the scope of the historian of political institutions. Failure to "visualise" these in a work dealing exclusively with the history of political ideas cannot and ought not to be regarded as an omission.

Regarding the "doctrine of the *saptāṅga*," it was attempted in the H. P. T. as fully as possible to explain its general significance together with that of the mutual comparison of its constituent elements. One may well despair of the critic who takes this to involve "obliviousness" of the fact that "the king was but one of the seven limbs of the body politic". It is true that none of the component factors save the king has been subjected in the H. P. T. to a detailed treatment, but this was done deliberately with the object of confining the work to its own proper jurisdiction. Will the critic who makes the omission of "public finance, international law, jurisprudence and the theory of war" from the scope of the H. P. T. the basis of his charge, kindly explain why the boundaries of the sciences laid down by a well-established convention should be transgressed in the case of political philosophy?

In explaining the definitions of Arthaśāstra and Daṇḍanīti and

their relation to the sister sciences, it was precisely the general character of the former as involving the Art of Government in the widest sense of the term that was sought to be brought into prominence. On the other hand, it was pointed out on the indisputable evidence of quoted texts (see H. P. T., p. 13 *n.*) how at a later stage Hindu "political science" was identified with the institution of monarchy. The critic's charges on this point indicate nothing so much as his tendency to mis-state facts and to shut his eyes to the positive evidence of texts.

While rejecting with solemn assurance the explanation of '*rājyam*' in the sense of 'sovereignty', the critic has not cared to consider the evidence advanced in the H. P. T., nor has he reflected what kind of State that would be which included the appliances of Government and a foreign ally without necessarily including the people.

That part of Utathya's "lecture" in the Mahābhārata, which was held to be "perhaps peculiar to Hindu political thought," was to the effect that unrighteousness on the king's part was the cause of disturbance of the social, the moral and even the physical order. Will the critic kindly quote from the "Stoic and Patristic speculations" and "even the French epic of the thirteenth century" the precise counterpart of this view ?

The reasons for considering the "Buddhist theory of contract as "an isolated phenomenon in the history of Hindu political thought" were sufficiently explained in several places in the H. P. T. (pp. 121, 139, 276 etc.). None of the arguments brought forward by the critic can disprove the fact that the author of the Dīgha Nikāya theory neglected to draw out its consequences in respect of the mutual relations of rulers and their subjects. The critic's further charge that "the contract theory has proved a veritable stumbling block to the author" is unsupported by a single argument, and deserves no notice.

The comment in the H. P. T. on the Buddhist passages mentioning the seven conditions of welfare of the Licchavi-Vajjis was to the effect that these involved a moralist's analysis, not that of a political philosopher strictly so called. The scope of the comment, in other words, was restricted only to the two passages herein concerned, and not a word was said about their authorship. The critic, however, arbitrarily stretches the author's meaning so as to make him indulge in the dangerous and wholly unwarranted generalisation that "Śākya the Buddha was a mere moralist and not a political philosopher." In doing this the critic lays himself open to the charge of a

positive mis-statement of facts. Besides, is the critic so simple as to think that whatever is attributed in the Buddhist canon to the Buddha must necessarily be the word of the Master? Confining ourselves to the limits of the two Nikāya passages we find the critic triumphantly exclaiming that "obedience to the elders", one of the items mentioned by "Śākya" is not a mere moral maxim, and illustrating his dictum from modern examples. But he conveniently forgets other "items", such as protection of women, performance of religious rites, and honour to the saints, which are also mentioned in "Śākya's" teaching above-mentioned. Will the critic kindly quote the example of any institution or text of any constitutional law to show modern parallels to these ancient maxims? The critic's further statement that the author of the H. P. T. "cuts short his examination of Śākya's moralisings" on the plea that they do not embody any political theory is purefiction.

The so-called "omissions in the realm of Buddhist political philosophy" with which the critic charges the author illustrate his curious ideas about the scope of a history of political theory. Such a work, the critic evidently thinks, should take cognizance of the concrete institutions of ecclesiastical as well as civil bodies and the principles of their working. How otherwise to account for the critic's insistence upon the treatment of "the statutes of Buddhist ecclesiastical polity" and the Asokan policy of administrative uniformity and paternal rule? As the critic seems to stand alone in his conception of the range of an historical account of political ideas, no serious notice of his criticism need be taken. In this connection it is amusing to note that the critic, while frankly admitting that the "statutes of Buddhist ecclesiastical polity" are "mainly institutional" in their character, still argues that they "might be made to yield some theories" about which he is himself discreetly silent.

The chapter on Kauṭilya in the H. P. T. has received from the critic a large measure of attention. How little the critic believes in his own sweeping judgment will appear from the fact that he thinks two of the "topics" treated in this chapter (those concerning the author's criticism of an opinion of Bottazzi and his comparison between Kauṭilya and Machiavelli) to be sufficiently "unconventional" to merit a detailed criticism at his own hands. The critic's charge that Kauṭilya's "superb thoughts on finance, *maṇḍala*, strategy, and tactics" have been studiously avoided by the author shows his usual misconception of the scope of political philosophy. As regards the character

of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, all that was said in the H. P. T. was that it dealt not with the theory of the State but with the Art of Government and kindred topics. In justification of this statement, attention was drawn not only to its slender stock of speculation but also to the fact that even this occurs casually in the course of discussions of concrete problems of statecraft. (H. P. T., pp. 126, 131-133, etc). Will the critic kindly point out where it is mentioned that Kauṭilya's work was "a mere handbook on the Art of Government" ?

Turning to the doctrine of the king's divinity and the like, the critic charges the author with a "maze of perplexities" and a "legion of inconsistencies," but a slight examination reveals that these are entirely of the critic's own creation. Divinity in one place, the critic complains, is interpreted as a "metaphorical assimilation" of the king's functions with those of the gods, while elsewhere not much store is set by this contention. This apparent "inconsistency" is explained by the fact, as the critic well knows, that the former has reference to a particular form of the doctrine, while the latter is concerned with a general estimate of the doctrine in relation to the Western theory of Divine Right. The reason for rejection of the metaphorical explanation in the latter case is shown in the concluding part of the sentence (H. P. T., p. 277), which the critic coolly suppresses, namely, "we find that the king's title to rule is expressly derived at least in the Śāntiparvan from his absorption of Viṣṇu's essence". Will the critic, who is never tired of descanting on the "secular and democratic elements" to be found in "Hindu theorising" kindly explain how he proposes to reconcile his "hypothesis" with the positive evidence of the text just referred to ?

Another example of "inconsistency" mentioned by the critic is that the idea of Viṣṇu's entering into the king's person is in the Mahābhārata admittedly conjoined with that of his divinely imposed duty of protection. This "of course" "lays the axe at the root of the kingly divinity," for do not the people hereby become "no less divine than the king" ? Admirable logic !

Again, it is asked, why the Mahābhārata story should be held to be " incongruous " with the Buddhist theory of contract. The plain answer is that while the latter bases kingship upon popular agreement or contract, the former holds it to be founded upon divine will. The natural tendency of the latter theory is to develop the conception of the king as " an official paid by his subjects for the service of protection," while the latter logically tends towards the intensification

of the principle of royal authority. It is true that the consequence of the latter theory, in so far as the mutual realtions of rulers and subjects are concerned, is not clearly drawn out by the theorist, while the logical consquence of the former is qualified by counteracting principles. But this evidently does not alter the real difference between the two theories. The critic's contention that "whether the king be ordained by god or elected by the agreement of the people, he is a servant in any case," from which he draws the further conclusion of "identity" of the Hindu theories of kingship, shows a singular incapacity for discrimination of the finer shades of differences together with a notable tendency towards mistaking the potential consequences for the actual.

The critic is astonished to find that a certain passage (Mahābhārata, Anuśāsanaparvan, ch. 61, 32-33) which he quotes from the H. P. T., has not been taken by the author to involve the doctrine of resistance. Now will it be believed that the passage which was so characterised is not the one mentioned by the critic, but an altogether different one (Manusaṃhitā VII. 111-112) occurring in a separate part of the H. P. T.? Deliberate distortion of evidence of this kind may be an "amusing" pastime to the critic, but is bound to rouse the disgust of all right-thinking men.

In dealing with the Śukranīti it was asserted in the H. P. T. that the distinction between the good king and the tyrant "from the point of view of the king's divine nature" was perhaps drawn for the first time in that work. The conscientious critic suppresses the words appearing within quotation-marks, and thus has no difficulty in proving to his own satisfaction the author's "forgetfulness" of the "points in Utathya's lecture."

The critic's remarks in regard to the concluding chapter furnish refreshing reading. He objects to the guarded phrase "probably in no other system" used only once with reference to the degree of emphasis of a certain doctrine. He objects to the terms "Hindu mind" and "Hindu view" as being "vague and meaningless." But when he himself uses the terms "Vedic thought" and "Vedic politics" just seven pages back as a convenient label for the culture-periods represented successively by the Vedic Samhitās, the Brāhmaṇas, the Āraṇyakas, the Upaniṣads, and lastly, the Kalpasūtras, there can "of course" be no doubt about their "meaning". It is, moreover, a curious fact, pointing perhaps to the backward state of "philosophical" thinking in the West, that similiar "vague and meaningless phrases"

have fixed themselves even in the titles of works professing to be very authoritative "performances". How else to explain such titles as those of Taylor's *Mediaeval Mind* (4th ed., 1925), Merz's *History of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century*, Sir Leslie Stephen's *History of English Thought in the 18th Century* (3rd ed., 1902), and the like ?

While on this subject the critic thinks it fit to criticise the author's comparison between the Hindu and the European theories of Contract. Now among the Hindu theories which involve more or less the idea of contract, the Buddhist theory does not at all touch on the question of 'obedience'; in Kauṭilya the 'obedience' is indeed derived from a kind of contract but with results so inconclusive that the thinker is obliged to invoke the assistance of the doctrine relating to the king's divinity, while in the shorter story of the king's creation in the Mahābhārata (Śāntiparvan, chap. 67) the contract, such as it is, is preceded by Brahma's creation of the first king in the person of Manu, and the obedience is derived. though not as an integral portion of the same story, from the king's divine creation. Will the critic kindly explain what "agreement" there is between such conceptions and the Hobbesian view of absolute sovereignty derived from a contract which is based on the complete surrender of their natural rights by the individuals to a common superior ? Where, again, has the critic found the "arbitrary" refusal to identify the cult of tyrannicide etc. in the Hindu theory with the corresponding strands of the contract theory in Europe ?

Whether the "chapters in the H. P. T. have cumulatively worked against the author's theory" of a multilinear evolution of human social organisations will best appear from the fact that again and again where Hindu political thought appeared to the author to make the nearest approach to the theory of the West, it was found on a closer examination to reveal real and important differences. Examples of this kind were furnished by the relation of the Arthaśāstra statecraft to that of Machiavelli and of the Hindu and the Greek views of the end of the State, as well as the mutual relations of Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya as compared with those of Church and State in mediaeval Europe, and the Hindu theories of kingship in comparison with the Western theories of social contract and divine right. In connection with the last-mentioned point, an attempt was made (H. P. T. pp. 276—278) to "exploit" Figgis's *Divine Right of Kings* in respect of its list of the four component parts of the Western theory (Ibid., pp. 5-6), with the

result that three of them (namely, that hereditary right is indefeasible, that kings are accountable to God alone, and that non-resistance and passive obedience are enjoined by God) were found to have no counterparts in the Hindu theories. Differences of this kind the critic would dismiss as "verbal" and "non-essential"! As for the critic's assumption that the "conclusion" was an "afterthought" added to "combat the idea of philosophical agreement or analogy between the East and the West", it deserves not the slightest notice.

The treatment of the now fashionable comparison between Kauṭilya and Machiavelli in the H. P. T. has not escaped the kind attention of the critic. Here he is obliging enough to express his agreement with the author on one point for which he coolly tries wlthout sufficient reason to appropriate the credit to himself. On other points his views are strongly adverse. "Is not Machiavelli," he asks, "also the last of an old series like Kauṭilya. Or, again, is not Kauṭilya also, like Machiavelli, the first of a new series"? How, pray? Again, it is asked, was Machiavelli less encyclopædic than Kauṭilya? Perhaps not. But then, owing to the enormous progress in the specialisation of studies in Machiavelli's time, Kauṭilya's conception of a single branch of knowledge embracing the art of goverment in the widest sense of the term was necessarily foreign to the Italian.

The critic's indignation rises to a white heat when he proceeds to consider the distinction drawn by the author between the goal of the Kauṭilyan and the Machiavellian statecraft. Here, for once, it has to be admitted that the idea of an essential difference expressed in the H. P. T. should be modified, though not abandoned, in favour of the view of a partial similiarity between the thought of the Hindu and the Italian.[1] For making full allowance for the "cult of Vijigīṣu, cāturanta or cakravartin," it cannot be forgotten that Kauṭilya unlike Machiavelli pointedly deprecates territorial annexations (H. P. T., pp. 145-146). The critic's own idea of a "most marvellous identity in subject-matter as well as methodology" must be rejected as "absurd." For a slight reflection is sufficient to show that while the Hindu thinker is inspired above all by consideration

1 This modified view was arrived at by the author independently long ago, and it has been incorporated in the forthcoming second edition of the H. P. T. which is expected to be out next month.

for the interest of the individual monarch, the Italian found the spring of his inspiration in a passionate and patriotic zeal for the deliverance of his unhappy motherland. With this is connected the fact that Kauṭilya's precepts indicate a mind untouched by the breath of emotion and literally revelling in the display of its rich intellectual resources, while Machiavelli's work reveals a mind not only strong in intellect but also singularly susceptible to sentiment.

The critic is indignant with the author for daring to discriminate the immoral state-craft of Kauṭilya from that of Machiavelli. It is enough to state in reply that the "Kauṭilyan analysis of the six expedients and discussion of the treaties as well as prescription of the ways and means in regard to the extirpation of thorns", in as far as they are connected with the cult of immoral state-craft are certainly put forward as "extreme cases" a fact demonstrated by the positive evidence of texts which the critic systematically ignores. To the two texts quoted in the H. P. T. (pp. 149 n., 150), we may add here two more. In v. 2, where Kauṭilya mentions various unscrupulous methods for replenishing the royal treasury, he concludes by saying that such demands should be made only once. Again in XIII, 4 while describing the measures to be taken for the siege of a fort, Kauṭilya states that when it can be captured by other means, no attempt should be made to use inflammable materials, for fire cannot be trusted and it destroys life and property. Will the critic kindly quote similar instructions from the works of Machiavelli?

In charging the author for his condemnation of Bhāradvajā's state-craft, the critic conveniently suppresses from his quotations its worst specimens. Let us quote some choice examples. "The king", says the old Arthaśāstra teacher, "who deserves prosperity should slay the individual who thwarts his purpose, be this person even his own brother, father or friend. Without piercing the vitals of others, without committing cruel deeds, without slaying creatures even in the fashion of fishermen, one cannot attain high felicity. When wishing to smite, he should speak gently; after striking off the head with his sword, he should grieve and shed tears." Is the critic prepared to take the above to be "evidence of clear, perspicuous and straightforward mentality"?

In his fanatical ardour for Machiavellianism, the critic with excellent taste traces a spiritual affinity between the author and "the catholic Fathers who burnt Machiavelli in effigy" and declares him to "out-Jesuit the Jesuits." The head and front of the author's offence, it appears,

is that he "is not prepared to submit to the subordination of morality to politics." No nobler accusation could be brought against a man, and the author is quite content to be arraigned on this charge.

Towards the close of his long and rambling review, the critic tries to make some amends to the author for the fury of his onslaught. But the praise, it may be noted, is conveniently couched in general terms.

A perusal of the above pages will show the impartial reader what value to attach to the criticism of Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar. Sweeping charges unaccompanied by a shred of argument, inuendoes and arbitrary assumptions abound in every page of his writing. Where it suits his convenience, he does not stick at misstatement and suppression of facts, and even the deliberate distortion of evidence. His own equipment for the task that he seems to have so light-heartedly undertaken, is not of the happiest sort. He indulges in rash generalizations based on partial knowledge or wilful desregard of facts; he unconsciously uses terms and expressions similar to those which he has himself rejected in some other context as unscientific; he does not discriminate between the different forms of the topics which he handles. His criticism, such as it is, tends to assume an air of seductive prominence by virtue of its tone of pontifical assurance, its spirit of pretended detachment, the parade of learning with which it is accompanied, and, last but not the least, the journalistic style in which it is invariably clothed.

U. N. GHOSHAL

## Ghoshal Defending Himself

Ghoshal has failed to take my examination of his *History* in the proper scientific spirit. In his reply he has shown that he is used to handle the dictionary of abuse. G. is perpetually harping on the "mis-statements" and "distortions of evidence." A lengthy reply from my side may not be undesirable in a future number.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

# REVIEWS

SURĪŚVAR AUR SAMRĀṬ AKBAR (pp. 24+414). Translated from the original Gujarati of Munirāja Śrī Vidyāvijaya by Kṛṣṇalal Varmā. With an introduction by Rai Bahadur Pandit Gaurī Sankar Ojha. Published by Śrī Vijayadharma Lakṣmī Jñānamandira, Agra.

The book, under review, gives in a popular way, the life-story of the great Jain hermit Hīravijayaji Sūri with special reference to his connection with the great Mughal emperor Akbar. It seems to have been received favourably by the people in general as is testified to by the fact of its having undergone a second edition within three years of its first publication in its Gujarati original and the necessity felt by the present publishers to undertake a Hindi translation of a fairly big book like this. The author has taken great pains to collect materials for his book from works in different languages. viz., Sanskrit, English, Hindi, Urdu, Gujarati and Bengali, and this was not an easy task for our author who confesses his ignorance of English and Urdu. The book is full of many important and useful facts regarding the great hermit and incidentally with respect to the religious condition of India during the time of Akbar. But it must be said for the sake of truth that the facts have not always been presented in an historical way—perhaps to suit the taste of the people in general. Thus authorities and references have not, in most cases, been cited to confirm the statements in the book, some of which are of vital importance. Some of its chapters, again, (we may mention here the 5th chapter) read more like a novel than history in the wider sense of the term. On the whole, however, the book can rightly be regarded as a very important contribution to the history of Jainism inasmuch as it gives a detailed account of how a Jain hermit, like many others whose history requires to be thoroughly investigated, exercised influence even over a great emperor like Akbar.

The book suffers from the lack of an index and a detailed table of contents ; and we have every hope that this defect of the book will be removed from its next edition. The language of the translation is elegant and reflects credit on Mr. Varma. It has some printing mistakes especially in the English portions.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

HINDU-PAD-PADASHAHI or a Review of the Hindu Empire of Maharashtra by V. D. Savarkar, published by B. G. Paul & Co., Madras, 296. pp.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar has written an interesting book entitled 'Hindu-Pad-Padashahi' in which he has successfully tried to hold in bold relief before the readers the inspiring ideal of religion and righteousness that animated the whole Maratha nation for the establishment of an independent Hindu empire. Historians of the chronicler type may not see eye to eye with Mr. Savarkar in his dramatic way of marshalling the facts of Maratha history after the death of Śivājī, but such books have a value and importance of their own. Every page of the book thrills with the noble spirit of patriotism and religious fervour which inspired the writer and enabled him to take his reader along with him as if into the midst of Maratha activities. In fact he has added flesh and blood to the dry bones of history and the novel way in which he has unfolded the story of political solidarity and service to the country and the struggle for survival helps much the growth of patriotic feeling.

K. K. BANERJI

A GREAT SANSKRIT DICTIONARY by Otto Boehtlingk, —Sanskrit-Woerterbuch in kuerzerer Fassung, Neudruck in Helioplanverfahren, in 7 Baenden, Folio, auf holzfreiem Papier. 1923-1925. Zu beziehen durch Markert & Petters, Leipzig.

In India we are not so fortunate as to enjoy full advantages from the publisher, as the people of the West are. There the publisher is ready to undertake all sorts of risks, not only for books meant for a wider and almost sure circle of readers but also for purely scientific works the sale of which is restricted to very narrow limits. Even the works relating to oriental subjects are not excepted from this encouragement on the part of an enterprising publisher, who does not think of mere pound, shilling and pence but also of honour of having achieved something useful. Thus we Indians are obliged not only to the learned scholar who spends his life in antiquarian research, but also to the enterprising publisher who makes it accessible to the public.

The book under review is a result of such enterprise. It was long out of print, and as its place remained vacant inspite of some Sanskrit-English Dictionaries, a new edition was much eagerly looked for.

This want is now supplied and for supplying it the publishers, M
Markert & Petters of Leipzig, deserve our thanks. No doubt
have done a special service to linguistic science in general a
Indology in particular in these difficult days. They have secure
right over this work from the Leningrad Academy and brought
facsimile edition by means of a photolithographic process.

It will not be considered out of place to give here the histo
this work. In the years 1855-1875 two German Sanskritists
most eminent rank, Otto Boehtlingk and Rudolph Roth, proc
that gigantic work on Sanskrit lexicography in seven folio vol
known as the Petersburger Woerterbuch, a standing record—a co
monument of German Industry, accuracy and intelligence. This
a performance of extraordinary hard and meritorious labour and it
the light of the day under the patronage of the Royal Acader
Sciences of St. Petersburg, which celebrated its bicentenary rece
Hence its common designation has been the Petersburger Woerterl
(PW. in abbreviation).

It was for the first time that a Sanskrit dictionary was prep
direct from the study of its literature, and not merely compiled
existing glossaries composed by the Pandits of various ages. Quota
and references show this feature fully. Still more special merit o
work lies in its interpretation of the Vedic text. Till then Sā
was slavishly followed in this respect; now a direct appeal to the
themselves was made, and their meaning asserted from the contexts
from parallel sources under the guidance of etymology and compar
science of languages. All future compilers of Sanskrit dictionaries
used this *thesaurus* and thus, so to say, have dug up from this
some gems and made them current.

Soon after the publicatian of this great work, Boehtlingk thou
it advisable to prepare a smaller dictionary to meet the requirem
of beginners and such students as did not stand in need of the
apparatus given in the great Petersburger Woerterbuch. This plan
at the same time thought to be an opportunity for making
the then possible additions to and corrections in this great work.
learned author was not only encouraged by all eminent Sanskri
chiefly German in this new undertaking of his, but was promised hel
their part for same. This promise was faithfully kept and thus t
especially Roth and Kern, contributed much to make this stan
work as complete and accurate as possible. It appears in seven p
again under the patronage of the Royal Academy of Sciences of

Petersburg (1879-1889), and hence has been known as the smaller Petersburger Woerterbuch. Each part contained numerous additions and all these additions were given as a general index in the seventh part, thus making the reference easy. The list of new works (scattered in all the seven parts) which the author and his co-workers had used for the search of words and their meanings gave some idea of the original research treasured in this really monumental work.

The Petersburger Woerterbuch was not quite unknown in India in the past, and Indian Sanskritists did refer to its authority; but still it was not so adequately used as it ought to have been. The reason was that in those days our scholars were not so paticular and only very few knew German. Today when this condition is changed, we do hope that our students, or at least our scholars should use this Dictionary in their study and research. Even those who do not know German can use it with some benefit. Not only that it is almost complete but it is most faithful. Whenever necessary, references are duly given and these show to one clearly where and in what sense the word in question is used. It goes without saying that a mere record of meanings put dwon in front of a word is not a proper guide—nay, no guide at all for research work. Words have life and life is changing from time to time. To ignore this will be to ignore all. Hence is the importance of these references. Again nobody is faultless, and so in doubtful cases the student can himself verify the meaning etc. from the original with the help of these references. It should be noted that accentuation, often indispensable to a correct knowledge of Sanskrit, is not omitted in this work. The fact that all the words, not only roots and primary words but also their derivatives, are given in Sanskrit characters will specially appeal to Indians, all of whom prefer them to Latin ones and some of them do not even know the latter. Again the arrangement of words is purely alphabetical and hence very convenient.

JEHANGIR C. TAVADIA

A SUPPLEMENT TO BOEHTLINGK'S SANSKRIT DICTIONARY.—Nachtraege zum Sanskrit-Woerterbuch in kuerzerer Fassung von Otto Boehtlingk, bearbeitet von Richard Schmidt. Lieferung 1-4.

It is a happy coincidence that with the appearance of the facsimil edition of Boehtlingk's Sanskrit Woerterbuch, a Supplement to th great work also appears. Since the days of Boehtlingk a number new Sanskrit writings has come to light and they have increased th stock of words of the language. This addition required to be pr in a proper form, and we are thankful to Prof. Schmidt for having don it here to a certain extent. The author has attempted at completin Boehtlingk's work in various directions. Thus not only absolute new words are given, but unknown meanings and genders of the wor are also recorded. Again references are found out for some those words which Boehtlingk has marked as missing in the th known literature. In order to make the Supplement more useful, t words in the General Index of Boehtlingk's Dictionary are also give Thus when one does not find a word in the body of the latter work, is not required to refer to the General Index; the Supplement enough to trace out the word. The Yaśastilakacampū and commentary have been worked out for the Supplement and a lar number of literary works has been taken into account. But the autl does not claim completeness which can only be achieved when Sanskritists work together. Still he should not have omitted to ma use of ready materials as he has done, for instance, in the case of glossary of new words from Bharaṭaka-dvātriṃśikā, edited by P Hertel in 1922. The Sanskrit words are given in Latin characters the sake of economy; in other respects the Supplement follows chief work.

The work appears in seven parts of 48 folio pages each. Four pa are already out, and the remaining will follow soon.

JEHANGIR C. TAVADIA

## Select Contents of Oriental Journals

**Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute,** vol. viii, pt. i, 1926-27

P. V. BAPAT.—The Different Strata in the Literary Material of the Dīgha Nikāya. By examining the contents of the Suttas in the Dīgha Nikāya the writer has pointed out in them three different strata and has come to the conclusion that 'an extensive range in the evolution of Buddhism is covered' by these Suttas.

C. R. DEVADHAR.—The Plays Ascribed to Bhāsa, their Authenticity and Merits. Disagreeing with the editor of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series the writer of this article has adduced evidences in support of Dr. Barnett's contention that the *Svapnavāsavadatta* referred to by several ancient Sanskrit poets cannot be identified with the play now published under that name. He suggests that the author of the Trivandrum plays passing under the name of Bhāsa may be an obscure poet of a later age of Southern India and discusses at length the merits of the plays ascribed to Bhāsa.

HARAN CHANDRA CHAKLADAR.—The Geography of Vātsyāyana.

P. L. VAIDYA.—Observations on Hemacandra's Deśīnāmamālā. Names of the lexicons or lexicographers mentioned in the *Deśīnāmamālā* of Hemacandra are given as also a list of *deśī* words from the work preserved in Mārāthī and its dialects.

J. N. C. GANGULY.—Hindu Theories of Punishment.

P. V. KANE.—Dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha-Likhita. This collection of quotations from Śaṅkha and Likhita occurring in later works continues from the previous issue of the journal.

D. R. BHANDARKAR.—Pārasīka Dominion in Ancient India.

K. K. LELE.—Fragment of an Inscribed Hymn of Sarasvatī found at Mandu.

D. M. ROY.—The Culture of Mathematics among the Jainas of Southern India in the Ninth Century A. D. In dealing with the *Gaṇitasārasaṃgraha* of Mahāvīrācārya, the writer remarks that unlike the Hindu Mathematicians who were primarily astronomers, the Jaina scholars favoured the cultivation of Mathematical science by itself.

**Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society,** vol. xii, pt. 1

V. H. JACKSON.—Notes on the Bambay Hills. The [illegible]

Lomaśa Ṛṣi cave and on the dedicatory inscription of the Karṇa Chaupar cave are presented as supplementary to those which were contributed previously by the same writer.

A. BANERJI-SASTRI.—The Ājīvikas. The paper discusses the mutual relation of the Brahmins, the Jains, the Ājīvikas and the Buddhists of ancient times and particularly describes the hostilities between the Ājīvikas under Gośāla and the Jains under Mahāvīra.

SARADAKANTA GANGULY.—Notes on Āryabhaṭṭa.

P. ACHARYA.—The Bhanja Kings of Orissa. This is an attempt to determine the chronology and genealogy of the Bhanja Rulers of Orissa.

A. BANERJI-SASTRI.—The Asuras in Indo-Iranian Literature.

S. C. ROY.—The Asurs—Ancient and Modern. The writer of this paper is of opinion that the Mūṇḍā traditions indicate that the Asuras mentioned in the ancient Sanskrit literature as following the occupation of iron-smelting belonged to an ethnic stock and culture different from those of the present day 'Asurs' of the Chota-Nagpur plateau. The latter is a tribe of the Mūṇḍā stock and has adopted from the ancient Asuras the occupation of iron-smelting as well as its tribal name.

KALIPADA MITRA.—Music and Dance in the *Vimāna Vatthu Aṭṭhakathā*.

**Indian Antiquary**, April, 1926

INDUBHUSAN BANERJI.—Some Aspects of the Career of Guru Hargovind.

S. M. EDWARDES.—Kannada Poets. This is a summary of T. T. Sharman's *Kannada Poets mentioned in the Inscripitions* published in Memoir No. 13 of the Archæological Survey of India (Madras, 1924) in the Kanarese language.

**Ibid**, May, 1926

W. CROOKE.—Marriage Songs in Northern India.

M. SYLVAIN LÉVI.—Paloura-Dantapura. This is a note by Lévi translated into English from its French original by S. M. Edwardes. A place mentioned by Ptolemy as "Paloura" has been identified here with the city of Dantapura of Buddhist literature.

**Journal of the American Oriental Society**, March, 1926

L. C. BARRET.—The Contents of the Kashmirian Atharva Veda, Books 1-12.

L. C. BARRET.—The Kashmirian Atharva Veda, Book xii edited with Critical Notes.

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## Obituary Notice

### The Late Sir George Forrest

The death of Sir G. W. Forrest announced some time ago by Reuter removes yet one more outstanding figure from the array of living historians of British India. Forrest's connection with India was long and varied. He entered, when 26 years of age, the Bombay Education Department, served as Professor of History in the Elphinstone College for some years, and acted as the Census Commissioner for Bombay in 1881-82 and subsequently as the Director of the Bombay Records where he was placed on special duty and prepared the home Series and Maratha Series of *Selections from the State-Papers preserved in the Bombay Secretariat* (1885-87) which he followed a number of years later by another volume of *Selections from the Travels and Journals preserved in the Bombay Secretariat.* Forrest became in 1894 the Keeper of the Records of the Government of India. It was during his tenure of this high office that he edited the three volumes of *Selections from the Papers in the Foreign Department of the Government of India in the time of Warren Hastings.* He also examined the papers in the Military Department relating to the Great Mutiny at the instance of Sir George Chesney and embodied his labours in the four volumes of *Selections from the letters, despatches and other state-papers in the Military Department (1893-1912).* As an introduction to this Forrest wrote, mainly on the basis of official documents, a continuous story of the Mutiny shorn of all unnecessary technical details. Besides these he brought out a collection of Clive Papers from Bengal, Madras and the India office, "with other papers illustrating the rise of the British Power in India in the epoch 1671-1785" (Calcutta, 1891-93). His last great work was the *Life of Lord Clive* (Cassell, 2 vols., 1918) based on an exhaustive examination of all available materials in both the European and the Indian archives. It is this briography that is bound to hold the field for a long time. Incidentally when searching for papers relating to Clive at Pondicherry that he alighted with the help of Col. Mac Leod the Consular Agent at the French settlement, on the famous Diary of Ananda Rangan Pillai, the translation of which has been taken on hand by the Madras Government. Other books that came from the learned pen of Forrest are (1) *The Administration of Lord Lansdowne*; (2) *Sepoy-Generals*; (3) *The Cities of India*; (4) *The History of the Indian Mutiny*, etc. He was made a C.I.E. in 1899 and retired from [illegible] but he continued to labour on in his chosen

37. *Jāto vaḍḍho*[1] ti jāto ca vaḍḍhito ca. Yo hi kevalaṃ tattha jāto va hoti aññattha vaḍḍhito, tassa samantā gāmamaggā na sabbaso paccakkhā honti, tasmā 'jāto vaḍḍho' ti āha. Jātavaḍḍho pi yo ciraṃ nikkhanto tassāpi na sabbaso paccakkhā honti[2], tasmā 'tāvad eva avasatan' ti āha. Taṃ khaṇam eva nikkhantan ti attho. *Dandhāyitattan* ti ayaṃ nu kho maggo, ayam na nu kho[3] ti kaṅkhāvasena cirāyitattaṃ. *Vitthāyitattan* ti yathā sukhumam atthajātaṃ sahasā pucchitassa kassaci sarīrathaddhabhāvaṃ gaṇhāti evaṃ[4] thaddhabhāvaggahaṇaṃ.

38. *Na tvevā* ti iminā sabbaññuta-ñāṇassa appaṭihatabhāvaṃ dasseti. Tassa hi purisassa Mārāvaṭṭanādi-vasena siyā ñāṇassa paṭighāto, tena so dandhāyeyya vā vitthāyeyya vā, sabbaññuta-ñāṇaṃ pana appaṭihataṃ, na sakkā tassa kenaci antarāyo kātun ti dīpeti.

39. *Ullumpatu bhavaṃ Gotamo* ti uddharatu bhavaṃ Gotamo. *Brāhmaṇiṃ pajan* ti brāhmaṇa-dārakaṃ. Bhavaṃ Gotamo maṃ[5] brāhmaṇa-puttam apāyamaggato uddharitvā Brahmalokamagge patiṭṭhāpetū ti attho.

Ath' assa Bhagavā uddhuppādaṃ dassetvā saddhiṃ pubbabhāgapaṭipadāya mettāvihārādi Brahmaloka-gāmi-maggaṃ dassetukāmo, tena hi 'Vāseṭṭhā' ti ādim āha.

Tattha 'idha Tathāgato' ti ādi Sāmaññaphale vitthāritaṃ. 'Mettāsahagatenā' ti ādīsu yaṃ vattabbaṃ taṃ sabbaṃ Visuddhimagge Brahmavihāra-kammaṭṭhāna-kathāyaṃ vuttaṃ.

77. 'Seyyathā pi Vāseṭṭha balavā saṅkhadhamo' ti ādi pana idha apubbam. Tattha *balavā* ti balasampanno. *Saṅkhadhamo* ti saṅkhadhamako. *Appakasirenā* ti akicchena adukkhena. Dubbalo hi saṅkhadhamo saṅkhaṃ dhamanto pi na sakkoti, catasso disā sarena viññāpetuṃ nāssa saṅkhasaddo sabbato pharati, balavato pana vipphāriko hoti, tasmā 'balavā' ti ādim āha. *Mettāya cetovimuttiyā* ti ettha mettā ti vutte upacāro pi appanā pi vaṭṭati. 'Cetovimuttī' ti vutte pana appanā va vaṭṭati.

*Yaṃ pamāṇakataṃ kamman* ti pamāṇakataṃ kammaṃ nāma kāmāvacaraṃ vuccati. Appamāṇakataṃ kammaṃ nāma rūpārūpāvacaraṃ. Taṃ hi pamāṇam atikkamitvā odissaka-anodissaka disāpharaṇavasena vaḍḍhetvā katattā 'appamāṇakatan' ti vuccati. *Na taṃ tatrāvasissati na taṃ tatrāvatiṭṭhatī* ti taṃ kāmāvacaraṃ kammaṃ tasmiṃ rūpāvacarārūpāvacarakamme[6] na ohiyyati na tiṭṭhatī ti. Kiṃ vuttaṃ hoti ?

1 B. & S. use saṃvaḍḍho throughout
2 Si. puts it in singular
3 S. ayaṃ nu kho no ti
4 Si. thaddha-dandha-
5 S. omits it ; B. mama
6 Si. rūpāvacarārūppa-

Taṃ kāmāvacarakammaṃ tassa rūpāvacarārūpāvacarakammassa antarā laggituṃ vā ṭhātuṃ vā rūpārūpāvacarakammaṃ pharitvā pariyādiyitvā attano okāsaṃ gahetvā patiṭṭhātuṃ na sakkoti. Atha kho rūpāvacarārūpāvacarakammaṃ eva kāmāvacaraṃ mahogho viya parittaṃ udakaṃ pharitvā pariyādiyitvā attano okāsaṃ gahetvā tiṭṭhati tassa vipākaṃ paṭibāhitvā sayam eva Brahmasahabyatam upanetī ti.

80. *Evaṃ vihārī* ti evaṃ mettādivihārī.

82. *Ete mayaṃ bhavantaṃ Gotaman* ti idaṃ tesaṃ dutiya saraṇagamaṇaṃ. Paṭhamam eva h' ete majjhimapaṇṇāsake Vāseṭṭhā-suttaṃ sutvā saraṇaṃ gatā, imaṃ pana Tevijjasuttaṃ sutvā dutiyam pi saraṇaṃ gatā, katipāhaccayena pabbajitvā Aggañña-sutte upasampadañ c' eva arahattañ ca aladdhuṃ. Sesaṃ sabbattha uttānattham evā ti.

Iti Sumaṅgalavilāsiniyā Dīghanikāyaṭṭhakathāya TEVIJJA SUTTA VAṆṆANĀ niṭṭhitā terasamaṃ.

Niṭṭhitā ca terasasutta-paṭimaṇḍitassa Sīlakkhandhavaggassa atthavaṇṇanā ti.

# SUMAṄGALA-VILĀSINIYĀ
# DĪGHANIKĀYAṬṬHAKATHĀYA MAHĀVAGGAVAṆṆANĀ

## XIV. MAHĀPADĀNA SUTTA VAṆṆANĀ

**1.** 1. *Evaṁ me sutaṁ*.....pe... ..*Kareriku*ṭ*ikāyan* ti Mahāpadānasuttaṁ. Tatrāyam anupubbapadavaṇṇanā. *Kareriku*ṭ*ikāyan* ti Kareri ti Varuṇa-rukkhassa nāmaṁ. Kareri-maṇḍapo tassā kuṭikāya dvāre ṭhito tasmā Kareriku*ṭ*ikā ti vuccati, yathā Kosamba-rukkhassa dvāre ṭhitattā Kosambaku*ṭ*ikā ti.

Anto Jetavane kira Kareriku*ṭ*i, Kosambaku*ṭ*i, Gandhaku*ṭ*i, Salaḷagharan[1] ti cattāri mahāgehāni. Ekekaṁ satasahassapariccāgena nipphannaṁ. Tesu Salaḷagharaṁ raññā Pasenadinā kāritaṁ. Sesāni Anāthapiṇḍikena[2] kāritāni. Iti Bhagavā Anāthapiṇḍikena gahapatinā thambhānam upari kāritāya deva-vimāna-kappāya Kareriku*ṭ*ikāyaṁ viharati.

*Pacchābhattan* ti ekāsanika[3] khalu pacchābhattikānaṁ pāto va[4] bhuttānam antomajjhantike pi pacchābhattam eva. Idha pana pakatibhattassa pacchato pacchābhattan ti adhippetaṁ. *Piṇḍapāta-paṭikkantānan* ti piṇḍapātato paṭikkantānaṁ, bhattakiccaṁ niṭṭhapetvā uṭṭhitānan ti attho.

*Kareriman*ḍ*alamāḷe* ti tass' eva Kareriman*ḍ*apassa avidūre katāya nisīdanasālāya. So kira Kareriman*ḍ*apo Gandhaku*ṭ*ikāya ca sālāya ca antare hoti. Tasmā Gandhaku*ṭ*i pi Kareriku*ṭ*ikā pi sālā pi Kareriman*ḍ*alamāḷo ti vuccati.

*Pubbenivāsa-paṭisaṁyuttā* ti ekam pi jātiṁ dve pi jātiyo ti evaṁ vibhattena pubbenivu*ṭ*ṭhakkhandhasantānaṁ saṁkhātena pubbenivāsena saddhiṁ yojetvā pavattitā. *Dhammī* ti dhammasaṁyuttā. *Udapādī* ti aho acchariyaṁ Dasabalassa pubbenivāsa-ñāṇaṁ, Pubbenivāsaṁ nāma ke anussaranti, ke nānussaranti ? Titthiyā anussaranti, sāvakā ca paccekabuddhā ca buddhā[5] ca anussaranti. Kata*ṭ*a titthiyā anussaranti ? Ye aggappattā kammavādino te pi cattālīsaṁ yeva kappe anussaranti na tato param[6]. Sāvakā kappasatasahassam anussaranti. Dve aggasāvakā asaṁkheyyañ c' eva kappasatasahassañ ca. Paccekabuddhā dve asaṁkheyyāni kappasatasahassañ ca. Buddhānaṁ pana ettakan ti pariccheḍo natthi, yāvatakam ākaṅkhanti

1 B. -āgāram 2 Si. adds gahapatinā and omits kāritāni 3 S. ekāsīnaka
4 Si. omits it 5 S. omits it and all the 'ca's 6 Si. omits 'na tato param'

tāvatakam anussaranti. Ye aggappattā kammavādino[1] titthiyā khandhapaṭipāṭiyā anussaranti, paṭipāṭiṃ muñcitvā na sakkonti. Paṭipāṭiyā anussarantā pi asaññabhavaṃ patvā khandhappavattiṃ na passanti, jāle patitā sakuṇā[2] viya kūpe patitā paṅgulā viya ca honti. Te tattha ṭhatvā ettakam eva, ito paraṃ natthī ti diṭṭhiṃ gaṇhanti. Iti titthiyānaṃ pubbenivāsānussaraṇam andhānaṃ yaṭṭhikoṭigamanaṃ viya hoti. Yathā hi andhā yaṭṭhikoṭiggāhake sati yeva gacchanti, asati tatth' eva nisīdanti, evam eva titthiyā khandhapaṭipāṭiyā va anussarituṃ sakkonti, paṭipāṭiṃ vissajjetvā na sakkonti. Sāvakā pi khandhapaṭipāṭiyā va anussaranti, asaññabhavaṃ patvā khandhappavattiṃ na passanti. Evaṃ sante pi te vaṭṭe saṃsaraṇaka-sattānaṃ khandhānam abhāvakālo nāma natthi, asaññabhave pana pañca kappasatāni pavattantī ti, ettakaṃ kālam atikkamitvā Buddhehi dinna-naye ṭhatvā parato anussaranti, seyyathā pi āyasmā Sobhito. Dve aggasāvakā pana paccekabuddhā ca cuti-paṭisandhim oloketvā anussaranti. Buddhānaṃ cuti-paṭisandhi-kiccaṃ natthi, yaṃ yaṃ pana[3] ṭhānaṃ passitukāmā honti taṃ tad eva passanti. Titthiyā ca pubbenivāsam anussaramānā attanā diṭṭha-kata-sutam eva anussaranti. Tathā sāvakā ca paccekabuddhā ca. Buddhā pana attanā vā parehi vā diṭṭha-kata-sutaṃ sabbam eva anussaranti. Titthiyānaṃ pubbenivāsa-ñāṇaṃ khajjopanakobhāsa-sadisaṃ, sāvakānaṃ padīpobhāsa-sadisam, aggasāvakānam osadhitārakobhāsa-sadisaṃ, paccekabuddhānaṃ candobhāsa-sadisṃ, Buddhānaṃ sahassa-sūriya-maṇḍalobhāsa-sadisaṃ. Tassa ettakāni jātisatāni jātisahassāni jātisatasahassānī ti vā ettakāni kappasatāni kappasahassāni kappasatasahassānī ti vā natthi. Yaṃ kiñci anussarantassa n'eva khalitaṃ na paṭighāto hoti. Āvajjana-paṭibaddham eva [4]ākaṅkhā-manasikāra-cittuppāda-paṭibaddham eva hoti. Dubbala-pattapūṭe [5]vegukkhittanārāco viya Sinerukūṭe visaṭṭha-inda-vajiraṃ viya ca āsajjamānam eva gacchati. Aho mahantaṃ Bhagavato pubbenivāsa-ñāṇan ti evaṃ Bhagavantaṃ yeva ārabbha kathā[6] uppannā jātā pavattitā ti attho. Taṃ sabbam pi saṃkhepato dassetum 'iti pi pubbenivāso, iti pi pubbenivāso' ti ettakam eva Pāliyaṃ vuttaṃ. Tattha 'iti pī ti' evam pi.

2. *Assosi kho*···pe···*atha Bhagavā anuppatto* ti ettha yaṃ vattabbaṃ taṃ Brahmajālaṃ vaṇṇanāyaṃ vuttam eva. Ayam eva hi viseso. Tattha sabbaññuta-ñāṇena assosi. Idha dibbasotena. Tattha ca vaṇṇāvaṇṇakathā vippakatā. Idha pubbenivāsakathā. Tasmā Bhagavā 'ime

1 S. & B. omit these first three words
2 B. kuṇḍā
3 Si. & B. omit it
4 Si. ākaṅkhana ; B. ākaṅkha
6 Si. & B. omit it

bhikkhū mama pubbenivāsa-ñāṇam ārabbha guṇaṃ thomenti, pubbenivāsa-ñāṇassa pana me nipphattiṃ na jānanti, handa nesaṃ tassa nipphattiṃ kathetvā dassāmī' ti āgantvā pakatiyā pi Buddhāsane nisīditvā dhamma-desanattham eva ṭhapite taṃ khaṇaṃ[1] bhikkhūhi papphoṭetvā dinne varabuddhāsane nisīditvā *kāya nu'ttha bhikkhave* ti pucchāya ca *idha bhante* ti ādito paṭivacanassa ca pariyosāne tesaṃ pubbenivāsa-paṭisaṃ-yuttaṃ [2]dhammakathaṃ kathetukāmo *iccheyyātha no* ti ādim āha. Tattha *iccheyyātha no* ti iccheyyātha nu.

3. Atha naṃ pahaṭṭhamānasā bhikkhū yācamānā *etassa Bhagavā* ti ādim āhaṃsu. Tattha *etassā* ti etassa [2]dhammakathā-karaṇassa.

Atha Bhagavā tesaṃ yācanaṃ gahetvā kathetukāmo *tena hi bhikkha-ve sunāthā* ti te sotāvadhāna-sādhuka-manasikāresu niyojetvā aññesam asādhāraṇaṃ chinnavaṭumakānussaraṇaṃ pakāsetukāmo *ito so bhikkhave* ti ādim āha.

4. Tattha *yaṃ Vipassī* ti yasmiṃ kappe Vipassī. Ayaṃ hi 'yaṃ' saddo "yaṃ me bhante devānaṃ tāvatiṃsānaṃ sammukhā sutaṃ sam-mukhā paṭiggahitaṃ, ārocemi taṃ bhante Bhagavato" ti ādīsu paccatta-vacane dissati. "Yan tam apucchimha akittayi no, aññaṃ taṃ[3] pucchāma tad iṅgha brūhī' ti ādīsu upayogavacane. "Aṭṭhānam etaṃ bhikkhave anavakāso yam ekissā lokadhātuyā" ti ādīsu karaṇa-vacane. Idha pana bhummattheti[4] daṭṭhabbo. Tena vuttaṃ 'yasmiṃ kappe' ti. *Udapādī* ti dasasahassalokadhātum unnādento uppajji. *Bhaddakappe* ti pañca Buddhuppāda-patimaṇḍitattā sundara-kappe sāra-kappe ti Bhagavā imaṃ kappaṃ thomento evam āha.

Yato paṭṭhāya kira amhākaṃ Bhagavatā abhinīhāro kato, etasmim antare ekakappe pi pañca Buddhā nibbattā nāma natthi. Amhākaṃ Bhagavato abhinīhārassa purato pana Taṇhaṅkaro Medhaṅkaro Saraṇaṅkaro Dīpaṅkaro ti cattāro Buddhā ekasmiṃ kappe nibbattiṃsu. Tesam [5]uparimabhāge ekam asaṃkheyyaṃ Buddha-suññam eva ahosi[6]. Asaṃkheyya-kappa-pariyosāne pana Koṇḍañño nāma Buddho eko va ekasmiṃ kappe uppanno. Tato pi asaṃkheyyaṃ Buddha-suññam eva ahosi. Asaṃkheyya-kappa-pariyosāne Sumaṅgalo[7] Sumano Revato Sobhito ti cattāro Buddhā ekasmiṃ kappe uppannā. Tato pi asaṃkheyyaṃ Buddhasuññam eva ahosi. Asaṃkheyya-kappa-pariyosāne pana ito kappa-satasahassādhikassa asaṃkheyyassa upari Anomadassī Padumo Nārado ti tayo Buddhā ekasmiṃ kappe uppannā

1 Si. adds yeva 2 B. dhammiṃ 3 Si. & B. yaṃ
4 S. & Si. bhummeti 5 B. oram 6 Si. āsi
7 Si. & B. Maṅgalo

Tato pi asaṃkheyyaṃ Buddha-suññam eva ahosi. Asaṃkheyya-kappa-pariyosāne pana ito kappa-satasahassānam upari Padumuttaro Bhagavā eko va ekasmiṃ kappe uppanno. Tassa orato[1] ito tiṃsakappasahassānam upari Sumedho Sujāto ti dve Buddhā ekasmiṃ kappe uppannā. Tato [1]uparimabhāge ito aṭṭhārasannaṃ kappasahassānam upari Piyadassī Atthadassī Dhammadassī ti tayo Buddhā ekasmiṃ kappe uppannā. Atha ito catunavute kappe Siddhattho nāma Buddho eko va ekasmiṃ kappe uppanno. Ito [2]ekanavute kappe Tisso Phusso ti dve Buddhā ekasmiṃ kappe uppannā. Ito ekanavute kappe Vipassī[3] Bhagavā uppanno. Ito ekatiṃse kappe Sikhī Vessabhū ti dve Buddhā uppannā. Imasmiṃ bhaddakappe Kakusandho Konāgamano Kassapo Gotamo[4] amhākaṃ Sammāsambuddho ti cattāro Buddhā uppannā, Metteyyo uppajjissati. Evam ayaṃ kappe pañca-buddhuppāda-paṭimaṇḍitattā 'sundara-kappo sārakappo' ti Bhagavā imaṃ kappaṃ thomento evam āha.

Kiṃ pan' etaṃ Buddhānaṃ yeva pākaṭaṃ hoti imasmiṃ kappe ettakā Buddhā uppannā vā uppajjissantī ti vā ti udāhu aññesam pi pākaṭaṃ hotī ti? Aññesam pi pākaṭaṃ hoti. Kesaṃ? Suddhāvāsabrahmānaṃ. Kappasaṇṭhiti[5]-kālasmiṃ hi ekam asaṃkheyyam ekaṅgaṇaṃ hutvā ṭhite loka-sannivāse lokassa saṇṭhānatthāya devo vassitum ārabhi.[6] Ādito va [7]anta-raṭṭhake himapāto viya hoti. Tato kaṇa-mattā tila-mattā[8] taṇḍula-mattā mugga-māsa-badara-āmalaka-eḷāḷuka[9]-kumbhaṇḍa-alābu-mattā udaka-dhārā hutvā anukkamena vaḍḍhitvā[10] usabha dve usabha aḍḍhagāvuta gāvuta dve gāvuta[11] aḍḍhayojana yojana dviyojana tiyojana dasayojana...pe...satasahassa-yojana-mattā hutvā koṭisatasahassa-cakkavāḷabbhantare[12] yāva [13]Akaniṭṭhaka-brahmalokā pūretvā tiṭṭhanti. Atha tam udakam anupubbena bhassati, bhassante udake pakati-devaloka-ṭṭhānesu devalokā patiṭṭhahanti.[14] Tesaṃ saṇṭhahana-vidhānaṃ Visuddhimagge pubbenivāsa-kathāyaṃ vuttaṃ.

Manussaloka[15] ṭṭhānaṃ pana patte udake dhammakarakassa[16] mukhe pihite viya vātavasena tam udakaṃ santiṭṭhati. Udakapiṭṭhe uppalini-paṇṇaṃ viya paṭhavī saṇṭhāti.[17] Mahābodhipallaṅko vinassamāne loke pacchā vinassati saṇṭhamāne paṭhamaṃ saṇṭhahati. Tattha pubba-nimittaṃ hutvā eko padumini-gaccho uppajjati. Tassa sace tasmiṃ kappe Buddho nibbattissati[18] puppham uppajjati no ce[19] na uppajjati.[20]

1 B. orabhāge 2 B. dve- 3 Si. adds nāma 4 S. omits it
5 Si. & B. saṇṭhāna- 6 B. & Si. ārabhati 7 B. Andha- 8 Si. omits it
9 Si. elāṭṭhaka 10 Si. & B. omit it 11 Si. omits it
12 Si. -vālagabbhantaram 13 S. Avinaṭṭha- 14 B, saṇṭhahanti
15 B. adds saṇṭhahana 16 B. dhammakaraṇa 17 B, saṇṭhahanti
18 Si. nibbattanti 19 Si. adds here uppajjanti 20 Si. puts it in plural

Uppajjamānañ ca sace eko Buddho nibbattissati ekam uppajjati. Sace dve tayo cattāro pañca Buddhā nibbattissanti pañca uppajjanti, tāni ca kho ekasmiṃ yeva nāḷe kaṇṇikābaddhāni hutvā. Suddhāvāsa-brahmāno 'āyāma[1] mārisā pubbanimittaṃ passissāmā' ti mahābodhi-pallaṅka-ṭṭhānam āgacchanti. Buddhānam anibbattanakappe puppham na hoti. Te pana[2] apupphitaṃ gacchaṃ disvā 'andhakāro vata bho loko bhavissati tamābhibhūtā[3] sattā apāye pūressanti cha devalokā nava brahmalokā suññā bhavissantī' ti anattamanā honti. Pupphita-kāle pana pupphaṃ disvā 'sabbaññubodhisattesu mātukucchim okkamantesu nikkhamantesu sambujjhantesu dhammacakkaṃ pavattantesu yamaka-pāṭihāriyaṃ karontesu devorohaṇam karontesu āyusaṃkhāram [4]ossajjantesu parinibbāyantesu dasasahassa-cakkavāḷa-kampanādīni pāṭihāriyāni dakkhissāmā ti, cattāro apāyā parihāyissanti, cha devalokā nava brahmalokā paripūressantī' ti attamanā udānam udā-netvā[5] attano attano brahmalokaṃ gacchanti. Imasmiṃ pana [6]kappe pañca padumāni uppajjiṃsu. Tesaṃ nimittānam ānubhāvena cattāro Buddhā uppannā, pañcamo uppajjissatī ti Suddhāvāsabrahmāno pi tāni[7] padumāni disvā imam atthaṃ jāniṃsu. Tena vuttam 'aññesam pi pākaṭaṃ hotī' ti.

Iti pi Bhagavā 'ito so bhikkhave' ti ādinā nayena kappa-pariccheda vasena pubbenivāsaṃ dassetvā idāni tesaṃ Buddhānaṃ jātipariccheda dādivasena[8] dassetuṃ 'Vipassī bhikkhave' ti ādim āha.

7. Tattha āyu-pariccheda *parittaṃ lahukan* ti ubhayam etam appa kass' eva vevacanaṃ. Yaṃ hi appakaṃ taṃ parittañ c' eva lahukañ' ca hoti. *Appaṃ vā bhiyyo* ti vassasatato vā upari appaṃ. Aññaṃ vassasatam appatvā visaṃ vā tiṃsaṃ vā cattālīsaṃ vā paṇṇā-saṃ vā saṭṭhiṃ vā vassāni jīvati. Evaṃ dīghāyuko pana atidullabho asuko kira evaṃ ciraṃ jīvatī ti tattha tattha gantvā vā daṭṭhabbo hoti; tattha Visākhā upāsikā visavassasataṃ jīvati, tattha[10] Pokkha rasāti[11] brāhmaṇo, Brahmāyu brāhmaṇo, Selo brāhmaṇo, Bāvariya[12] brāhmaṇo, Ānandatthero, Mahākassapatthero, Anuruddhatthero pana vassasatañ c' eva paṇṇāsañ ca vassāni, Bakkulatthero vassasatam c' eva saṭṭhiñ ca vassāni, ayaṃ sabbadīghāyuko, so pi dve vassasatāni na jīvati.[13]

Vipassī ādayo pana sabbe pi bodhisattā mettā-pubbabhāgena soma

1 B. adds mayaṃ 2 S. omits it 3 Si. & B. matamatā 4 Si. vissa-
5 B. uttānentā 6 B. bhadda- 7 S. omits it
8 Si. omits it 9 Si. lahuṃ 10 B. tathā
11 Si. -sādi 12 Si. Pāvāriya 13 Si. jīvi

nassa-sahagata-ñāṇasampayutta-asaṃkhārika-cittena mātukucchismiṃ paṭisandhiṃ gaṇhiṃsu. Tena cittena gahitāya paṭisandhiyā asaṃkheyyam āyu. Iti sabbe Buddhā asaṃkheyyāyukā. Te kasmā asaṃkheyyaṃ na aṭṭhaṃsu. Utubhojana-vipattiyā. Utubhojana-vasena hi āyu hāyati pi vaḍḍhati pi.

Tattha yadā rājāno adhammikā honti tadā uparājāno senāpati seṭṭhi sakalanagaraṃ sakalaraṭṭham adhammikam eva hoti. Atha tesam ārakkhadevatā, tāsaṃ devatānaṃ mittā [1]bhumma-devatā, bhumma-devatānaṃ mittā ākāsaṭṭha-devatā, ākāsaṭṭha-devatānaṃ mittā uṇha-valāhakā devatā, tāsaṃ mittā abbha-valāhakā devatā, tāsaṃ mittā sītovalāhakā devatā, tāsaṃ mittā vassa-valāhakā devatā, tāsaṃ mittā cātummahārājikā devatā, tāsaṃ mittā tāvatiṃsā devatā, tāsaṃ mittā yāmā devatā ti, evam ādi evaṃ yāva bhavaggā ṭhapetvā ariyasāvake sabbā devā brahmaparisā pi adhammikā honti. Tāsam adhammikatāya visamaṃ candima-sūriyā pariharanti, vāto yathāmaggena na vāyati, yathāmaggena avāyanto[2] ākāsaṭṭhaka-vimānāni khobheti. Vimānesu khobhitesu devatānaṃ kīḷanatthāya cittāni na namanti. Devatānaṃ kīḷanatthāya cittesu anamantesu sītuṇhabhedo utu yathākālena na sampajjati. Tasmim asampajjante va na sammā devo vassati, kadāci vassati kadāci na vassati, katthaci vassati katthaci na vassati, vassanto pi vappakāle aṅkurakāle nāḷakāle pupphakāle khīraggahanādikālesu yathā yathā sassānam upakāro na hoti tathā tathā vassati ca[3] vigacchati ca. Tena sassāni visamapākānī honti vigata-gandha-vaṇṇa-rasādi sampattīni.[4] Ekabhājane pakkhitta-taṇḍulesu pi ekasmiṃ padese bhattaṃ [5]taṇḍulaṃ hoti, ekasmim atikilinnam, ekasmiṃ samapākaṃ. Taṃ paribhuttaṃ kucchiyam pi tath' eva ākāraṃhi gacchati.[6] Tena sattā bahvābādhā c'eva honti appāyukā ca. Evaṃ tāva utubhojanavasena āyu hāyati.

Yadā pana rājāno dhammikā honti tadā senāpati uparājāno pi dhammikā hontī ti, purima-nayen' eva yāva brahmalokā sabbe pi dhammikā honti. Tesaṃ dhammikattā samaṃ candima-sūriyā pariharanti. Yathāmaggena vāto vāyati[7] ākāsaṭṭhaka-vimānāni na khobheti. Tesam [8]asaṃkhobhentānaṃ devatānaṃ kīḷanatthāya cittāni namanti. Evaṃ kālena utu sampajjati. Devo sammā vassati, vappakālato paṭṭhāya sassānam upakāraṃ karonto kāle vassati kāle vigacchati. Tena sassāni samapākāni sugandhāni suvaṇṇāni surasāni ojavantāni honti. Tehi

1 B. bhummaṭṭha-devatā 2 Si. & B. ayathāmaggena vāyanto
3 S. ciraṃ 4 B. sampannāni 5 Si. uttaṇḍulaṃ
6 Si. paccati 7 Si. & B. add yathāmaggena vāyanto 8 B. akkhobha-

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THE

# Indian Historical Quarterly

Vol. II SEPTEMBER 1926 No. 3

## A New Brāhmī Inscription From Mathurā

The inscription, of which an account is given below, wa discovered at MATHURA and is now deposited in the PATN MUSEUM. Through the good offices of Rai Saheb Manoranja Ghosh, M.A., Curator of the Museum, I got an opportunit of examining it in May, 1926. I am indebted to hir for an excellent estampage which he kindly presented t me. So far as I am aware, the epigraph has not yet bee published.

It consists of only 1 line and covers a space of 4′ 3″ by 2½″ The letters are well-cut and vary in size between 2¼″ and 1″ A few of them at the beginning of the inscription have dis appeared. The remaining ones are in a good state of preserva tion.

The CHARACTERS are Brāhmī and exactly correspond t those occurring in a donative inscription of Utaradāsaka fron the Kaṅkālīṭilā mound (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. II, p. 19 and facsimile), which Bühler places not only before th Kushān but also before the Kṣatrapa inscriptions fron Mathurā (see below). The last two letters *thaṃ bho* ar written in an ornamental fashion. The LANGUAGE is Prākṛt the only noteworthy peculiarity being the use of long *ī* i *Īdragibhadā* corresponding to Skt. *Indrāgnibhadrā*. Thi lengthening of the vowel *i* in the Prākṛt equivalents of th

word *Indra* occurs also in Lüders' Nos. 96, 250, 419, 621, 1112 and 1140.

*Text*

.....mam(i)trasa putrasa RAÑO VIṢṆUMITRASA dhitu Īdragi-bhadāye dhātiye Gotamiye Mitrāye dānaṃ th[aṃ]bh[o]

*Translation*

"Gift of a pillar by Gotamī Mitrā, who is the mother of Indrāgnibhadrā and daughter of KING VIṢṆUMITRA, son of..... MITRA."

The epigraphic documents of Mathurā of the pre-Kushān age have been grouped by Bühler under three chronological heads on the basis of palæography (*loc. cit.*, pp. 195-96). To the earliest of the three groups he assigns the inscription of Utaradāsaka, which, as already stated, is palæographically very much akin to the present record. Next in order come the inscriptions of the Śaka satraps, and lastly, what are called by him 'the archaic' inscriptions. It may be shown, however, as Bühler himself subsequently admitted (*Ind. Pal.*, trans., p. 40) that the alphabet of the second and third groups is practically the same, and as such they are referable to one and the same period. Bühler assumed that the inscription of Utaradāsaka was of the second century B. C. and one of the earliest of Mathurā inscriptions. But compared with the Besnagar pillar inscription of the time of Antialkidas (*Mem. A. S. I.*, No. 1, pl. II), which has since been brought to light and regarded as typical of the second century B. C. writing, the inscription of Utaradāsaka as well as the present one will undoubtedly appear to be of a later date. Again, these two are by no means the earliest ones that we have from Mathurā. The well-known Parkhām image inscription (Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, vol. XX, pl. VI, and Jayaswal, *J. B. O. R. S.*, vol. VI, 1920, part 2, pls. II-III) and, if Cunningham's eye-copy is to be followed, an inscription of Amogha-rakhita on a Mathurā pillar, now missing

(*A. S. R.*, vol. XX, pl. V, No. I) present an older form of the alphabet.[1] The most noteworthy difference arises in the case of the letters *m* and *v*. These are of the regular Mauryan type with their lower part made into a complete circle, in the Parkhām image inscription. The Mathurā pillar inscription contains no specimen of *v*, but has a *m* exactly of the same type. In the inscription under review and that of Utaradāsaka the lower part of *m* in some cases and *v* in all cases has become transformed into a triangle. The tendency of equalisation of verticals is clear in *y* and *s*. Regarding *y* it should be noted that its middle vertical has no-doubt lost its prominence but it has not yet been reduced to the height of the two other verticals. The next stage of the development of alphabet in the Mathurā region is witnessed by the two inscriptions of Śoḍāsa (*Mem. A. S. I.*, No. 1, pl. VI, No. 6. and No. V, pl. XXVI b) and the Mora inscription mentioning the son of Rājuvula (*Mem. A. S. I.*, No. 1, pl. VI, No. 5) which belong to the first century A. D. In the present record the letter *bh* is written with its right hand vertical stretched downwards and is made angular in form ; to its right hand vertical a cross-bar is attached ; and from the left end of the cross-bar, another vertical hangs down. In the Kṣatrapa inscriptions the right hand vertical of *bh* is at the level of the left one and the latter along with the cross-bar has become one continuous curve. The letter *m* as well as *v* is now perfectly triangular. Interesting also is the form of *y* which has its three verticals equalised. A

1 In *Archæological Survey Report*, 1922-23, p. 165, Rai Bahadur R. P. Chanda announces the discovery of an inscribed female statue near Mathurā. Judging from 'the forms of the letters and the technique of the statue' he concludes that this belongs to the same period as the Parkhām image. I have not seen any photo or estampage of the inscription. He also reports about a fragmentary Mathurā inscription of three letters in the Indian Museum (*Ibid.*, pp. 166-67 and fig. 2) which in his opinion is 'assignable to the 1st century B. C. (pre-Kṣatrapa period).'

general characteristic of all the letters is that they are square and squat in appearance and have in almost all cases (except in *l*) equalised verticals. The tendency of such 'equalization' appears for the first time in the Parkhām inscription, in the letter *p* ; but it is now fully developed and becomes a general feature of the Kṣatrapa, and later on, also of the Kushān, alphabets (cf. Bühler, *Ind. Pal.*, trans., p. 40). These are some of the guiding indications by which the three groups of pre-Kushān inscriptions from Mathurā may be differentiated. But what is the probable date of the earliest inscriptions of Mathurā ?

On grounds of art Sir John Marshall has classed the Parkhām image with the sculptural remains of the period immediately following the overthrow of the Mauryas, that is roughly the second century B. C. (*Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, pp. 632-33). This classification gets substantial support from the palæography of the inscription engraved on the pedestal of the image, which directly repudiates the theory of some imaginative scholars who claim for it a date in the sixth century B. C. The use of the angular form of *p*, its nearly equalised verticals as well as the manner in which the *u*-stroke is added to it show that the Parkhām inscription cannot be referred to the period of Aśoka inscriptions (circa 250 B. C.), the Bhaṭṭiprolu casket inscriptions (circa 200 B. C.; *Ep. Ind.*, vol. II, pl. opposite p. 329), the Besnagar inscription of the time of Antialkidas (circa 200 B. C.) or the Ghosuṇḍī inscription which is of a date not later than 250 B. C. (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVI, p. 25ff. and pl.). In these inscriptions the letter *p* is of the hooked type without any tendency of being angular in form or of equalisation of the verticals. The *u*-stroke, which is added at the bottom of *p*, is not in continuation of the right hand vertical, but at a sufficient distance from it. But in the Parkhām image inscription this stroke is in continuation of the right hand vertical of *p*. The Besnagar inscription of the time of Antialkidas has the older i. e., Aśokan, type of *pu* and the Besnagar inscription of

Bhāgabhadra, the cursive type of *pu* present in this inscription. The well-classified documents of Sāñcī fully bear out that it is only in later inscriptions that the latter type of *pu* makes its appearance. The inscription of Bhaṇḍuka from Stūpa I at Sāñcī (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 384, No. 256 and pl. opposite p. 369) and an inscription on the ground railing of the same (*Mem. A. S. I.*, No. 1, pl. 3, No. 12) are on palæographic grounds other than these, assignable to an age earlier than the inscriptions of Siri Sātakaṇi on the south gate of Sāñcī Stūpa I and the inscription of Kurara Nāgapiya on its west gate (*Mem. A. S. I.*, No. I, pl. VI, Nos. 1-2). The first two records contain the Mauryan type of *pu* and the other two the cursive *pu* occurring in the present inscription. This later form of *pu* is shared also by the Bharaut gateway (*Mem. A. S. I.*, No. 1, pl. V, No. 20), the Hāthigumphā (*J. B. O. R. S.*, 1917, pl. opposite p. 472) and the Pabhosa, inscriptions (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. II, pp. 242-43 and pls). As none of these inscriptions containing the cursive form can be proved to be earlier than the second century B. C. the Parkhām inscription cannot be assigned to an earlier epoch. Moreover, it cannot be placed anterior to the second half of the second century B.C. being later than the Besnagar pillar inscription of the time of Antialkidas. Thus the date of the inscription of Utaradāsaka and the present one should be placed later than the second half of the second century B. C. and earlier than the first century A.D., the period of the Śaka Satraps of Mathurā. The first century B.C. is thus the most plausible date for the two records.

The inscription testifies to the existence of a king called Viṣṇumitra, in the first century B. C. That he ruled over the Mathurā region is very likely, judging from the findspot of the inscription, although it is by no means certain. Coins bearing the names of Mitra kings in Brāhmī characters have been found in Northern Punjab beyond Lahore, at Kosām near Allahabad, in Rohilkhand, at Mathurā and at Oudh. One of the coins from Rohilkhand bears the name of a

Viṣṇumitra (*Viṣṇumitasa*, Cunningham, *C.A.I.*, p. 84 and pl. VII, fig. 21) and it is not improbable that he is identical with king Viṣṇumitra mentioned in the present record. His father's name also ended in *mitra*; but the damaged condition of the stone, exactly where his name was inscribed, has made its restoration impossible.

N. G. MAJUMDAR

## The Early Pallavas of Kāñcī

The object of this paper is to settle, if possible, the genealogy of the early Pallavas of Kāñcī. By early Pallavas I mean the Pallavas who lived before Siṃhaviṣṇu (c. 600 A.C.). Mr. H. Kṛṣṇa Śāstrī and Dr. G. J. Dubreuil have given different and irreconcilable schemes in regard to this genealogy, and the scheme of the former has been adopted by Messrs. S. Kṛṣṇasvāmi Ayyangār and K. V. Subrahmaṇya Ayyar. But Dr. Dubreuil's scheme has as yet met neither with the acceptance nor even consideration of any other scholar. I venture to think that neither of the schemes is wholly correct, as they are based on an insufficient consideration of the evidence available to us. I propose to give first a summary in chronological order of all the original documents on which the genealogy is sought to be based, and then to attempt a reconstruction of the genealogy, pointing out step by step where Messrs. Śāstrī and Dubreuil have gone astray. It is hoped that the genealogy I propose will be found to be in perfect harmony with all the evidence available to us, and will prove to be at least a further step towards the final determination of early Pallava genealogy.

The documents, fifteen in number, are summarised below. The first three alone are in Prākṛt; the rest are in Sanskrit. All belong to Pallavas of Bharadvāja *gotra*.

1 The Māyidavolu plates of Yuva-Mahārāja Śiva-Skanda-

varman dating from Kāñcī in the reign of his unnamed predecessor (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. vi, p. 84).

2 The Hīrahaḍagalli plates of Mahārāja Śiva-Skandavarman dating from Kāñcī in his own reign, and referring to his father as Bappadeva (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. i, p. 2).

3 The Guṇṭūr plates of Cārudevī, wife of Yuva-Mahārāja Vijaya-Buddhavarman, dating in the reign of Vijaya-Skandavarman, and referring to her son by a name of which only the last two letters *kura* are legible, but which Dr. Hultzsch proposes to read as Buddhyaṅkura (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. viii, p. 143).

4 The Darśi plates of the unnamed great-grandson of Vīrakūrcavarman dating from Daśanapura (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. i, p. 397).

5 The Omgoḍu no. 1 plates (*Ann. Rep. Ep. Mad.*, 1915-16, pt. 2, no. 3) give the following succession :—Kumāraviṣṇu, Skandavarman, Vīravarman, and Skandavarman and date from Tāmbrāpa. Here, as elsewhere, the succession is always from father to son, unless the contrary is indicated.

6 The Uruvupalli plates, dating from Palakkaḍa in Siṃhavarman's reign (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. v, p. 50) give :—Skandavarman, Vīravarman, Skandavarman, Yuva-Mahārāja Viṣṇugopa.

7 The Omgoḍu no. 2 plates (*Ann.Rep.Ep. Mad.*, 1915-16, pt. 2, no. 4) give :—Vīravarman, Skandavarman, Yuva-Mahārāja Viṣṇugopa, Siṃhavarman.

8 The Pīkira plates, dating from Menmātura (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. viii, p. 159) give :—Vīravarman, Skandavarman, Yuva-Mahārāja Viṣṇugopa, Siṃhavarman.

9 The Māngalūr plates, dating from Daśanapura (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. v, p. 154) give :—Vīravarman, Skandavarman, Yuva-Mahārāja Viṣṇugopa, Siṃhavarman.

10 The Cūra plates (*Ann. Rep. Ep. Mad.*, 1913-14, pt. 2, no. 1) give :—Skandavarman, Mahārāja Viṣṇugopa, Siṃhavarman, Viṣṇugopavarman.

11 The Cendalūr plates, dating from Kāñcī (*Ep. Ind.*,

vol. viii, p. 233) give :—Skandavarman, Kumāraviṣṇu, Buddhavarman, Kumāraviṣṇu.

12 The Udayendram plates, dating from Kāñcī (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. iii, p. 142) give :—Skandavarman, Siṃhavarman, Skandavarman, Nandivarman.

13 The Amarāvatī pillar inscription (*South Ind. Insc*, vol. i, no. 32) gives the relationship only once :—Mahendravarman ; Siṃhavarman ; Arkavarman ; Ugravarman ; Siṃhaviṣṇu ; his son Nandivarman ; Siṃhavarman, who was a Buddhist and ruled long.

14 The Vāyalūr inscription (no. 368 of 1908, Madras) gives only a string of names, and never their relationships :—Pallava, Aśoka, Harigupta, Āryavarman, 2 or 3 illegible names, Kāḷinda, Jayamalla, Ekamalla, Vimala, Konkaṇi, Kāḷabhartā, Cūtapallava, Vīrakūrca, Candravarman, Karāḷa, Viṣṇugopa, Skandamūla, Kāṇagopa, Vīrakūrca, Skandavarman, Kumāraviṣṇu, Buddhavarman, Skandavarman, Kumāraviṣṇu, Buddhavarman, Skandavarman, Viṣṇugopa, Viṣṇudāsa, Skandavarman, Siṃhavarman, Vīravarman, Skandavarman, Siṃhavarman, Skandavarman, Nandivarman, Siṃhavarman, Siṃhavarman, Viṣṇugopa, Siṃhavarman, Siṃhaviṣṇu.

15 The Velūrpāḷaiyam plates of Nandivarman, son of Dantivarman (*South. Ind. Insc.*, vol. II, no. 98) give :—Kāḷabhartā, Cūta-Pallava, Vīrakūrca, Skandaśiṣya, Kumāraviṣṇu who took Kāñcī, Buddhavarman who defeated the Coḷas ; then several unnamed kings, including Viṣṇugopa ; then Nandivarman ; then Siṃhavarman ; his son Siṃhaviṣṇu who occupied the Coḷa country.

From the above, it will be seen that the Vāyalūr inscription gives the fullest genealogy and would be invaluable, if only it were also reliable. Dr. Dubreuil in fact bases his scheme mostly upon its account. Unfortunately, however, it fails to state the mutual relationship of the numerous kings it mentions and what is more serious it repeats the names, not only of several individuals, but even of entire groups ; and even Dr. Dubreuil uses it only by arbitrarily selecting certain

successions and rejecting others, irrespective of their places in the inscriptions. Any scheme, therefore, based entirely or even largely on this inscription would be pretentious and misleading. I therefore propose to ignore it altogether, and base my scheme only on the other evidence available.

The Velūrpāḷaiyam plates (no. 15) inform us that Vīrakūrca attained the insignia of royalty by marrying a Nāga princess. This means that he was the first ruling king of the dynasty, and it was his grandson Kumāraviṣṇu who, as the same plates inform us, took Kāñcī for the first time. As Kāñcī was an ancient Coḷa city, it must have been from the Coḷas that Kumāraviṣṇu wrested Kāñcī. This inference is confirmed by the fact that his son Buddhavarman is said in the same plates to have defeated the Coḷa army, evidently in an attempt to recover Kāñcī. We may therefore safely infer that none of the Pallavas of Bharadvāja *gotra*, who ruled at Kāñcī, including the donors of the Prākṛt plates, could have lived before Kumāraviṣṇu. Failing to recognise this obvious point, both Mr. Śāstrī and Dr. Dubreuil have gone astray.

It is admitted on all hands that the donors of the Prākṛt plates must have lived before the donors of the Sanskrit plates, for the reason that Sanskrit came to be used in inscriptions only about the period, when Prākṛt had ceased to be spoken. We may reasonably identify the Śiva-Skandavarmans of plates nos. 1 and 2, and both of them with Vijaya-Skandavarman of plates no. 3, as they were all kings of Kāñcī, and Pallavas of Bharadvāja *gotra*, and as they all, from the close similarity of their scripts and languages, evidently belong to the same period. The difference in their names is slight and immaterial, as both Śiva and Vijaya are only optional prefixes used by Kadamba (*Epi. Carn.*, vol. v, p. 245; vol. vii, p. 7) and Pallava kings.

The father of Śiva-Skandavarman is referred to as Bappadeva (plates no. 2), but this is only an honorific title, and not a proper name, as may be seen from early Nepāl and Valabhī inscriptions. Even if we accept Buddhyaṅkura as the name

of Buddhavarman's son (plates no. 3), it is evidently only a title, not a proper name. We have therefore to identify only Skandavarman and his Yuva-Mahārāja Buddhavarman. I propose to identify the latter with the only known Buddhavarman of the Sanskrit plates, who is said to have defeated the Coḷas.

The Velūrpāḷaiyam plates and the Cendalūr plates (nos. 15 and 11) have 3 successions in common Skandavarman, Kumāraviṣṇu and Buddhavarman, as Skandavarman is obviously only a variant form of Skandaśiṣya. The following succession may therefore be taken as established :—Kāḷabhartā, Cūta-Pallava, Vīrakūrca, Skandaśiṣya or Skandavarman I, Kumāraviṣṇu I, Buddhavarman and Kumāraviṣṇu II. The existence of kings named Vīrakūrca and Skandaśiṣya is confirmed by the Darśi plates (no. 4) and by a Tirukkaḷukkunram inscription (*Epi. Ind.*, vol. iii, p. 277).

On the other hand, plates nos. 5 to 10 give us a continuous succession for 7 generations, for every two successive plates have at least 3 continuous generations in common. The following succession also may therefore be taken as established :—Kumāraviṣṇu, Skandavarman, Vīravarman, Skandavarman, Y. M. Viṣṇugopa, Siṃhavarman and Viṣṇugopavarman. It is accepted by Messrs. Śāstrī and Dubreuil also ; and it is immaterial that the Cūra plates (no. 10) alone call Y. M. Viṣṇugopa a Mahārāja. We may at the most infer that Y. M. Viṣṇugopa was a king in fact, if not in name, and, as will be seen below, he ruled over the Telugu districts.

The Uruvupalli plates (no. 6) of Yuva-Mahārāja Viṣṇugopa are dated in the reign of a king Siṃhavarman. It has therefore been rightly inferred that this Siṃhavarman must have been the elder brother of Y. M. Viṣṇugopa ; and, as the father of the Siṃhavarman of the Udayendram plates (no. 12) is, like the father of Y. M. Viṣṇugopa, a Skandavarman, the first Skandavarman of the Udayendram plates has rightly been identified with Skandavarman, the father of Y. M. Viṣṇugopa. In this view, the group Siṃhavarman, Skandavarman

and Nandivarman become the contemporaries of Y. M. Viṣṇugopa, Siṃhavarman and Viṣṇugopavarman. The plates of the latter group all date from Palakkaḍa, Menmātura and Daśanapura in the Telugu districts, while it is provable that all the kings of the former group were kings of Kāñcī. Sarvanandin's *Loka-vibhāga*, a Jain work, dates itself in Śaka 380 = 458 A.C. and in the 22nd year of Siṃhavarman, king of Kāñcī. The Penukeṇḍa plates (*Epi. Ind.*, vol. xiv, no. 24) also indicate that in the 5th century A.C. two Pallava kings Siṃhavarman and his successor Skandavarman ruled at Kāñcī; and the Udayendram plates of Nandivarman date from Kāñcī. Thus Siṃhavarman, Skandavarman and Nandivarman were all kings of Kāñcī, and contemporaries of Y. M Viṣṇugopa, Siṃhavarman and Viṣṇugopavarman, who ruled over the Telugu districts.

We have now to bring into mutual relationship the kings of the Prākṛt plates, the Cendalūr and the Velūrpāḷaiyam plates on the one hand, and the kings of plates nos. 5 to 10 and the Udayendram plates on the other. It is admitted on all hands that the Cendalūr plates agree very closely with the Uruvupalli plates both in phraseology and palæography. Dr. Hultzsch has in fact pointed out that whole sentences are common to both, and both Dr. Hultzsch and Dr. Dubreuil agree that they cannot be separated from each other by any large interval of time. On the other hand, the Udayendram plates are certainly later than the Cendalūr plates. The kings, moreover, of the Cendalūr plates, i. e. Kumāraviṣṇu I, who took Kāñcī, Buddhavarman, who defeated the Coḷas, and Kumāraviṣṇu II whose Cendalūr plates date from Kāñcī, were all kings of Kāñcī, like the kings of the Udayendram plates. Kumāraviṣṇu II, therefore, could have ruled neither after, nor at the same time as Siṃhavarman of Kāñcī, but only before his time. On the other hand Kumāraviṣṇu II of the Cendalūr plates could not have lived long before this Siṃhavarman, in whose reign the Uruvupalli plates are dated. We must therefore identify

Kumāraviṣṇu of Omgoḍu no. I plates (no. 5) with Kumāraviṣṇu I and not Kumāraviṣṇu II of the Cendalūr plates.

The result is that Buddhavarman and Kumāraviṣṇu II become the contemporaries of Skandavarman and his son Vīravarman. This Skandavarman must have been the elder brother of Buddhavarman and identical with the Skandavarman of the Prākṛt plates, in whose reign Buddhavarman was Yuva-Mahārāja. It appears that after Skandavarman's death his brother Buddhavarman and the latter's son Kumāraviṣṇu II were kings of Kāñcī. This inference is confirmed by the facts that the Omgoḍu no. 1 plates (no. 5) refer to Vīravarman without any royal titles and date in his son Skandavarman's reign from Tāmbrāpa and not from Kāñcī. In all probability Vīravaraman died in his father's life-time, and so Buddhavarman became first Yuva-Mahārāja and then king, and was succeeded by his own son Kumāraviṣṇu II at Kāñcī, while his grand-nephew Skandavarman ruled at Tāmbrāpa.

Now a Viṣṇugopa of Kāñcī is said (Fleet, *Gupta Insc.* no. 1) to have fought with Samudragupta, and probably turned back the tide of his southern conquests ; and as Siṃhavarman was anointed in $458-22=436$ A.C. this Viṣṇugopa lived nearly a century before Siṃhavarman. He must therefore have been identical with Kumāraviṣṇu I, or, what is more probable, his younger brother and viceroy on the Kṛṣṇā.

We have now to deal with the Amarāvatī inscription (no. 13). Not being able to reconcile it with the other documents, all scholars have hitherto persisted in ignoring it, though it is very ancient in date, and, being a pillar inscription, it deserves greater credit than copper-plate grants, which are liable to forgery. I propose to identify Siṃhavarman, the last king of this inscription, with the father of Siṃhaviṣṇu. Dr. Dubreuil, on the contrary, prefers to make Siṃhaviṣṇu's father the son of Viṣṇugopavarman, on the authority of the unreliable Vāyalūr inscription. I have shown that the Velūrpāḷaiyam plates are more reliable than the Vāyalūr inscription, and they give the succession Nandivarman,

Siṃhavarman, Siṃhaviṣṇu. This Nandivarman cannot be the grandson of Siṃhavarman of Kāñcī, who lived nearly a century earlier in c. 590 A.C. It is therefore gratifying to note that the Amarāvatī inscription gives the same succession Nandivarman, Siṃhavarman. Siṃhaviṣṇu was thus the descendant of a collateral Pallava dynasty, who ruled at Amarāvatī on the Kṛṣṇā. My hypothesis fits better than Dr. Dubreuil's with the northern origin of Pallava rock-cut temples and Pallava names of persons and places. I have pointed out elsewhere (*Journal of the Mythic Society*, vol. xiii, p. 574) that the names Siṃhapura of some Pallava towns and Mahendra of some Pallava kings, and the title Mahāmegha of Mahendravarman, found in his Kāñcī inscription, indicate that the Siṃhaviṣṇu dynasty was in some way related to Kaliṅga, whose old capital was Siṃhapura, whose chief mountain was Mahendra, and whose Khāravela dynasty bore the title Mahāmeghavāhana. I may add that the names Citramegha of the Māmaṇḍūr tank, and Vairamegha of a king (Madras Inscrs. nos. 150, 152 of 1916), a feudatory (no. 158 of 1912), a city (nos. 253 to 258 of 1913), and a channel (458 and 465 of 1908) in the Pallava country point in the same direction. We are now in a position to state that these affinities are due to the fact that Siṃhaviṣṇu's ancestors were rulers of Amarāvatī, and, perhaps feudatories of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga. This inference is confirmed by the fact that the names Mahendravarman and Siṃhaviṣṇu, peculiar to the Siṃhaviṣṇu dynasty, are found in the Amarāvatī list of kings also. We may therefore safely conclude that Siṃhaviṣṇu was the descendant of the Amarāvatī kings, seven of whom ruled from c. 425 to c. 600 A.C.

Now Narasiṃhavarman I's capture of Vātāpi took place in his 13th year (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. ix, p. 99) and shortly before the occasion in 655 A.C. of W. Calukya Vikramāditya I. Narasiṃha therefore began to rule in c. 640 A.C., and, allowing some 40 years for his predecessors Siṃhaviṣṇu and Mahendravarman I, Siṃhaviṣṇu's accession may be dated in c. 600

A.C. But the early Pallava dynasty came to an end in c. 500 A.C. with Nandivarman of Kāñcī and Viṣṇugopavarman of the Telugu districts. The Velūrpāḷaiyam plates, in fact, end the list of early Pallavas with Viṣṇugopa.

It now remains to find out, if possible, the cause of the extinction of the early Pallava dynasty. We have seen already that the Pallavas were not native rulers of Kāñcī, but got it by conquest from the Coḷas, who would naturally be awaiting an opportunity to recover their old territory. This opportunity came to them, when the Pallavas interfered in the succession to the Kadamba throne. We learn from a Kadamba grant (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. vi, p. 29) that Caṇḍadaṇḍa of Kāñcī supported the claims of Viṣṇuvarman to the Kadamba throne against his cousin Ravivarman, with the result that Vishṇuvarman lost his life, and Caṇḍadaṇḍa his throne. The synchronism of Caṇḍadaṇḍa with Ravivarman (c. 500 A.C.) indicates that Caṇḍadaṇḍa was only a title of Nandivarman of Kāñcī. The Coḷas, either in conjunction with Ravivarman, or on their own account, seem to have recovered the Kāñcī country. The Coḷa plates ascribe this recovery of Kāñcī to Karikāla. The Tiruvāḷaṅkāḍu plates say that Karikāla, who embanked Kāverī, also renovated Kāñcī (*South Ind. Insc.*, vol. iii, p. 395). Again, Śrīkaṇṭha Coḷa, whom the Anbil plates of Sundara Coḷa (c. 950 A.C.) mention as an *ancestor* of Vijayālaya (c. 850 A.C.), claims to have been a descendant of Karikāla, who embanked Kāverī and defeated Trilocana Pallava (Sewell, *List of Inscriptions*, no. 174). Since the Pallavas from Kumāraviṣṇu I to Nandivarman ruled continuously at Kāñcī, Trilocana Pallava, from whom Karikāla wrested Kāñcī, must have been another title of Nandivarman, the last of the early Pallavas, and, since this Karikāla is said to have embanked Kāverī, he must be identical with Karikāla, the hero of many of the Tamiḷ Sangham lyrics.

The results of this brief enquiry into the genealogy of the early Pallavas may now be tabulated as follows :—

Kāḷabhartā
|
Cūta-Pallava } (did not rule)
|
(300—310) Vīrakūrca (became king by marrying a Nāga princess)
|
(310—335) Skandaśiṣya I (took *ghaṭikā* from Satyasena, an unknown king)
|
(335—360) Kumāraviṣṇu I (took Kāñcī from the Coḷas) — Viṣṇugopa I (repulsed Samudragupta)
|
(360—385) Skandavarman II (of Kāñcī)
|
(385—410) Vīravarman (did not rule) — Buddhavarman (defeated Coḷas of Kāñcī)
|
(410—435) Skandavarman III (of Tāmbrāpa) — Kumāraviṣṇu II (of Kāncī)
|
(435—460) Siṃhavarman I (of Kāñcī) — Y. M. Viṣṇugopa II (of Palakkaḍa)
|
(460—485) Skandavarman IV (of Kāñcī) — Siṃhavarman II (of Menmātura and Daśanapura)
|
(485—500) Nandivarman I* (of Kāñcī) — Viṣṇugopavarman III (last of the early Telugu Pallavas)

K. G. Sankar

* Titles Caṇḍadaṇḍa and Trilocana ; ally Kadamba Viṣṇuvarman ; foes Kadamba Ravivarman and Karikāla Coḷa ; last of the early Pallavas ; after his time, during the 6th cent. A.C., Kāñcī country under the Coḷas.

*Note.* The dates given above are only approximate, being based on 436 A.C. for the accession of Siṃhavarman I, and on the average of 25 years each for all the other kings, except the first and the last, who are given less periods for rounding off the figures.

# The Trade of India

*(from the earliest period up to the 2nd century A. D.)*

## IV

XXIII. Beyond Bharukaccha was Dachinabades (Dakṣināpatha), correctly derived by the author of the *Periplus* from Dachinos (dakṣiṇa), the south, which was the empire of the great Andhra emperors, extending as far as the Ganges.[1] The chief market-towns of Dakṣiṇāpatha were Pathana (Paiṭhān) and Tagar (Tér). To Bharukaccha were taken "by waggon roads and through vast places that have no proper roads at all [across the ghats], cornelion from Paiṭhān, and from Tagara "much common cloth, all kinds of muslins and mallow cloth (tusser ?) [woven, as now, in the east coast districts], and other merchandise brought locally from the regions along the sea coast,"[2] *i.e.* the "coast country" at the mouths of the Godāvarī and the Kṛṣṇā, the Pennir and the Kāveri. Suppara and Kalliena (Kalyāṇa) were the ports of the Andhra kings, the latter recently constituted "a lawful market-town," *i. e.* one, whose taxes were collected by government officers "in the time of the elder Sarganus, but since it came into the possession of Sandares the port is much obstructed and Greek ships, landing there, may chance to be taken to Barygaza under guard".[3] Sarganus is perhaps Sātakarṇi, the title of the Andhra kings and the *Periplus* refers to a period when the later Andhra kings attempted to divert the trade of Bharukaccha to their own ports, so as to profit by the shipping dues, but were foiled by the Śaka-Pallavas who, a few years after, squeezed the Andhra power out of Western India. The *Periplus* mentions six other

1 *Periplus*, 50. 2 *Ib.* 51.

3 Schoff's attempt to identify Sandares with Sundara Sātakarṇi is unconvincing. He reigned only for one year.

Andhra ports further down on the west coast ; but they were only minor ones, because this part of the coast was infested by pirates.

XXIV. South of Dakṣiṇāpatha was Limyrike ; Ptolemy makes this Dimirike. Both forms are the result of the uncouth attempts of the Greeks to write *Tamilakam*, the home of the Tamils. Its first markets were Naura and Tyndis, "and Muziris and Nelcynda, which are now of leading importance Tyndis is of the kingdom of Kerobothra," the Keralaputra of Aśoka's Rock Edicts (II). Since Tyndis was the first Keralaputra port, Naura might have been the port of Satiyaputra, mentioned along with Keralaputra by Aśoka, if so, it is probably Cannanore, for at Kottayam, ten miles east of this place, "5 cooly loads" of Augustan coins, several of Antonius, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Agrippina, and Nero have been found,[1] and Cannanore even today exports pepper and cotton fabrics. Tyndis is certainly Toṇḍi of the early Tamil literature, which Kanakasabhai Pillai places near the modern Quilandy,[2] but Schoff, near Ponnāni.[3] Kurungoḻiyūr Kiḻār, an ancient Tamil poet says that Toṇḍi "was bounded by groves of cocoanut trees, bearing heavy bunches of fruits, a wide expanse of rice fields, verdant hills, bright sandy tracts and a salt river, whose glassy waters are covered with flowers of brilliant colours."[4] Muziris is Musiri of the Tamil poets, at the mouth of the Periyār. Its ancient trade is thus described by a very early Tamil poet, Erukkāṭṭūr Tāyaṅgaṇṇanār :—"The thriving town of Musiri where the beautiful large ships of the Yavanas bringing gold, come splashing the white foam on the waters of the Periyar, which belongs to the Ceraḷa and return laden with pepper."[5] Paraṇar, another poet, says, "Fish is bartered for paddy which is brought in baskets to the houses ; sacks of pepper are

1 *J. R. A. S.*, 1904, pp. 623-629 (Sewell).
2 *The Tamils 1800 years ago*, p. 17.
3 *Periplus*, p. 204
4 Translated by Kanakasabhai Pillai, *op. cit.*, p. 10.
5 *Akam* 148, tr. Kanakasabhai Pillai, *op. cit.*, p 11.

brought from the houses to the market; the gold received from ships in exchange for articles sold is brought to shore in barges, at Musiri, where the music of the surging sea never ceases, and where Kuṭṭuvan (the Cera king) presents to visitors the rare products of the seas and mountains."[1] Nelcynda is the present Nirnom, on the south coast of Aleppey; it is called Niganda and Nilarnam in the Malayalam work, *Keraḷotpatti*.[2] It is "of another kingdom, the Pandian. This place is situated on a river. There is another place at the mouth of this river, the village of Bacare,"[3] now called Porkāḍ. The exports of this place were pepper, produced in "a district called Cottonara,"[4] (Kuṭṭanāḍu of ancient Tamil literature), pearls from the gulf of Mannar, ivory from the forest near, silk cloth from China by way of Tibet, the Ganges, and the Bay of Bengal, "spikenard from the Ganges, malabathrum from the places in the interior, transparent stones of all kinds, diamonds, sapphires, and tortoise-shell," the last from Malacca, and the islands along the coast of Damirika."[4] "There are imported here, in the first place, a great quantity of coin; topaz, thin clothing, not much; figured linens, antimony, coral, crude glass, copper, tin, lead, wine, not much, but as much as at Barygaza; realgar and orpiment; and wheat enough for the sailors, for this is not dealt in by the merchants there".[4] The other Pandian ports were Pyrrhon, Balita, Comari (Cape Comorin, where "came those men who wish to consecrate themselves for the rest of their lives, and bathe and dwell in celibacy [a funny way of describing Sannyāsīs]; and women also did the same, for it is told that a goddess once dwelt here and bathed"[5] and Colchi (Korkai), "where the pearl fisheries are; (they are worked by condemned criminals").[6]

XXV. Beyond this was the "coast country" which is the name the *Periplus* gives for the Coḷa-nāḍu. It has a

1 *Puṟam* 343.
2 P. J. Thomas in *Bhāṣā Poṣiṇī*. Jan. and Feb., 1917.
3 *Periplus*, 54-55 4 *Ib.*, 56.
5 *Ib.*, 58 6 *Ib.*, 59

region inland called Argaru (Uraiyūr, through its ancien Sanskrit form *Uragapuram*), where, "and nowhere else, ar brought the pearls gathered on the coast thereabouts ; an from there are exported muslins, those called Argaritic." Other Cola ports were Camara (probably Point Calmere) Poduca (probably Pukar or Kaveripaṭṭanam) and Sopatma (Negapatam ?), where plied small coasting boats, "other ver large vessels made of single logs bound together, called *saṅ gara*" and still larger vessels, "which make the voyage t Chryse (Malacca) and to the Ganges, called *colandia*. There are imported into these places everything made in Damirika and the greatest part of what is brought at any time from Egypt comes here, together with most kinds of all the things that are brought from Damirika and of those that ar carried through Paralia" (Travancore).[2]

The author of the *Periplus* did not sail beyond the Pandia port of Korkai, and his account of the East coast ports whic had an extensive trade with Burma, Malacca and China i very meagre. He only mentions Massala (Masulipatam) where, as later in Marco Polo's times "a great quantity o muslins is made"[3] and Dosarene (Orissa), "yielding the ivor known as Dosarenic." The East coast muslins and Orissa ivory were carried across the country which then was unde the sway of the Andhras to Tagara and Paiṭhān to Bharu kaccha in the author's days. After Dosarene, he mention the Ganges port, by which he means Tāmralipti. "Through this place are brought malabathrum and Gangetic spikenard and pearls and muslin of the finest sorts which are called Gangetic,"[4] (no doubt the muslins of Dacca which were s fine that a whole piece could go into a goose-quill).

XXVI. The import trade described in the *Periplus* was due to the great prosperity of Rome in the Imperial age from Augustus to Nero and the consequent unrestrained indul gence in Eastern luxuries on the part of the wealthy. It will

1 *Periplus*, 59. 2 *Ib.*, 60. 3 *Ib.*, 62. 4 *Ib.*, 63.

be remarked that of these, the perfumes alone came from North India, a part of the cotton cloth from the Deccan, and a part of the ivory from Orissa; but the rest of the cloth and the ivory, and spices, pepper, precious stones, ebony and sandalwood, were all from the Tamil land. The most highly prized of the stones was the beryl, mined in Paḍiyūr in the Coimbatore district. "It is for this reason probably that so many Roman coins have been found in and near the Coimbatore district and at Madura, the capital city of the Pandyan kingdom[1]. Of the period of 80 years from Augustus to Nero, "in Southern India, we have in actual numbers 612 gold coins and 1187 silver, besides hoards discovered which are severally described as follows:—of gold coins, "a quantity amounting to five cooly-loads," of silver coins "a great many in a pot," (2) "about 500 in an earthen pot," (3) "a find of 162," (4) "some," (5) "some thousands enough to fill five or six Madras measures," i. e. perhaps a dozen quart measures; also (6) of metal not stated, a "pot-full." These coins are the product of fifty five separate discoveries mostly in the Coimbatore and Madura districts. In the Cola country also there have been numerous finds, of which the most important is the one made at Kārukkākkurichi in the present Pudukottah territory of 501 coins of every Roman Emperor from Augustus to Vespasian.[2] In Northern India very few coins of Augustus or Tiberius have been discovered.

XXVII. The great emporium of this trade was Alexandria, where a colony of Indians was established to carry on this trade. Dion Chrysostom, the orator, addressing the Alexandrians about 100 A.D., said, "I see in the midst of you not only Greeks, Italians, Syrians, Libyans, Cilicians, Ethiopians, Arabians, but even Bactrians, Scythians, and Persians, and some Indians who view the spectacles with you and are with

1 *JRAS.*, 1904, pp. 595-597.

2 Radhakrishna Iyer, *General History of Puddukottah State*, pp. 50-51.

you on all occasions".[1] Chrysostom also gives an account of the geography of India and the adjacent countries as described in the Purāṇas and adds that "these statements are not fictitious, for some of those who come from India have ere now asserted them to be facts and some few do come in pursuit of trade. Now these do business with the inhabitants of the sea-coasts, but this class of Indians is not held in repute, and are reprobated by the rest of their countrymen."[2] He then gives an elaborate account of the men that take gold from ants larger than foxes, first described by Herodotus and since repeated by many Greek and Roman authors.

XXVIII. There was also a colony of Roman merchants in Madura, for besides the gold and silver coins above referred to, which, no doubt, were imported as the *Periplus* says, innumerable copper coins have been found in Madura in the waste places about the town and the sandy bed of the river in the dry months." This seems to imply that these coins "were in daily circulation and were dropped carelessly, or otherwise lost by the inhabitants of the place." These copper coins must have been brought to the colony by Roman merchants, for they could certainly not have been imported; their bulk would have made shipping accomodation impossible. The Peuteringian tables which appear to have been copied from fresco-paintings in Rome were executed in the IInd century A.D. and placed in Muziris in a temple of Augustus. Ptolemy about 150 A.D. says that he got his information about the geography of India from persons who had resided in India. All these facts prove that Roman commercial agents lived in India in this age.

XXIX. After the time of Nero, South Indian trade with Rome declined. "Of ten Emperors of Rome who flourished between Nero and Caracalla, only 32 gold coins can be counted

1 *Or.* xxxii, 373, McCrindle, *Anc. Ind.*, p. 177.
2 *JRAS.*, 1904, pp. 601-614 (Sewell).

as having been found in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies," the other finds being described as a 'number' in one case and 'a few' in another.

There have been only three finds in Madura of coins of this period and none in Coimbatore on the west coast. The rest was discovered at Vinukoṇḍa in the Kṛṣṇā district, in the Nellore and Cudappa districts, in Sholapur, and in Surat. These are cotton-growing countries. If, therefore, we had to judge from the coins, we should be compelled to assume that trade with Rome in such luxuries as spices, perfumes, and precious stones ceased after the death of Nero and only a limited trade in necessaries, such as cotton fabric, continued.[1] A probable reason for this was disorder in Southern as well as Northern India, the lack of a powerful ruler who could hold petty chiefs in check, but the actual reason of the decline in the Roman trade is found in Rome itself. After Nero's death Rome was convulsed with disputes with regard to the succession to the imperial throne. When Vespasian finally secured it, he discouraged lavish display by the nobles. There are very few of the coins of Vespasian and Titus anywhere in India. But soon the trade revived; for the coins "of Domitian, Nerva, Trojan, and Hadrian, are frequent; then there comes another break lasting until the time of Commodus."[2]

XXX. The reaction of this trade on the fortunes of the Roman Empire has been described by Schoff.[2] "This extravagant importation of luxuries from the East without adequate production of commodities to offer in exchange, was the main cause of the successive depreciation and degradation of the Roman currency, leading finally to its total repudiation. The monetary standard of Rome was established by accumulations of precious metal resulting from its wars. The sack of the rich city of Tarentum in 272 B. C. enabled Rome to

1 *JRAS.*, p. 599.
2 *Periplus*, pp. 219-220.

change her coinage from copper to silver. After the destruction of Carthage and Corinth in 146 B. C., gold coinage came into general use and through the wars of Cæsar gold became so plentiful that in 47 B.C, its ratio to silver was as 1 to 8·9, lower than ever before or since. Under Augustus the ratio was about 1 to 9·3, the *aureus* being worth 25 silver *denarii*. Under Claudius the sea-route to India was opened after which came the reign of Nero, marked by every form of wastefulness and extravagance, during which the silver *denarius* fell from $\frac{1}{84}$ to $\frac{1}{96}$ pound of silver, an alloy of 20 per cent copper being added to it. Under Trajan the alloy reached 30 per cent, and under Septimius Severus 50 per cent. Finally, under Elagabalus 218 A.D., the *denarius* had became wholly copper and was repudiated. Even the golden *aureus* was tempered with. Exported in large quantities to become the basis of exchange in India, the supply at home was exhausted. Under Augustus the *aureus* weighed $\frac{1}{40}$ of a pound of gold, and under Diocletian it weighed but $\frac{1}{60}$. Under Constantine it fell to $\frac{1}{72}$, when the coin was taken only by weight (Sabatier, *Monnaies Byzantines*, i, 51-2; Brooks Adams, *Law of Civilization and Decay*, 25-8). It was this steady loss of capital, to replace which no new wealth was produced, that led finally to the abandonment of Rome and to the transfer of the capital at the end of the 3rd century to Nicomedia and soon afterward to Byzantium."

Nemesis has overtaken India after 1800 years. European luxuries are now sapping the vitality of Indians and Europe-made articles are destroying the ancient industries of India and lowering the total wealth of the country.

P. T. SRINIVASA IYENGAR

# Patañjali

*As he reveals himself in the Mahābhāṣya*

## III

### *Kāvya literature known to Patañjali*

There existed a vast literature, both in prose and poetry, when Patañjali wrote his famous commentary. In the previous pages we had occasion to form an idea as to the magnitude and depth of his scholarship in the field of early literature of India ; we now proceed to show his acquaintance with the so-called artificial poetry or Kāvya literature. Patañjali has quoted numerous metrical verses from the poetical works of many distingui shed poets who are more or less unknown to us. The period preceding Patañjali seems to have been marked by the advent of many beautiful Kāvyas, written in classical Sanskrit and containing fine touches of poetic embellishment. The language and style of the Mahābhāṣya serve to give us a perfect specimen of classical Sanskrit. The Mahābhāṣya contains a good many lines of good poetry, but Patañjali neither mentions the names of the authors nor directly speaks of the works wherefrom he has actually taken them. Considering the many-sidedness of his genius it is not too much to suggest that Patañjali himself was a great poet having some poetical productions to his credit, and that some of the verses, as they appear in the Mahābhāṣya, are really of his own creation. Patañjali made his mark pre-eminently as a grammarian, but it is not unlikely that a man of his versatile intellect might have enjoyed some reputation also as a poet. Bhartṛhari, for instance, was both a grammarian and a poet. Patañjali sometimes gives *ślokas* only in parts, as is suitable for his purpose, and has sometimes quoted them in full. In a few cases he has again put some three or four verses together. The verses occurring in the Mahābhāṣya fall under three distinct classes :

(1) Verses directly taken from the Saṃhitās and Dharma-

Śāstras. Patañjali was well-versed in the Vedic literature and has freely quoted the hymns from the Vedas.

(2) Grammatical discourses in versified form. The Mahābhāṣya contains plenty of verses that deal entirely with grammar; it shows that an attempt was made by some early grammarians to present the rules of grammar in metrical verses. Vyāḍi's Saṃgraha is said to have been written in verses, and it is not unlikely that Patañjali might have borrowed some verses from this authoritative work. So far as the Kātantra system of grammar is concerned, Śarvavarman has also given the rules on Samāsa in a versified form. Bhartṛhari and Koṇḍabhaṭṭa have both taken recourse to metrical verses as the best medium for introducing the solution of grammatical problems. Hari's Kārikās, as they occur in the Vākyapadīya, are frequently quoted by the grammarians as the most authoritative and lucid exposition of the views of Patañjali. Thus, we see that both before and after Patañjali many treatises on grammar were written in beautiful metrical verses. Some of these verses are no doubt of his own making and the rest taken from some other treatises composed in verses.

(3) Ślokas or parts of the ślokas borrowed from earlier Kāvya literature. These beautiful verses betray much genuine poetry, and were undoubtedly highly popular at the time of Patañjali. A study of the verses of this class makes it abundantly clear that there had been some reputed poets whose works were closely studied by Patañjali. The artificial poetry, it must be remembered, does not begin with Bhāsa or Kālidāsa, but goes back to a much earlier date. We have reason to believe that long before Bhāsa, Kālidāsa, Bhāravi and Bhavabhūti could reverberate the horizon of India with their melodious poetry, there had appeared some other poets gifted with almost the same genius, whose names and works have not unfortunately come down to us. That Patañjali was himself a poet or he had at least much attraction for good poetry is best testified by

the number of beautiful ślokas he has used in the Mahābhāṣya. We give below some instances :—

1 तपस्यते लोकजिगीषुरग्रे: Mahābhāṣya, vol. II, p. 25

2 जघान कंसं किल वासुदेव: ,, ,, ,, p. 119

3 आत्मम्भरिश्चरति यूथमसेवमान: ,, ,, ,, p. 102

4 जनार्दनश्चात्मचतुर्थ एव ,, vol. III, p. 143

5 बुभुक्षितं न प्रतिभाति किंचित् ,, vol. I, p. 444

6 आ वनान्नादुदकान्तात् प्रियं पान्थमनुव्रजेत् ,, ,, p. 340

7 ध्वंसते गुरुतल्पग: ,, vol. II, p. 130

8 असिद्वितीयोऽनुससार पाण्डवम् ,, ,, p. 426

9 सङ्कर्षणद्वितीयस्य बलं कृष्णस्य वर्धताम् ,, ,, ,,

10 यस्मिन् दशसहस्राणि पुत्रे जाते गवां ददौ ।
ब्राह्मणेभ्य: प्रियार्थेभ्य: सोऽयमुञ्छेन जीवति ॥ ,, ,, p. 313
(This verse perhaps refers to certain anecdote.)

11 दूरादावसथान्मूत्रं दूरात् पादावसेचनम् ।
दूराच्च भाण्डं दस्युभ्यो दूराच्च कुपितादगुरो: ॥
(This is undoubtedly taken from some "Nīti-śāstra.")

12 महीपालवच: श्रुत्वा जुघुषु: पुण्यमाणवा: । M. B., vol. III, p. 288

13 प्रियां मधूर: प्रतिनर्तयीति यदुक्तं नरवर नर्तयीषि कृष्ट: । M. B., vol. III, p. 338

14 अहरहर्नयमानो गामश्वं पुरुषं पशुम् ।
वैवस्वतो न तृप्यति सुराया इव दुर्मदी ॥ M. B., vol. II, p. 341

15 उपास्वातं स्थूलसिक्तं तूष्णींगङ्गं महाह्रदम् ।
द्रोणं चेदशको गन्तुं मा त्वातासां कृताकृते ॥ ,, ,, p. 430

16 वरतनु संप्रवदन्ति कुक्कुटा: । ,, ,, p. 283

17 ध्वनि: स्फोटस्य शब्दानां ध्वनिस्तु खलु लक्ष्यते ।
अल्पो महांश्च केषांचिदुभयं यत्स्वभावत: ॥ ,, ,, p. 181
(This verse, as embodying the main tenet of the doctrine of Sphoṭa, is supposed to be of Patañjali's creation.)

18 सुसूक्ष्मजटकैशेन सुनताजिनवाससा ।
समन्तशितिरन्ध्रेण द्वयोर्हौ न सिध्यति । M. B., vol. II, p. 420

19 कुतश्चरति मायूरि: केन कापिञ्जलि: कृश: ।
आढ्येन च दरिद्रस्य पश्चिमुतसमो मत: ॥ ,, ,, p. 250

20 नाकसिद्धसुखं यान्ति सुयुक्तैर्वैडवारथै: ।
अथ पतत्काणिणो यान्ति येऽचीकमतभाषिण: ॥ ,, ,, p. 55

21 ऊर्द्धं प्राणान्ह्युत्क्रामन्ति यूनः स्थविर आयति ।
प्रत्युत्थानाभिवाद्याभ्यां पुनस्तान् प्रतिपद्यते ॥ M. B., vol. III, p. 58
(This verse is to be found unaltered in the Manu-saṃhitā, 2, 120.)

22 साम्नैः पाणिभिर्घ्नन्ति गुरवो न विशेषितैः ।
लाड़नाश्रयिणो दोषास्ताड़नाश्रयिणो गुणाः ॥ ,, ,, p. 367
(This is probably taken from some Nīti-śāstra.)

23 बह्वनाम्यचित्तानामेको भवति चित्तवान् ।
पश्य वानरसैन्येऽस्मिन् यदर्कमुपतिष्ठते ॥ M. B., vol. I, p. 281

24 विपरीतं तु यत् कर्म्म तत् कृत्स्नं कवयो विदुः । M. B., vol. I, p. 336

25 तपःश्रुतं च योनिश्च एतद्ब्राह्मणकारणम् ।
तपः श्रुताभ्यां यो हीनो जातिब्राह्मण एव सः ॥ M. B., vol. II, p. 363

26 तीणि यस्यावदातानि विद्या योनिश्च कर्म च ।
एतद्धिवं विजानीहि ब्राह्मणाग्र्य लक्षणम् ॥ ,, ,, p. 220
(These two ślokas describing the three essential characteristics of a Brahmin are supposed to have been taken from some Dharma-śāstra.)

27 सत्त्वे निविशतेऽपैति पृथग्जातिषु दृश्यते ।
आधेयश्चाक्रियाजश्च सोऽसत्त्वप्रकृतिर्गुणः ॥ M. B., vol. II, p. 217
(This verse giving a philosophical definition of *quality* is considered to be a creation of Patañjali.)

28 उपेत्यन्यज्जहात्यन्यद्दृष्टौ द्रव्यान्तरेष्वपि ।
वाचकः सर्वलिङ्गानां द्रव्यादन्यो गुणः स्मृतः ॥ M. B., vol. II, p. 217
(That the above was made by others is explicitly mentioned by Patañjali by the statement "अपर आह" put just before the verse.)

29 स्तनकेशवती स्त्री स्याल्लोमशः पुरुषः स्मृतः ।
उभयोरन्तरं यच्च तदभावे नपुंसकम् ॥ M. B., vol. II, p. 196
(This verse bringing out the physical peculiarities of males, females and eunuch is likely to have been borrowed from some earlier works.)

30 असत्तु स्वगतृष्णावत् गन्धर्वनगरं यथा ।
आदित्यगतिवत् सन्न यस्यान्तर्हितवच्च तत् ॥ M. B., vol. II, p. 197
(This is probably of Patañjali's making. The first line shows how things that do not really exist are sometimes comprehended to be existent. The second line gives the opposite view viz. how things that are really existent lie often beyond our comprehension.)

31 काल: पचति भूतानि काल: संहरति प्रजा: ॥ M. B., vol. II, p. 167

32 सदङ्गशङ्कतूणवा: पृथङ्नदन्ति संसदि । M. B., vol. I, p. 435

33 वाताय कपिला विद्युदातपायातिलोहिनी ।
पीता भवति सस्याय दुर्भिक्षाय सिता भवेत् ॥ M. B., vol. I, p. 449

34 चर्म्मणि द्वीपिनं हन्ति दंतयोर्हन्ति कुञ्जरम् ।
केशेषु चमरीं हन्ति सीम्नि पुष्कलको हत: ॥ M. B., vol. I, p. 458

35 न वर्तते चक्रमिषुर्न पात्यते न स्यन्दन्ते सरित: सागराय ।
कूटस्थोऽयं लोको न विचेष्टितास्ति योऽध्येवं पश्यति सोऽप्यनस्थ: ॥
M. B., vol. II, p. 123

(This and following ślokas are evidently quoted by Patañjali to indicate that there is nothing like *present time* (नास्ति वर्तमान: काल इति).

36 अनागतमतिक्रान्तं वर्तमानमिति वयम् ।
सर्वं च गतिर्नास्ति गच्छतीति किमुच्यते ॥ M. B., vol. II, p. 123

(This verse has a striking similarity with the Mādhyamika doctrine which denies the very existence of time. This is supposed to have been incorporated from some earlier treatises on the Mādhyamika philosophy wherefrom Nāgārjuna too had received the nucleus of his famous Kārikās. The conception of *Extreme Nihilism*, as is expounded by the Mādhyamika school, has its origin in the early canonical texts of Pāli literature. As a representative scholar of his age, Patañjali had not left any branch of study unnoticed. It is, therefore, no wonder if he happens to show some amount of his acquaintance with some tenets of the Buddhist philosophy. The word "माध्यमिकीय" has been clearly used by Patañjali (M. B., vol. III, p. 156). In connection with the question of existence and non-existence of 'present time,' Patañjali has quoted altogether six beautiful verses wnich, as he frankly admits, are taken from other works.)

There are other instances in the Mahābhāṣya[1] where Patañjali has put more than one verse in succession. The episode of monkey soldiers worshipping the Sun-god is narrated by Patañjali by two consecutive verses (see M. B., vol. I, p. 281). Similarly, in another case he has given two verses together which deal with the question of determining the precise subject ( कर्ता ) or agent when more than one agents

1 Vol. II, p. 315.

are engaged in an operation (see M. B., vol. I, p. 240), a in raising a heavy thing.

Patañjali explicitly makes mention of a Kāvya compose by Vararuci—"वाररुचं काव्यम्"[1] but does not give the exact nam of the work. Vararuci is popularly known as a poet of grea reputation. Tradition, however, makes him a contemporar of Kālidāsa (he being counted as one of the nine jewels tha adorned the court of Vikramāditya), but this reference o the Mahābhāṣya tends to assign him a much earlier dat than that of Kālidāsa. This Kāvya has not unfortunatel come down to us and we have no positive evidence to fix th date of Vararuci. Vararuci is often identified wit Kātyāyana, the author of the Vārttika. The Prākṛtaprakāśa— a Prākṛta grammar is also ascribed to the authorship o Vararuci. Again, Kaccāyana (which is only a Prākṛtised form of Kātyāyana) is also found to be the author of a grammar or Pāli. Considered even as distinct persons, both Vararuc and Kātyāyana thus seem to have been distinguished grammarians. Their identity is proved by the fact that the epithets Vākyakāra (an usual designation of Vararuci) and Vārttikakāra are sometimes used as denoting the same person. The following verse "वाक्यकारं वररुचिं भाष्यकारं पतञ्जलिम्। पाणिनिं सूत्रकारं च प्रणतोऽस्मि मुनित्रयम्" serves to establish an identity between the Vākyakāra Vararuci and the Vārttikakāra Kātyāyana, because here वाक्यकार-वररुचि has been evidently used as the same as वार्त्तिककार-कात्यायन. As a matter of fact, the three sages comprehended by the term *Trimuni* are known as Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali. If this identification is regarded to be a fact, then the word Vararuci should be taken as a name of Kātyāyana and similarly Vākya as convertible with Vārttika. Helā-

1 M. B., vol. II, p. 315.

2 यदाह वाक्यकार :—"सिद्धं त्वन्वयव्यतिरेकाभ्याम्" ॥ Vākyapadīya, under the kārikā, 3, 1.

N. B. The same expression occurs as the Vārttika—M. B., vol. I, p. 219.

rāja[1] has referred to the Vākyakāra as if he was the same as Kātyāyana. Reference is made to another poet named Jāluka[1] as the author of metrical verses (जालुकाः श्लोकाः). Further, we hear of *ślokas* as composed by Tittri. The so-called *Bhrājā-ślokas*,[2] as mentioned by Patañjali, are popularly attributed to the authorship of Kātyāyana. Patañjali has quoted one of these ślokas which purports to show the impropriety of drinking in connection with the Sautrāmaṇi sacrifice.

## *Gods mentioned by Patañjali*

Patañjali has mentioned the names of many deities both Vedic and Paurāṇic. The Ṛg-veda mentions about 33 gods. Yāska,[3] on the authority of the Nairuktas, has limited the number to three, specifying their respective dwelling places, namely, heaven, aerial region and earth. Agni belongs to the earth, Vāyu or Indra to the aerial region, and the Sun to heaven. Yāska[4] ascribes it to their supernatural power that each of these three deities came to have good many names, that is to say, these three are to be regarded as the principal divinities and the rest are only different manifestations of them. Here we can trace the germ of monotheism which was so vehemently supported by the Vedāntins at a later period, i. e. how one and the same Supreme Being used to be called by different names (एकं सद्विप्रा बहुधा वदन्ति Rv., I, 23. 134). Patañjali has mentioned almost all the principal Vedic gods, namely, Indra,[5] Agni, Vāyu, Viśvedevāḥ, Sūryya, Rudra, Prajāpati, Apāmnapāt, Marut, Viṣṇu, Viśvakarman, etc.,

1 Vol. II, p. 315.
2 Vol. I, p. 3.
3 Nirukta, Daivata, p. 745—अग्निः पृथिवीस्थानो वायुर्वेन्द्रो वान्तरिक्षस्थानः सूर्यो द्युस्थानः ॥
4 Nirukta, Daivata, p. 766—महाभाग्याद् देवताया एक आत्मा बहुधा स्तूयते एकस्यैवात्मनोऽन्ये देवाः प्रत्यङ्गानि भवन्ति ॥
5 Vol. III, p. 82 ; vol. II, p. 356.

and even such dual divinities as Mitrā-Varuṇa[1] and Dyāvā-Pṛthivī.[2] (also अग्नीषोमौ and वायूद्यारुणम् ).

Indra, Sūryya and Rudra, etc. also appear in the Purāṇas as prominent divinities, though it is usually the *"Trinity of gods"* i. e. Brahman, Viṣṇu and Śiva, that commands the highest respect and adoration in the Paurāṇic conception of religion. Patañjali has not only used the name of Indra but has given his other synonyms,[3] namely, Śakra, Puruhūta, Purandara, Maghavat, etc. Indra is called Vṛtrahan[4] from the fact of his killing the demon named Vṛtra. The expression "इन्द्रो हवहा" occurs many times in the Mahābhāṣya. The god Skanda[5] (Kārtikeya) is also mentioned by Patañjali. So far as the case of Rudra is concerned, he has mentioned so many names of this deity as Śiva, Bhava (vol. II, p. 91), Śarva, Girīśa, Mahādeva and Tryambaka which are more or less associated with some Paurāṇic legends. He has, moreover, used the word Śaiva (vol. II, p. 282) which refers to a particular sect of Paurāṇic religion. The names Bhava, Śiva, Rudra and Mṛḍa are also to be found even in the aphorisms of Pāṇini (see Pāṇ. 4. 1. 49). Patañjali has definitely mentioned two outstanding divine personalities, namely, Baladeva and Vāsudeva (Kṛṣṇa), of the Yādava line who passed into divinities in the age of the Purāṇas, the former being counted as one of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu and the latter as entirely identical with the Supreme Being ( कृष्णस्तु भगवान् स्वयम् ). The expression "शिवभागवत,"[6] as is used by Patañjali more than once, refers to a religious sect (Śaiva) according to which Śiva was considered to be the highest divinity and worshipped as such. Moreover, the rule (Pāṇ., 5, 2, 76) under which the above expression occurs is indicative of some particular associations of the lord Śiva. It is thus believed that both Śiva and Vāsudeva (Kṛṣṇa)

1 Vol. III, pp. 17, 82.
2 Vol. III, p. 396.
3 Vol. I, p. 220.
4 Vol. III, p. 351—इन्द्रो हवहा।
5 Vol. III, p. 148—स्कन्दविशाखौ।
6 Vol. II, p. 387.

cults were in existence at the time of Patañjali. Patañjali refers to Kali-yuga[1] as well as to Kālī as a divinity. The passage गौर्देवतास्य स्थालीपाकस्य[2]. shows that the cow had already become a divinity. Among the goddesses we distinctly find the names of Gaurī[3] ( गौरीं च गौर्यं च ), Lakṣmī (vol. III, p. 159) and Agnāyī (the wife of Agni). The worship of Gaurī and of the other 15 Mātṛkās is ordained by our Dharma-śāstras. The word Kālī[4] occurs in such a context that it is supposed to be a reference to the famous Tāntrik goddess "Kālī." A snake-goddess, namely, Suparṇi, as well as female snakes (नागयुवति ) are also mentioned by Patañjali. He has used both the words प्रचेतस and गीःपति meaning respectively Varuṇa and Bṛhaspati. The way in which Patañjali has used the expression "देवा ज्ञातुमर्हन्ति" indicates that he considered the gods to be of infinite wisdom (cf. the definition of the word Deva "दिवेरैश्वर्यकर्मणो देवः vol. II, p. 356). Patañjali has also used "अजर" and "अमर" (vol. III, p. 138) which, as two epithets of gods, suggest that the gods are not liable to suffer from either old age or death. He has used the expression "देवासुरम्" (vol. II, p. 319) in such a context as to indicate the eternal strife or hostility between gods and demons. A class of gods called Nilimpa (vol. II, p. 92) is also mentioned in the Mahābhāṣya. So far as the worship of gods is concerned, Patañjali has particularly mentioned "आदित्यमुपतिष्ठते" and "चन्द्रमसमुपतिष्ठते" under the rule 1, 3, 25. Reference is also made to the animal sacrifice, specially in connection with the worship of Rudra ( "पशुना रुद्रं यजते" vol. I, p. 339). Mention is made of both heaven and hell (vol. III, p. 12), and Patañjali particularly observes that he who gives rice to others is entitled to go to heaven (vol. II, p. 140).

### *Sages and Teachers*

The Mahābhāṣya contains the names of many sages and teachers belonging to the Vedic and the Paurāṇic age. The

1 Vol. II, p. 273—"कलौ भवं कालियम्" and "कलिर्देवतास्य"
2 Vol. II, p. 237. 3 Vol. III, p. 81. 4 Vol. II, p. 200.

hymns of the Vedas are all associated with some particular deities and sages. Patañjali has mentioned most of the Vedic sages such as Kutsa, Vasiṣṭha, Ātreya, Vāmadeva, Viśvāmitra, Bharadvāja, Aṅgiras, Agastya, Śunaḥśepa, Vṛṣākapi, Devāpi, Kautsa, Prajāpati, Kakṣīvat, Kaṇva[1] etc. and specially those that are regarded as the founders of Gotras (viz. Gārgya (गार्ग्योऽस्मि गोत्रेण—vol. I, p. 451), Vatsa, Agniveśman, Kaśyapa, Śāṇḍilya, etc.). Both Pippalāda and Auddālaki[2] who figure so prominently in the Vedic literature are also particularly mentioned by Patañjali. Of the Paurāṇic sages we can trace the names of Vyāsa, Śuka, Jāvāli,[3] Jāmadagnya, Vaiśampāyana, Nārada-Parvata and so on. There were eighty-eight thousands of Ṛṣis living in perfect continence (ऊर्ध्वरेता:[4]); among them, as Patañjali narrates, only eight Ṛṣis with Agastya as the eighth were blessed with progeny. Patañjali particularly observes that the sons of these Ṛṣis became afterwards the progenitors of families (Gotras). We meet with the names of a number of ancient sages in the aphorisms of Pāṇini, such as Śaunaka, Kalāpin, Kaṭha, Caraka, Chagalin, Kāśyapa, Vaiśampāyana, Pārāśaryya, Śilāli, Kṛśāśvin, Kauśika etc. Patañjali has not only mentioned the name of Viśvāmitra but has briefly given his genealogical account, narrating the story how he secured the coveted Ṛṣi-hood on behalf of Gādhi and Kuśika his father and grandfather respectively. He has given the account of two more sages, namely, Yarvāṇa[5] and Tarvāṇa who are said to have been born seers, gifted with uncommon intellectual power, and possessing knowledge in all the branches of studies. Another teacher of antiquity i. e. Vārṣyāyaṇi, who is also mentioned by Yāska, has been referred to in the Mahābhāṣya

1 Vol. III, p. 33.
2 Vol. I, p. 493.
3 Vol. I, p. 489.
4 Vol. II, p. 233.
5 Vol. I, p. 11.

as one who explained the six stages of modifications[1] (existence, growth, development, transformation, decay and final destruction) through which all material entities are liable to pass. It is not only the men who in ancient times devoted themselves to studies and the practice of Tapasyā, but also women e. g. the female ascetics, pursuing their studies with an equal amount of attention. Patañjali has mentioned the name of a female teacher, i. e. Gārgī[2] who is described in the Upaniṣads as taking the most active part in some philosophical discussions. Mention is further made of two Brahmin ladies who used to study the grammatical systems of Āpiśali and Kāśakṛtsna[3] (said to be the founder of a school of philosophy). Another female ascetic, namely, Devahūti (the wife of Karddama) is also mentioned by Patañjali (vol. III, p. 126). A teacher named Ulūka is alluded to in the Mahābhāṣya.

India is the land of Ṛṣis and ascetics. Few other countries could produce so many sages and teachers as sanctified the soil of India. According to Yāska's[4] explanation of the term, the Ṛṣis were born with divine wisdom, having insight into the essence of religion, and knowing everything by intuition. They were, however, followed by an inferior class of Ṛṣis, better known as Śrutarṣi, who were not naturally gifted with such intellect as the former but had to depend upon regular studies for the acquisition of their knowledge. The hymns of the Vedas are intimately associated with the sacred memory of such Ṛṣis. Patañjali like Yāska has also made use of the same epithets when he happens to speak of the Ṛṣis : प्रत्यक्षधर्माणः, परापरज्ञाः, विदितवेदितव्याः, and अधिगतयाथातथ्याः. What is actually meant by these four epithets is thus explained by Kaiyaṭa and Nāgeśa :— प्रत्यक्षधर्माणः means that the Ṛṣis were capable of knowing everything by means

1 Vol. I, p. 258 ; Ulūka, vol. II, p. 280.
2 Ibid., p. 492.
3 Vol. II, p. 325.
4 Nirukta, 1. 20. p. 143.

of their Yaugika knowledge ; "परापरज्ञाः" implies that they could distinguish Vidyā from Avidyā or pure knowledge from nescience ; "विदितवेदितव्याः" signifies that they were endowed with the three essential qualities, namely, hearing, thinking and practising, that lead one to the path of salvation ; "अधिगतयाथातथ्याः" shows that they had practically visualised the ultimate truth. Such were the Ṛṣis of whom we hear so much in the ancient legends. They were repository of learning, and all knowledge has emanated from them. To whatever branch of Indian culture we may fix our attention, we are astonished to see the singularly brilliant records of scholarship and wisdom as have been left by such saintly teachers of antiquity. The Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas contain good many accounts of these teachers. The Vedas with their vast allied literature, numerous treatises on Dharma-śāstras, Itihāsas and Purāṇas, different systems of philosophy and grammar—all stand as the undying monument of their achievements in the various spheres of culture. Both Parivrājaka (wandering monk) and Tāpasa (ascetic) are mentioned by Patañjali ; and he particularly notices that the practice of asceticism serves to reveal the supreme wisdom ( "तपसापसं सेधयति"—vol. III, p. 38). Even the peculiar features of ascetics such as matted hair, bare-headedness, holding of Kamaṇḍalu are also stated by Patañjali. Under Pāṇ. 6. 1. 158 Patañjali has mentioned a class of wandering monks (मस्कर), possibly holding bamboo sticks in their hands, who used to preach absolute abstinence from action. Again, by the expression "ब्रह्मवादिनो वदन्ति" (vol. II, p. 109.) Patañjali has undoubtedly referred to a class of sages who used to speak of Brahman, that is to say, were blessed with the supreme knowledge of Brahman.

### *Sacrifices, rituals and other religious observances*

We have already tried to show that Patañjali was not only well-versed in the Vedic literature but had practical knowledge of the Śrauta and Smārta rituals. Mention is

made by him of such great sacrifices as *Rājasūya*[1] and *Vājapeya*. Puṣyamitra is reported to have performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice (at Pāṭaliputra) and it is not unlikely that Patañjali might have availed himself of this opportunity of serving his royal patron by officiating as the principal priest on that occasion. He has also mentioned some other minor sacrifices,[3] namely, नवयज्ञ, पाकयज्ञ, अग्निष्टोम, चातुर्मास्य, पञ्चमहायज्ञ and states particularly with regard to the last one that "every house-holder should perform the five great sacrifices." That the observance of religious rites was regarded as an obligatory duty on the part of every Brahmin is made clear by such references as गार्ग्यो यजते, वात्स्यो यजते, दाक्षेः पिता यजते, गार्ग्यस्य पिता यजते, दैवदत्तस्य पिता यजते and so on. Patañjali himself was a great याज्ञिक (sacrificer) having practical knowledge of most of the rituals enjoined by the Brāhmaṇas and Dharma-śāstras ; otherwise he could not have given such an accurate information about the performance of religious rites. He has not only incidentally quoted the Vedic passage यज्ञेन प्रतिष्ठां गमेयम्[4] but actually won much reputation among the priestly classes as a staunch follower of religious rites. He has mentioned both "sacrificial land"[5] and "the family of priests"[6] specially competent for conducting the sacrificial works ; and has particularly spoken of स्वस्तिवाचन,[7] पुण्याहवाचन and शान्तिवाचन which are to be duly recited by the priests just at the beginning of a Vedic ritual. In some cases Patañjali has exactly quoted the Mantras or the Vedic hymns as are usually attended with a sacrifice :—(i) अश्ववतीमारुहेमा स्वस्तये[8] (ii) मरुद्भिरग्न आगहि[9] etc. and has sometimes quoted the passages from the Brāhmaṇas having direct bearing upon the performance of sacrifices, as, for instance, (i) आग्नावैष्णवं चरुं निर्वपेत्[10] (ii) स्थूलपृषतीमाग्निवारुणीमनड्वाहीमालभेत,[11] (ii) भृगूणामङ्गिरसां धर्मस्य तपसा

1 & 2 Vol. II, p. 361.
3 Vol. II, p. 351.
4 Vol. II, p. 65.
5&6 Vol. II, p. 357.
7 Vol. II, p. 362.
8 Vol. II, p. 65.
9 Vol. III, p. 179.
10 Vol. III, p. 149.
11 Vol. I, p. 1.

तप्यध्वम्.[1] He particularly refers to the *Prayājā hymns* and shows his personal experience of the sacrificial rites when he rightly observes that the mantras[2] are not stated in the Vedas in all possible case-endings and that they should consequently be modified suitably by the priest engaged in a sacrifice. The Mahābhāṣya contains further references to sacrifices, namely, अग्निष्टोम and दर्शपौर्णमास and gives details of such rites, e. g. स्थालीपाक, चरुहोम, पुरोडाश, कपाल etc. He has also dealt with the question of season in regard to the performance of particular Vedic rites. So far as the accessories of sacrificial rites are concerned, Patañjali has mentioned *Yūpa*, *Caṣāla*, and *Sruk*, etc. He explains Yūpa[3] as a wooden post specially prepared for binding animals in a sacrifice, and states further that it should be made of either Vilva or Khadira tree. He has also given two technical words, namely, *Udgrābha*[4] and *Nigrābha* which are respectively used to mean the uplifting and falling of Sruk. Patañjali has further shown how in a विकृतयाग thirteen Sāmidhenī[5] Mantras become seventeen in number by the three-fold repetition of the first and the last hymns. This shows how minutely Patañjali knew all these details of the sacrificial rites. He has referred to the practice of drinking *Soma*[6] (juice) which formed an important part of the Vedic sacrifices ; and has quoted a Vedic passage (Brāhmaṇa) to the effect that "he should drink Soma in a house where had been living no Śūdra for the long period of ten generations". Mention is also made of *Śrāddha*[7] (ceremony) along with its usual meaning i. e. "anything that is offered to the manes with due respect." He refers particularly to *Aṣṭakā-śrāddha*[8] as what is usually

1 Vol. I, p. 2.
2 Vol. I, p. 1—नसर्वैर्लिङ्गैर्न च सर्वाभिर्विभक्तिभिर्वेदे मन्त्रा निगदिताः ।
3 Vol. I, p. 8.
4 Vol. II, p. 148.
5 Vol. I, p. 17.
6 Vol. II, p. 248.
7 श्रद्धा प्रयोजनमस्य श्राद्धम्—vol. II, p. 362.
8 अष्टका पितृदैवत्ये—vol. III, p. 226.

offered to the manes, and speaks of cows as generally offered by the sages by way of *Dakṣiṇā*. Patañjali has not only shown the ancient system of reading the Vedas but has alluded to the recitatian of *Sāma* songs by Brahmin boys[1] (गेयो मानवकः साम्नाम्). Reference has also been made to "long sacrifices"[2] (दीर्घसत्र) which were continued for such a length of time as a hundred years and a thousand years. Patañjali rightly observes in this connexion that such sacrifices are no longer practised by men, but we hear of them only in the ritualistic portion of the Vedic literature. He has mentioned another sacrifice, namely, चातुर्मास्य यज्ञ[3] which, as the term implies, takes a period of four months for its completion. We have a Vrata (vow) of the same name enjoined by our Dharmaśāstras. Patañjali has particularly mentioned two *Vratas*,[4] namely, आदित्यव्रत and महानाम्नाव्रत, which are supposed to have been duly observed in his time, the former one being still practised by Brahmin ladies of Bengal.

### *Patañjali as a philosopher and his acquaintance with different systems of Indian Philosophy*

Patañjali himself was a philosopher of no mean order. Even if we set aside for the moment the question of his identity with the author of the Yoga-Sūtra, we cannot but give him the credit of having been a great thinker, a philosopher in the strict sense of the term, considering the intrinsic value of some of the doctrines that have emanated from him. It is he who has not only widened the scope of grammar by introducing many logical principles but has approached the problems of grammar from such a scientific standpoint as to raise the study of grammar to the rank of a regular philosophy. The way in which he has maintained the eternality of Śabda, expounded the doctrine of Sphoṭa, and applied the principle of Agreement and Difference

1 Vol. II, p. 178. 2 Vol. I, p. 9.
3 Vol. II, p. 361. 4 Vol. II, p. 360.

( अन्वयव्यतिरेक ) in course of differentiating the stems from formative elements of words, sufficiently confirms our view that he richly deserves to be styled a philosopher. We have already said how it would be a great injustice to his many-sided genius, if we simply take Patañjali as a grammarian and shut our eyes to the other prominent features of his outstanding personality. He was not only a grammarian but also a philosopher, and his contribution as a philosopher is not of less importance. It is mainly on account of his philosophical expositions of Pāṇini's aphorisms that Mādhavācāryya has treated the Pāṇinīyan system as a distinct school of philosophy. In dealing with Patañjali as a philosopher, we should particularly take notice of the following facts : (I) He has discussed two different views as to *whether Śabda is created or eternal.* The grammarians had to face a great problem in arriving at a decision with regard to this point. Quite in agreement with the standpoint of the Saṃgraha, Patañjali has however finally decided in favour of the latter view i. e. he has taken Śabda to be an eternal entity. He has clearly shown more than once what he actually understood by the eternality of Śabda. Whenever he speaks of *Nitya Śabda,* he invariably characterises it thus : Śabda ( in its eternal aspect) is fixed, motionless, has neither origin nor destruction and is not subject to change and modification. Like all material entities Śabda is not liable to pass through the six different stages of modifications as enumerated by Vārṣyāyaṇi. Śabda, in short, does not exhibit in itself any kind of non-eternality as due to either association ( संसर्गानित्यता ), modification ( परिणामानित्यता ), or destruction ( ध्वंसानित्यता ). Now, what is the exact nature of this eternal Śabda ? By "eternal Śabda" Patañjali precisely means *Sphoṭa.* The theory of Upavarṣa ( वर्णा एव तु शब्द इति भगवानुपवर्षः ), so strongly supported by Kumārila and Śaṅkara, was but little favoured by the grammarians who went a step further to maintain the existence of Sphoṭa as distinct from letters. Sphoṭa is formless and indivisible ; it is one and eternal. It

by sound but is not identical with it. Sphoṭa represents the ultimate form of speech (i.e. *Parā Vāk* residing in the *Mūlādhāra*) that passes through the three stages or gets more and more manifest till it becomes finally audible. Sphoṭa in a sense is veritably the same as Praṇava out of which the world is said to have sprung up in a mysterious way (cf. शब्द इति चेन्नातः प्रभवात् प्रत्यक्षानुमानाभ्याम्—Vedānta Sūtra). Śabda is not a momentary thing that ceases to exist as soon as it is uttered; the grammarians have, however, found in it an emblem of all-pervading Brahman. As an advocate of *Śabda-Brahma-Vāda*, Patañjali has identified Śabda (i.e. Sphoṭa) with Brahman and has thus brought grammar to the same level with the higher branch of philosophical thought. The doctrine of Sphoṭa, as is expounded by Patañjali, is the crowning success of grammatical speculations of the Hindus, and will continue to be the most accurate exposition of the theory of Speech. (II) Principle of Agreement and Difference :—Patañjali sought to separate the stems from the formative elements of words by applying the logical method of अन्वय and व्यतिरेक. The principle[1] underlying this method of analysis is an indication that Patañjali proceeded entirely on the basis of scientific methodology in course of determining *Prakṛti* and *Pratyaya*. (III) The Mīmāṃsakas have agreement with the grammarians so far as the eternality of Śabda is concerned, though the former does not recognise Sphoṭa as such. Patañjali comes into closer touch with the Mīmāṃsakas when he explains the relation of word with sense as eternal ( नित्यो ह्यर्थवतामर्थैरभिसम्बन्धः[2]), and maintains, on the authority of Vājapyyāyana, that all words denote generality or class as opposed to individuals. He also believes in the eternality of the Vedas just like the Mīmāṃsakas ( नित्यानि छन्दांसि ). While attributing the eternal character to the Vedas in pursuance of the orthodox Brahmanic tradition, Patañjali particularly observes that it is the arrangement or order of words of the Vedas

1 Vol. I, p. 219. 2 Vol. I, p. 7.

that should be regarded as permanently fixed i. e. eternal.[1] We should, however, remember that the eternality of the Vedas forms the very basis of the Mīmāṃsā system of thought. The author of the Mahābhāṣya has thus shown his familiarity with the cardinal doctrines of the Mīmāṃsā philosophy, though he does not mention them definitely. He has used both the words Mīmāṃsā and Mīmāṃsakas, but does not actually mention the name of Jaimini. Patañjali has not used the word *Sāṃkhya* as denoting a school of philosophy. The word 'Kapilaka', however, occurs in the Mahābhāṣya. But indirect references to this system of thought are available in the Mahābhāṣya. While enumerating the six causes that often prevent us from comprehending things that really exist, Patañjali has almost reproduced the *Sāṃkhya-Kārikā*[2] (1. 7.) only in different language. These causes are as follows : extreme distance, extreme proximity, intervention by other things, obscurity due to darkness, weakness of visual organs, and extreme carelessness. No clear reference is made to the Vedānta philosophy by Patañjali. We only meet with such words as Brahman, Akṣara, Brahmavādin etc. in the Mahābhāṣya. (1) Under the Vārttika ( सर्वस्य वा चेतनावत्त्वात्[3] ) he has hinted at the Vedānta doctrine of non-duality of Soul by stating that "everything possesses consciousness" ( सर्वं चेतनावत् ). This expression bears comparison with the passage ' 'चन्मात्रं व्यापितं सर्वम् ". Patañjali has also quoted the authority of the Vedas which have spoken of some inanimate objects as if they were full of consciousness like ourselves (cf. श्रृणोत ग्रावाणः[4] and ऋषिः पठति). (2) He has spoken of both individual (आत्मा) and Supreme Soul (परमात्मा) under the rule 3. 2. 83 ; by the former he probably means the same as Jīvātman and by the latter the universal soul or Absolute Brahman. (3) Classification of soul as physical and internal[5] ( शरीरात्मा and अन्तरात्मा ) :—In course of discussion as to how one

1 Vol. II, p. 315. 2 Vol. II, p. 197—cf. Sāṃkhya-Kārikā, 1. 7.
3 Vol. II, p. 15. 4 Vol. II, p. 15. 5 Vol. I. p. 202.

and the same soul is used both as the agent ( कर्ता ) and as the object ( कर्म ) in an expression like "आत्मना हन्यते आत्मा" (similar expression is also to be found elsewhere—Cf. Gītā स्वयमेवात्मनात्मानं वेत्थ त्वं पुरुषोत्तम . Patañjali has spoken of two-fold *Soul* as physical ( शरीरात्मा ) and internal ( अन्तरात्मा ) and continues to say that the internal soul performs those actions whereby the physical soul feels either pleasure or pain and *vice versa*. The soul, to speak from the Vedānta standpoint, is one and non-dual, and the question of plurality of souls is nothing but inconsistent according to the strict interpretation. The Sāṃkyāites have, however, maintained the plurality of souls (Puruṣa), but explain them as absolutely unconnected with action. The passage under examination does not only speak of two kinds of souls but characterise both of them as active. We cannot, therefore, explain this position either from the Vedānta or from the Sāṃkhya point of view. Kaiyaṭa[1] on this point :—"Difference of souls is here really meant and not the agency and objectivity of one and the same soul. According to the Sāṃkhya standpoint, the internal soul should be taken as the *Antaḥakaraṇa*, because that alone is capable of action, the Puruṣa being entirely free from activity. According to the Naiyāyikas, on the other hand, the *Puruṣa* as an active agent may be identified with the internal soul. As to the physical soul feeling pleasure and pain, the body being devoid of consciousness, we should not explain the physical soul simply as body but take it (body) in combination with the causes of pleasure and sorrow (i. e. merits and demerits, unseen fate or action).

### *Pramāṇas*

To an orthodox Vedic scholar like Patañjali the Vedas, viewed as eternal and of non-human origin, proved to be an instrument of correct knowledge (Pramāṇa). Harmoniously with the Mīmāṃsakas he has shown the sacred character and

1 वस्तुत एवात्मभेदो नत्वे कस्यैव कर्मत्वं कर्तृत्वं च। अन्तरात्मेति। सांख्यपक्षे अन्तःकरणमन्तरात्मा तस्यैव कर्तृत्वसम्भवात्। पुरुषस्याकर्तृत्वात्। नैयायिकादीनां मते पुरुषस्य कर्तृत्वात् स एवान्तरात्मेति विवक्षितः —Kaiyaṭa.

trustworthiness of the Vedas in more than one passage. As a grammarian, he significantly calls himself "शब्दप्रमाणका वयम् ( vol. I, p. 366), i. e. those who have Śabda or depend on Śabda as a source of knowledge. The Naiyāyikas, we should remember, have recognised four different forms of Pramāṇas,[1] namely, Perception, Inference, Analogy and Śabda. Patañjali has made reference to these Pramāṇas with the single exception of Analogy ( उपमिति ). (Nyāya) Though direct mention is not made either of Gotama or of his Sūtras as *Nyāya*, *Ānvīkṣikī* or Tarka-Śāstra, Patañjali has used the words *Gautamīya* and *Vākovākya*[2] wherein we may trace some allusion regarding both the author and his system. He has not only shown his thorough acquaintance with the Nyāya system but has also used the peculiar phraseology and some technical terms of the Naiyāyikas. The statement[3] धूमं दृष्ट्वाग्निरत्र तिगम्यते will serve to remind one of the oft-quoted logical proposition पर्वतो वह्निमान् धूमात्. By the above statement Patañjali has tried to show how one can usually infer the existence of fire at the sight of smoke. He has also indirectly hinted at the Naiyāyika conception of *Vyāpti*[4] or invariable concomittance whereupon depends the very basis of inference. That inference is quite impossible without previous perception ( तत्पुर्वकमनुमानम्[5] ) is also made clear by Patañjali. He also observes that in some cases inference seems to be more reliable than perception.[6] The followers of the *Navya-Nyāya* have not only indulged in subtle discussion but have, as a rule, relied much upon inference, so much so that they often tried to understand a thing through the instrumentality of inference which was otherwise more easily comprehensible by the simple process of perception (Cf. Raghunātha's statement in Pakṣatā—प्रत्यक्षपरिकल्पितमप्यर्थमनुमानेन बुभुत्सन्ते तर्करसिकाः ). Reference has again been made to inference in connection with the definition of *Kriyā*.

1 Nyāya-Sūtra, I. I. 3. 2 Vol. I, p. 9.
3 Vol. II, p. 125. 4 Vol. II, p. 125. प्रत्यक्षेणाग्निधूमयोरभिसम्बन्धः ।
5 Nyāya Sūtra I. I. 5. 6 प्रत्यक्षादप्यनुमानबलीयस्त्वम्—vol. II, p 125.

According to Patañjali, *Kriyā*[1] or action is not at all visible and is comprehended only by inference ( अनुमानगम्या ). He comes in close touch with the Naiyāyika standpoint when he states clearly that "the sense-organs[2] are capable of producing the cognition only when they have direct association with the mind." What he means to say is this : The sense-organs by themselves are not competent to give rise to a cognition (perception), but they do so by reason of their connection with the mind. The Naiyāyikas[3] maintain the same view only with this difference that they added another factor i. e. the soul, with which the mind gets invariably connected in so far as the production of cognition is concerned. The position of the Naiyāyikas is this : In all cases of perception the object perceived first comes in contact with our sense-organs ; the sense-organs get them connected with the mind which ultimately is united with the soul[4] (see Vātsyāyana Bhāṣya on 1. 1. 4). This is the usual order in which we derive our knowledge. "The connection of mind with soul" is held to be the cause of all kinds of knowledge. The Nyāya Sūtra (2. 1. 21) expressly states that perceptional knowledge is not at all possible without the contact of mind with soul.

Patañjali, however, does not agree with the Naiyāyikas so far as the conception of *Avayavin* (the whole) is concerned. He takes the whole as an aggregate or combination of parts ( अवयवात्मकः समुदायः ),[5] whereas the Naiyāyikas maintain that the whole is a distinct entity from the parts ( द्रव्यान्तरभूतोऽवयवीति[6] ). The whole is generally supposed to be composed of atoms. But in that case the whole (i.e. the tree as a whole) would not have been visible, because atoms are too small to be comprehended by the senses ( अतीन्द्रियत्वादणूनाम् ). As a matter

1 Vol. I, p 254—क्रियानामेयमत्यन्तापरिदृष्टा·····सासावनुमानगम्या ॥

2 Vol. II, p. 120—"मनसासंयुक्तानीन्द्रियाण्युपलब्धौ कारणानि भवन्ति ।"

3 नात्ममनसोः सन्निकर्षाभावे प्रत्यक्षोत्पत्तिः—Nyāya Sūtra, 2, 1, 21.

4 आत्मा मनसा संयुज्यते, मन इन्द्रियेण, इन्द्रियमर्थेनेति—under Nyāya-Sūtra, 1, 1, 4.

5 Vol. III, p. 3. 6 Vātsyāyana Bhāṣya under the Nyāya Sūtra, 2, 1, 34. "सर्वावयवग्रहणमवयव्यसिद्धेः" ।

of fact, the tree, for instance, as a whole appears to be something essentially different from its parts such as branches, leaves, roots etc. Patañjali has, however, cited some instances to show how the whole differs from the parts. The instances like "branch of a tree" ( वार्ची शाखा ) and "yarn of a blanket" are calculated to explain this difference in clear terms.

Patañjali rightly holds that "desire[1] is directly known by action," that is to say, what a man desires to do is clearly understood by his action. Desire, according to the Naiyāyikas,[2] is one of the signs whereby the soul is usually inferred ( आत्मनो लिङ्गम् ) to be existent. The soul is not directly comperhended by perception but is an object of inference. From the soul originates desire which is followed by action (cf. आत्मजन्या भवेदिच्छा इच्छाजन्या कृतिर्भवेत्—Bhāṣāpariccheda).

*Mal-observation or Anomaly of Cognition*

Like Vātsyāyana[3] Patañjali has also given some examples to show how anomaly sometimes occurs with regard to perception or cognition. Mirage, fairy castle and the movement of the sun form suitable instances of such anomaly ; and Patañjali has referred to them all with his clear exposition. (I) We sometimes perceive something that does not really or materially exist ( असत्तु मृगतृष्णावत् ). The thirsty deer[4] are proverbially deceived by the mirage. As a matter of fact, the deer, when they are thirsty, verily perceive the current of water in the rays of the sun, though it really does not exist at all. Similarly, the beautiful city of the Gandharvas is often falsely seen in the sky ( गन्धर्वनगरं यथा[5] ). (2) Anomaly or non-perception : Something that really exists is not sometimes perceived as, for instance, roots of trees etc. Patañjali has given here the instance of the sun's movement.[6] The sun

1 इच्छाया हि प्रवृत्तिं उपलब्धिः—vol. II, p. 15. 2 Nyāya Sūtra, I, I, 10.

3 Vāt. Bhāṣya under Nyāya Sūtra, I, I, 23.

4 & 5 Vol. II, p. 196—"मृगास्तृषिता अपां धाराः पश्यन्ति न च ताः सन्ति" । and "गन्धर्वनगराणि दूरतो दृश्यन्ते उपसृत्य च नोपलभ्यन्ते" ॥

6 आदित्यगतिवत्सन्न—vol. II, p, 297.

has its motion, though it is not ordinarily perceived by our naked eyes.

### *Successive stages of action*

How minutely Patañjali used to observe facts is clearly seen by the way in which he has shown how one action ( क्रिया )[1] becomes the objective of another. The usual order is as follows : A man first conceives something by his intellect, then he feels desire to have it, next comes endeavour which is followed by the actual beginning of action, then completion (of action) and finally the attainment of desired end. (vol. I. p. 330).

### *Cause*

Patañjali defines the cause[2] of a thing as the invariable condition or factor without which the action cannot take place. He gives the example of 'binding by fetters'[3] ; as the action of binding is impossible without the help of fetters, the latter is considered to be the cause with regard to the former. Cf. the logical definition of cause—येन विना यन्न भवति तत्तस्य निमित्तम् and अन्यथासिद्धिशून्यत्वे सति नियतपूर्ववर्तित्वम्—

### *Substance (dravya)*

A substance is the "substratum of qualities ( गुणाश्रयो द्रव्यम् ).[4] "Possession of qualities" ( गुणवत्त्वम् ) forms the common characteristic of all substances. Patañjali[5] has advanced many arguments to show that a substance is different from qualities such as form, smell, odour, sound and touch. This is only a tentative definition of substance. He finally defines "*Substance*"[6] as what does not lose its essence even when different qualities come to inhere in it." A fruit, for instance,

1 Vol. I, p. 330.
2 यद्यान्तरेण यस्य प्रवृत्तिर्भवति तत्तस्य निमित्तत्वाय कल्पते—Vol. II, p. 388.
3 न चान्तरेण शृङ्खलं बन्धनं प्रवर्त्तते—vol. II, p. 288.
4 Cf. गुणाश्च द्रव्यसंस्थानाः—Vātsyāyana Bhāṣya under Nyāya Sūtra, I, I, 5.
5 Vol. II, p. 366.
6 यस्य गुणान्तरेष्वपि प्रादुर्भवत्सु तत्त्वं न विहन्यते तद्द्रव्यम्—vol. II, p. 366.

remains the same, though in course of time its colour i.e. blueness gives way to redness. A substance is therefore substratum of qualities (गुणाश्रयो द्रव्यम्). Elsewhere he speaks of substance as Guṇin (that which contains qualities) and explains the relation between substance and qualities in the following terms गुणाश्च गुणिनि श्रीरते[1] and गुणसंद्रावो द्रव्यम्. Patañjali further observes that the question of degree with regard to either excellence or inferiority does not really pertain to substance (न च द्रव्यस्य प्रकर्षाप्रकर्षौ स्तः[2]) or class (जाति), but it is particularly with reference to qualities that we speak of either goodness or badness of a thing. He makes *substance* an aggregate of qualities (गुणसंद्रावो द्रव्यम्).

## *Quality*

From what we have said above it is clear that the relation between substance and qualities is one of inter-dependence. As we cannot form an idea of the class without that of individuals, so we fail to understand qualities without reference to substance wherein they inhere. Patañjali explains *guṇa*[3] as what serves to distinguish an object from others (belonging to the same genus); as, for instance, the same thing as water appears to be different such as cold and hot by reason of its association with different qualities. Guṇas are therefore the same as are called "differentiating properties" (इतरव्यावर्त्तकधर्म), *Prakāra*, qualifying factors etc. by the grammarians and Naiyāyikas. Elsewhere Patañjali gives a more logical and exhaustive definition of guṇa. Quality, he holds,[4] inheres in substance, liable to change, found in different species, sometimes produced (as the particular form of a pot), not generated by action (as in the case of the permeation of the sky), and is not of the same nature as

1 Vol. II, p. 415. 2 Vol. II, p. 414.

3 Vol. I, p. 41—"भेदकत्वात् गुणस्य। एकोयमात्मोदकं नाम। तस्य गुणभेदादन्यत्वं भवति॥

4 Vol. II, p. 217—"सत्त्वे निविशतेऽपैति पृथग् जातिषु दृश्यते। आधेयश्चाक्रियाजश्च सोऽसत्त्वप्रकृति र्गुणः"॥

substance. Patañjali gives another definition to render the idea of *guṇa* more clear. Quality, he continues, inheres in something and also disappears from others, found in different things, is used in all genders (i.e. words that denote quality have no particular genders or numbers of their own, their gender and number being usually determined by those of their substratum—cf. गुणवचनानां शब्दानामाश्रयतो लिङ्गवचनानि भवन्ति[1]), and is veritably different from substance (Vol. II, p. 217). According to the grammarians, words like Śukla etc. are expressive of both quality and the substratum of qualities (गुणे गुणिनि च वर्तन्ते).

## *Eternal Entities*

Patañjali[2] has not only atributed eternality to the Vedas and Śabda (Sphoṭa) alone but has also included the sky, heaven, space and time in the same category. According to the Naiyāyikas, the earth, light, water and air are eternal in so far as their ultimate atoms are concerned, while the sky, time, mind, quarters and the soul are regarded to be permanent in their entirity. Under the rule 4. 2. 3. Patañjali has expressly stated that both time and stars are permanent (नित्ये कालनक्षत्रे—vol. II, p. 272). He arrives at the final stage of his arguments when he concludes that a thing where in the ultimate essence is not destroyed is also to be considered as permanent (तदपि नित्यं यस्मिंस्तत्त्वं न विहन्यते—vol. I, p. 7).

## *Time*

Time is said to be the ultimate substratum of the world (कालो हि जगदाधारः); it is indivisible, permanent, one and permeating the entire world. We can neither trace its origin nor divide it actually into parts. Things grow and perish in time. Patañjali defines time[3] as that whereby the growth and decay of material objects are perceived. The division of time into

1 Vol. II, p. 414. 2 Vol. III, p. 364—नित्यावौः, नित्या पृथिवी, नित्यमाकाशम्।

3 Vol. I, p. 409 येन मूर्तीनामुपचयाश्चापचयाश्च लक्ष्यन्ते तं कालमाहुः। तस्यैव कयाचित् क्रियया युक्तस्याहरिति भवति रात्रिरिति च॥

day and night (months, years, cycles, etc.) is only an artificial process of calculation; it is by virtue of its conjunction with some action as the movement of the Sun[1] that we characterise some fixed amount of time as day and night. Patañjali is scientifically accurate in his view that the movement of the Sun is the standard of our calculation with regard to the different divisions of time.

In grammar we hear of mainly threefold division of time, namely, present, past and future. Both Kātyāyana and Patañjali have dealt at length with the question of time, specially with reference to the so-called "present time" ( वर्तमानः कालः ). These discourses are perfectly philosophical and deserve to be followed carefully. Under the rule Pāṇ. 3. 2. 123, Kātyāyana has altogether five Vārttikas dealing with the question of the division of time. Regarding the use of present tense, Kātyāyana[2] states that *'bhavantī'* (which is supposed to have been the older designation of present tense with the ancient grammarians) or *Varttamāna* is used to indicate the continuity or non-accomplishment of action already begun ( प्रवृत्तस्याविरामः ). But it is not the case, as the author continues, for there is no such thing as "present time." Patañjali then gives the next Vārttika to show that it will not strengthen our position even if we restrict the use of *'bhavantī'* to those cases of permanent continuation of action as are denoted by such examples as "mountains exist", "rivers are flowing," etc., because time, to speak the truth, does not admit of any divisions. What is actually meant is this: We cannot cite the sentence "mountains do exist" as an example of present tense, inasmuch as the earth as well as the mountains are both supposed to be existing from eternity, and there is, moreover, no particular action whereby *Varttamāna* might be denoted. As to the indivisibility of

1 कया क्रियया ? आदित्यगत्या—vol. I, p. 409.
2 Vol. II, p. 123.

time ( कालविभागः ), we generally explain *Varttamāna*[1] as what is opposite to both past and future, but the divisions of time such as past and future do not really exist. The word *Varttamāna* is a relative term i.e. we explain *Varttamāna* with refernce to past and future ; and if there are no such divisions as past and future, the question of *Varttamāna* does not arise at all (cf. Nyāya-Sūtra[2], 2. 1. 39, 40). The answer is given by the following Vārttikas.[3] The instances ("we are reading," "the mountains do exist") are really indicative of *present time*, as they signify the beginning of action which is not completed. We are allowed to speak of *Varttamāna* when the action is just begun but not completed. Another question of importance is also raised here. An action, as Bhartṛhari[4] clearly points out, consists of many parts, or in other words, *kriyā*, according to the grammatical conception, is an aggregate of actions. Now, if this be so, we cannot define *Varttamāna* as denoting the continuity of action. Patañjali[5] thus observes that a man while eating is sometimes found to perform some other actions such as smiling, speaking and drinking, the continuity of the action (i. e. eating) being thus broken up by the intervention of other actions. The answer is not far to seek. Patañjali finally gives three examples ("mountains do exist," "mountains will exist, and "mountains did exist") to explain the so-called divisions of time into present, past and future. He has explained these cases by holding time to be the substratum of action.

In this connection Patañjali has quoted a number of verses either of his own creation or taken from some other treatises on philosophy. A rejoinder is here introduced : "There is no

1 भूतभविष्यत्प्रतिच्छन्नो वर्तमानः कालः, न चात्र भूतभविष्यन्तौ कालौ स्तः—vol. II, p. 123.
2 वर्त्तमानाभावः पततः पतितपतितव्यकालोपपत्तेः—तस्माद्वर्त्तमानः कालो न विद्यते इति भाष्यः ।
3 सन्ति च कालविभागाः—vol. II, p. 123.
4 युगपद्भूते रवयवैः समूहः क्रमजन्मनाम् ।
5 See vol. II, pp. 123, 124 : सोऽपि ह्यवश्यं भुञ्जानो हसति वा जल्पति वा पानीयं वा पिबति ।

such thing as "present time."[1] Because action that is finished is past and that not yet finished (or undertaken) is future, but we cannot conceive of anything that is neither finished nor unfinished (there being no intermediate stage). The śloka[2] quoted below means as follows :—"The wheel does not move, the arrow is not thrown, the rivers do not flow to the sea ; the whole world is motionless, and there is no active agent ; he who realises in this way is not really blind." Kaiyaṭa has explained this verse from the standpoint of *Yoga*. He is none but a *Yogin*, he holds, who can practically visualise a changeless phenomenon like this. A state of motionlessness of this description is perceptible only by the Yogins while they remain absorbed in self-realisation. The Yoga-Sūtra contains many such accounts as to how by *saṃyama* in the Sun[3] and other regions of the body one acquires various supernatural powers. Again, reference is made to the Yoga-Sūtra by the expression "अस्तीति तां वेदयन्ते विभावाः" which means that the Yogins are capable of having the knowledge of present, past and future (cf. Yoga-Sūtra, 3. 16—परिणामत्रयसंयमादतीतानागतज्ञानम्) by virtue of their meditation. Thus, Patañjali has more than once shown his acquaintance with the Yoga system of thought. The rest of the ślokas quoted by Patañjali bears close resemblance to the *Mādhyamika-Kārikās*[4] of Nāgārjuna which also purports to deny the existence of "present time." We have already referred to the fact that Patañjali seems to have been conversant with the tenets of the Buddhist philosophy current in his time. The early canonical texts of Pāli literature contain the germs of many a philosophical doctrine which had developed into different systems of thought in a later period.

1 नास्ति वर्त्तमानः काल इति।

2 न वर्त्तते चक्रमिषुर्न पात्यते न स्यन्दन्ते सरितः सागराय। कूटस्थोऽयं लोको न विचेष्टितास्ति यो ह्येवं पश्यति सोऽपनन्धः।

3 भुवनज्ञानं सूर्ये संयमात्—Yoga-Sūtra, 3. 26.

4 तस्माद्गतिश्च गन्ताच गन्तव्यं च न विद्यते—p. 31.

The Nyāya philosophy has also devoted some five Sūtras to the discussion of "present time." Gotama first introduces the arguments against the existence of *Varttamāna* and then finally gives his conclusion supporting it (see Nyāya-Sūtras, 2. 1. 39-43). It is to be noted that the Sūtras enunciated by Gotama to refute the existence of "present time" are almost the same as are pre-supposed by the discourses of Patañjali.

In connection with the problem of differentiating grammatical genders, Patañjali[1] has hinted at a point of philosophical interest, namely "nothing can remain (unchanged) in its own state for a moment." Everything is in a constant flux of change. A thing either undergoes development or proceeds to destruction, but never remains unmodified for any conceivable period of time.[2] This sounds exactly like the Buddhist *doctrine of momentariness* (क्षणभङ्गवाद).

Patañjali has also quoted the important tenet of Vārṣyāyaṇi according to which all material objects, as a rule, are bound to pass through six different stages of modifications, such as existence, growth, development, transformation, decay and destruction.

The Mahābhāṣya contains many other passages that might be examined and put forward to show the range of Patañjali's knowledge in the domain of philosophy. But it is not possible to deal with them adequately within the short compass of these pages.

Before concluding this chapter we have one word more to say. We have seen above how Patañjali has testified his thorough acquaintance with the old school of Nyāya philosophy (i.e. Gotama's Nyāya-Sūtra and other earlier works on the same branch). The new school of Nyāya, as founded by Gaṅgeśa, had not, however, come into existence at the time of Patañjali. But a minute study of the Mahābhāṣya

1 न ह्यौह कश्चित् खस्मिन्नात्मनि मुहूर्त्तमप्यवतिष्ठते—vol. II, p. 198.
2 वर्द्धते वा यावदनेन वर्द्धितव्यमपायेन वा युज्यते—vol. II, p. 198.

with particular reference to its style will make it sufficiently clear that the peculiar phraseology of the *Navya-Nyāya* made its first appearance in the Mahābhāṣya. The phraseology of the *Navya-Nyāya*, though apparently too technical and abstruse, has the valuable qualities of scientific precision and economisation with regard to the use of words. Patañjali found this style favourable for his philosophical discourses as the most scientific method of expression. The following phrases तादर्थ्यात्तच्छब्दाम, "अविशिष्टत्वात्," "आकृतिग्रहणादनन्यत्वं भवति," "यश्च भवता हेतुर्व्यपदिष्टोऽप्रतिपत्तिर्वोभयोस्तुल्यम्," "विकरणैर्व्यवहितत्वान्नियमो न प्राप्नोति," "साधनाभावादसत्यपि धात्वाधिकारे," "इह हि शब्दस्य स्वाभाविकी वानेकार्थता स्वाद्याचनिकी वा" "शब्दान्यत्वान्निङ्गान्यत्वंद्रक्ष्यते," are an indication how Patañjali has unconsciously made use of the peculiar style that was so much favoured by the Naiyāyikas like Raghunātha, Jagadīśa, Gadādhara and others. The Mahābhāṣya, so to speak, shows the style of the *Navya-Nyāya* in the making.

Patañjali has used some technical terms of the Nyāya philosophy, such as Anugama,[1] Sāmānādhikaraṇya,[2] Ananyatva,[3] Anaikātmya[4] and Viṣayatā,[5] etc. and has also referred to the "mutual non-existence" (अन्योन्याभाव) by the logical expression—यस्तु खलु गोश्चाश्वस्य च भेदः सोऽन्यत्वं करोति.[6] He has used the words *Jāti*, *Sāmānya* and *Ākṛti* as denoting the class, the last one being applicable to both the form as well as to what is suggested by such form. Quite in agreement with the Naiyāyikas he states that the genus or class[7] (जाति) is not at all affected by the difference of individuals, and that it exists permanently even when the individuals are all destroyed. As a matter of fact, the individuals, such as cows, for instance, differ from one another in complexion and other qualities and are liable to death, but the genus i. e. *'gotva'* is neither variable nor subject to destruction. The gram-

1 Vol. II, p. 355.
2 Vol. I, p. 254.
3 Vol. I, p. 179.
4 Vol. I, p. 247.
5 Vol. I, p. 290,
6 Vol. I, p. 179.
7 Vol. I, p. 1—तत्रिन्नं अभिन्नं च्छिन्नं अच्छिन्नं सामान्यभूतम्।

matical conception of *Jāti* is as follows: "Jāti or class is characterised by the form" i. e. by the particular arrangement of physical structure (आकृतियहणा जातिः).[1] Elsewhere Patañjali[2] holds that the destruction of individuals is not followed by that of the class. They are distinctly separate entities (अनेक आत्माकृतेर्द्रव्यस्य च); the class is one and eternal, while the individual are many and perishable. Qualities cannot exist apart from the substance which forms their substratum and are consequently liable to perish when their substratum is destroyed. But such is not the case with the class. Patañjali has made this point clear under the Vārttika अविनाशोऽनाश्रितत्वात् (vol. I, p. 247).

Patañjali has indirectly referred to the *Ārambha-vāda* and *Pariṇāma-vāda* in discussing the rules Pāṇ. 1. 4. 22-30. What he means to say is this:—In the expression—"Scorpions[3] grow from cowdung" we may take the scorpions either as modification (as *Pariṇāma* of the Sāṅkhyites) or as distinctly separate things from the cowdung (अन्यान्यान्याश्च प्रादुर्भवन्ति)।

(*To be continued*)

PRABHAT CHANDRA CHAKRAVARTI

1 Vol. II, p. 225.

2 द्रव्यविनाशे आकृतेरविनाशः—vol. I, p. 247.

3 Vol. I, p. 329.

# Buddhist Education in Pāli and Sanskrit Schools

The subject of Buddhist education is bound up with several still unsolved problems, but it is possible to limit the subject by marking off some of those questions on which scholars are still much divided. One of these problems is the question of the locality or localities where those schools arose that established different forms of the writings held to be the word of Buddha. The most accessible of the works of these schools are the Pāli Canon, and Sanskrit works which contain Mahāyāna works as well as works of Hīnayāna schools closely related to the Pāli tradition.

There is an article on Buddhist education in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, but for the earlier period it confines itself entirely to the reports of the Chinese pilgrims, that is to say, it is entirely silent about the thousand years after the death of Buddha, during which all the various forms of the Canon had become fixed, and when the education and instruction described by the Chinese pilgrims had been established for centuries. Yet there is considerable evidence both external and internal to show what the educational methods were.

We do not need to ask how much the earliest Buddhism borrowed from other schools. Windisch's article on Brahmin influence on Buddhism shows how little is really known about the actual movements in the earliest period.[1] Windisch points out that brahmins who entered the Order would bring their knowledge and literary practices with them. Our present question is what this knowledge and literary practice was after it had become assimilated and established in Buddhist institutions.

1 In *Aufsätze E. Kuhn gewidmet*, München, 1916.

Besides the Pāli Canon a considerable body of literature in Sanskrit of several schools is known. Most of it has been described in the catalogues of Rajendralal Mitra[1] and Bendall,[2] and the most important parts have been published. Works that survive only in Tibetan and Chinese are also now becoming more accessible. The earliest stage of literary activity may be called that of systematisation. It must be mentioned here, that current views as to its significance are too divergent to make it possible to say anything that may claim to be final.

There is a view still current in the West, which supposes that the orthodox Buddhist holds the Scriptures to exist now in the form in which they were uttered by Buddha, and as recited at the first Council. The Buddhist accounts of the Councils may not harmonise with the demands of modern historical criticism, but they contain nothing so unhistorical as that. Buddhaghosa knew as well as we do that the Canon contains much that is not the direct word of Buddha. He expressly refers to that which was recited and that which was not recited at the first Council.[3] Throughout the commentaries we find notes on passages that are said to have been added by one of the Councils. Not only have we Suttas that are said to have been given by disciples after the death of Buddha, but Buddhaghosa quotes a verse which says that out of 84,000 suttas 2,000 were uttered by bhikkhus.[4] The whole of the *Niddesa* is attributed by the commentator thereon to Sāriputta.[5]

On the other hand there has often been a less excusable

1 *Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, Calcutta, 1882.

2 *Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge.* Cambridge, 1883.

3 Vin. Com., i, 18.

4 Ib., i, 29.

5 The commentator on Th. I, 527 quotes Nd. I, 143 (Bhāgī vā Bhagavā) and attributes it to Sāriputta (Dhammasenāpati).

uncritical attitude among Western scholars, against which Mrs. Rhys Davids has recently made a vigorous protest.

"When believers in the East and historians in the West will come up out of the traditional attitude, when we shall not hear church-editing called Buddhavacanaṃ *and thought of as Gotama-vacanaṃ*—when we shall no more read: 'The Buddha laid down this and denied that,' but 'the Buddhist church did so'—then we shall at last be fit to try to pull down super-structure and seek for the man."[1] The fact of this editing, which is recognised both by Buddhist commentators and modern critics, implies a stage of literary activity, of which we know nothing as to actual details. Not only are there the variously classified compilations of the *Aṅguttara* and *Saṃyutta*, but the *Dīgha* and *Majjhima* show much elaboration also. The former is in three vaggas, and the first vagga, although it deals with such various subjects as the sixty-two heresies, caste, sacrifice, brahmin ritual, and miraculous powers, has been given an appearance of uniformity by the insertion in each sutta of the document known as the sīlas. The *Majjhima* is classified in much more detail and with more reference to the subject-matter in fifteen vaggas. The whole of the Pāli Canon in fact shows evidence of the same careful classification.

What this stage of Buddhist study really implied cannot be properly answered until we know more about the corresponding arrangements of those forms of the Canon belonging to contemporary schools that are extant in the Chinese. Very divergent views are at present held, as by Prof. Keith and Prof. R. O. Franke.[2] There can be little doubt that the system of arrangement is earlier than the recording of the Canon in writing, and that the chief motive was to serve as a help to the memory. We find examples of

1 Majjhima Index, p. vi.

2 Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy*; Franke, *Introd.* to his translation of the *Dīgha*.

commentary already incorporated in the suttas, but the first distinct evidence of material intended for definite instruction is found in the *Niddesa*. Much of the matter of this work is also found in Abhidharma works and in the verbal commentary of the Vinaya, and it will be convenient to take the *Niddesa* first.

As is well known this work is a commentary on the fourth and fifth sections of the *Sutta-nipāta*, together with a commentary of the same nature on the *Khaggavisāṇa-sutta*, which is found in the first section. The matter of which it consists can be divided into three types :

(1) Portions of doctrinal commentary on important words in a style similar to the portions of commentary occasionally found in the suttas. The matter and often the language is drawn from the suttas, and in addition illustrative passages from the suttas are frequently quoted direct, and in the case of prose quotations regularly introduced by the words, *vuttaṃ pi h'etaṃ Bhagavatā*. Verse quotations, which sometimes appear to be non-canonical, are more frequently adduced without any mention of the source. In the case of verse 844, the *Niddesa* simply adopts as its commentary a whole sutta from S. iii, 9, which consists of a commentary on that verse.

(2) Concise definitions of individual words, such as, *sappo vuccati ahi*, *āsanaṃ vuccati yattha nisīdanti*. The matter of this portion sometimes corresponds with such definitions in the verbal commentary of the Vinaya.

(3) It is in the third type that the most characteristic feature of the *Niddesa* is seen. This consists of lists of synonyms of the word commented on. Such lists are not used to explain the meaning of a word in a particular context. They are repeated in the same form wherever the word occurs, and were evidently intended to be learnt in the same way as the more modern kośa. In the case of the verbs the synonyms often consist of all the possible compounds of the same verb, *yutto*, *payutto*, *āyutto*, *samāyutto*, *sampayutto* ; *vedhati*, *pavedhati*, *sampavedhati*. In the case of important

words all the various synonyms, evidently drawn from the scriptures, are given in long lists. The result is that some of the synonyms are often unintelligible apart from the context in the sutta from which they are taken. In a long list of synonyms of *taṇhā* (Nd. I, 8) *sibbinī* 'sewer' occurs, and the reason for this is seen from A. iii, 399 ; Sn. 1040, where it is an epithet of *taṇhā*, and from where it has no doubt been taken. Among the synonyms of *sadā* (Nd. I, 18) occurs *avīci*. This is evidently due to analysing it as *a-vīci* 'without a wave', and hence 'continuous.' *Vammīko* as one of the synonyms of *kāya* comes from the parable of the ant-hill in M. i, 142.

Much of this is also found in the Abhidhamma books, but in the *Niddesa* it is used as general matter applied to passages for which it was not immediately intended. Some of the correspondences are as follows : *chando* Nd. I. 2 = Dhs. 1097, Vbh. 374 ; *tassa* Nd. I. 2 = Vbh. 393 ; *mano, pīti,* Nd. I, 3 = Dhs. 6, 9; *taṇhā* Nd. I, 8 = Dhs. 1059 ; *sati* Nd. I, 10 = Pug. 25 ; *macchariya* Nd. I, 37 = Dhs. 1122, Pug. 19 ; *paññā* Nd. I, 44, 77 = Pug. 25, Dhs. 16 ; *māyā* Nd. I, 79 = Pug. 19 ; *gantha* Nd. I, 98 = Dhs. 1135 ; *kodha* Nd. I, 215 = *āghāta* Dhs. 1154, cf. Pug. 18 ; *sāṭheyya* Nd. I, 395 = Pug. 19 ; *ṭhiti* Nd. I, 501 = Dhs. 10.

Minor differences occur, and in some cases quite different treatment, cf. *puthujjana* Nd. I, 146 and Pug. 12. There is a triple division of *pucchā* Nd. 339 with no reference to the fourfold division of D. iii, 229, Dhs. Mahāvyut. 85.

The verbal commentary on the Vinaya is less developed than either the Niddesa or the Abhidhamma works. It is occupied with explaining words concisely, in a given context without lists of synonyms.

This shows a system for learning the vocabulary of the Canon, and for explaining archaic forms, but no further grammatical teaching occurs apart from the description of certain terms as particles. *Addhā ti ekaṃsavacanaṃ* (with seven other synonms for *ekaṃsavacanam*) ; *nā ti paṭikkhepo.* Even

such a sandhi as *iccāyasmā* is not resolved into *iti*, but *iccā* is separated and explained like all such particles as *padasandhi, padasaṃsaggo, padapāripūrī, akkharasamavāyo, vyañjanasiliṭṭhatā.*

In the *Niddesa* we thus have direct evidence of a general system of instruction applied to a definite work, consisting of interpretation, doctrinal teaching and in the verbal expositions the beginnings of grammar. The Abhidhamma books and related works like the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* give other traces of its existence. It appears to be this system which is expressly referred to in the *Niddesa* (I, 234) and other places as the four kinds of analysis (*paṭisambhidā*): the analysis of meanings (*attha*), of conditions (*dhamma*), of grammatical analysis (*nirutti*), and clearness of insight (*paṭibhāna*).[1]

The *Nirutti* of the *Niddesa* is of the kind that we should expect to exist when Pāli was a living language. All the grammatical analysis that was required was a knowledge of those words in the Scriptures that had become obsolete, and the explanation of unusual grammatical forms by means of the current expression. The method was not confined to the Pāli tradition, as we find the same four divisions called *pratisaṃvida* in the *Mahāvastu* (iii. 321) and *pratisaṃvit* in the *Mahāvyutpatti* (13), and this *nirutti* method has reacted on the style of the later sūtras.

The practice of learning off strings of synonyms might be expected to influence the style of those who passed through such a course of instruction. We appear to find an instance of it when Buddhaghosa[2] thus describes an earthquake: *ayaṃ mahāpaṭhavī... kampi saṃkampi sampakampi sampavedhi.*

1 They are also found in a sutta (A. ii, 160) which is attributed like the *Niddesa* itself to Sāriputta. It probably belongs to the same stratum of scholarship. The Abhidhamma statement of *paṭisambhidā* in Vbh. ch. xi is discussed by Mrs. Rhys Davids in the *Points of Controversy*, pp. 377 ff.; cf. Ps. i, 88.

2 Vin. com. I, 30.

Here we have the same series of compounds as we find repeatedly in the *Niddesa*, and Buddhaghosa is only using an earlier phraseology. It appears not only in the later commentators but also in Sanskrit and especially Mahāyāna works. In several of these a standing description of an earthquake occurs. The synonymous verbs *kamp- vidh- cal- kṣubh-* are given, followed by *raṇ* and *garj* and each is expanded into compounds with *pra* and *sampra.*[1] If this stood alone, it might be taken merely as the verbosity of a particular author, but there are other instances, and they often correspond with series of synonyms in the *Niddesa*. The *Niddesa* has *sakkaroti garukaroti māneti pūjeti.* The *Avadāna-śataka* p. 8 exactly corresponding has *satkṛto gurukṛto mānitaḥ pūjitaḥ.* The *Mahāvastu* has the same adding *arcitaḥ.* In Mahāyāna works this is expanded, being preceded by *puraskṛtaḥ* and followed by *arcitaḥ* and *apacayitaḥ* (Saddh-puṇḍ. 5 ; Karuṇāpuṇḍ. 2). Similarly the latter sūtra has the series *harṣaṇīya toṣaṇīya prasādanīya avalokanīya prahlādanīya manojña.* All the synonyms that we find need not have arisen from the method that we find in the *Niddesa.* Some of them were doubtless incorporated from old texts, but the practice of compiling such lists is certain from what we find in the *Niddesa*, and the correspondences in the lists makes it probable that there was intercourse between different schools and common methods of teaching.[2]

Among Mahāyāna works there are two compendiums which have some relation to the *Niddesa.* The *Dharmasaṃgraha* is a compilation of terms, but it is mainly doctrinal. The *Mahāvyutpatti* was evidently intended for grammatical instruction as well. It gives the complete declension of *vṛkṣa* (210), epithets of Buddha and Bodhisattvas and their qualities, synonyms of the teaching and names of sections (66), epithets

1 Lal. v, 449 ; Karuṇāpuṇḍ. 3 ; Mahāvyut. 151.

2 It may be noticed that the term *nirdeśa* is frequent in Mahāyāna sūtras.

of Nirvāṇa (95), terms of salutation (97), synonyms of *tuṣṭa* and *raudra* (145-6), synonyms of *sattva* (207) almost corresponding with Nd. I, 12, miscellaneous adjectives (223), a long list of all the stock words and phrases that occur in a sūtra (244), and a list of diseases (284), which only partially corresponds with that in Nd. I, 17. Much of this is *nirukti* in the sense of the Pāli *nirutti*.

At present there is no general agreement as to where the Pāli language as we know it developed. It is usually agreed that the oldest works in verse show traces of having been composed in a different dialect. The natural conclusion is that the canonical works were preserved in a monastery or closely related group of monasteries, where a different dialect was spoken, and where the original dialect of the texts was entirely effaced, except so far as metrical facts compelled the preservation of special forms. Doubtless this Pāli language that we know was at first a living and spoken language, but in the course of centuries, say from the time of Aśoka to the end of the second century A. D,, it would come to be as much a learned language as Sanskrit. The fact of the Niddesa itself seems to show that this Pāli was then a current language, but that *nirutti*, grammatical analysis, was becoming necessary for the interpretation of the texts. Nothing profitable can be said about the earliest date at which the Niddesa may be put. Any such theory would only tell us that a work of that name existed, but the occurrence of a geographical term in any particular passage would only allow us to infer the date of that passage. We can see from its different forms and readings that it underwent changes and received additions, and in the case of a work used continuously for instruction this would be inevitable. Its application of Abhidhamma material for a general purpose seems to show that it is later than the Abhidhamma books, and its reference to one of the Alexandrias (Allasanda) founded after the Greek invasion, to Bengal, Burma, and Java, would suggest that it became established and was used as a text-

book during the first two centuries B. C. It has no reference to tha pāramitā, and although it gives the 37 constituents of enlightenment, it does not use the term *bodhipakkhika-dhammā.*

In the case of the literature of the Sanskrit schools we can draw further information concerning the materials and methods of education. The works are much later than the *Niddesa.* They refer frequently to writing, and the mention in the *Mahāvyutpatti* of Kaniṣka and Aśvaghoṣa puts this work later than the first century A. D., but it is probably two or three centuries later than this, as it contains evidence of contact with Greek astrology. The dates usually assigned to the chief texts range from the second to the seventh century. The four methods of analysis with *nirukti* are preserved, but we may infer from the fact that the language was Sanskrit and from the production of a kāvya like the *Buddhacarita* in the first century A. D. that grammar was a fully developed study.

Wherever the texts of this literature originated, we can at least assume from the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims that down to the seventh century Magadha was the chief district of their study.[1] Mr. J. N. Samaddar in his interesting account of the monasteries of Nālandā, Vikramaśīla (east of Bhagalpur) and Odandapura (Bihar) calls them universities, and draws several remarkable parallels with these modern institutions. The proposing of hard questions by the keeper of the gate at Nālandā becomes matriculation. The teaching is said to have been both tutorial and professorial. The Master of the Law is taken to be the Vice-Chancellor, and the writing up of the names of famous scholars over the gates is compared to the granting of diplomas.

This is what is inferred from Hiuen Tsiang, but it is

1 The vihāra of Vikramaśīla is mentioned in the colophon of one Ms. (Mitra, p. 229), and according to Mr. Samaddar Nālandā occurs (*Glories of Magadha*, p. 104 ff.).

I-tsing who describes the actual studies.[1] From Prof. Takakusu's account it appears that grammar was based entirely on works of brahminical schools, the Sūtras of Pāṇini, the Kāśikā of Jayāditya, the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali, and three works by Bhartṛhari. It is not clear from this whether the Sūtras were those of Pāṇini in their original form, but Pāṇini was certainly known to the Buddhists.[2] He is mentioned in the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra, and Tārānātha in his history tells a wonderful story of his acquirement of grammatical science. The chief form however in which the Pāṇinean grammar was studied by these schools appears to have been Candragomin's *Cāndravyākaraṇa*, which is put at the beginning of the seventh century. This is the only grammar which is mentioned in Bendall's list along with commentaries on it, chiefly that of Ānandadatta, and in the Tanjur the grammatical works as given by Csoma are either Candragomin's work or others still later.

The *Niddesa* also shows the beginnings of lexicography, and its continuation appears in the *Dharmasaṃgraha* and *Mahāvyutpatti*. Its full development is seen in the *Amarakośa* of Amarasiṃha, who was a Buddhist himself. It is not mentioned by I-tsing, and Winternitz puts it between the sixth and eight centuries. There are several copies of it in Bendall's list, and it is also in the Tanjur.

Apart from philosophy, which formed part of the doctrinal

1 Ch. 34. ed. Takakusu.

2 Dr. B. C. Law has pointed out in Buddhaghoṣa a passage reminscent of Pāṇini, V. 2, 93. It may be asked whether this comes directly from Pāṇini or from some adaptation, but it certainly corresponds much more closely with Pāṇini than with the corresponding sūtra and vṛtti of Candragomin, IV. 2, 97. The Pāli grammar of Kaccāyana is later than Buddhaghoṣa and belongs to the literature of Ceylon. Later works, says Geiger, follow the models of Sanskrit grammar and lexicography slavishly, and apply their system mechanically to Pāli. Geiger, *Pāli Lit. und Sprache*; Franke, *Gesch. und. Krit. der einheim. Pāli-grammatik.*

teaching, two important secular subjects are medicine and astronomy. That medicine must have been studied early we know from the Vinaya, as the sixth chapter of the Mahāvagga is devoted to medicines and surgery. I-tsing mentions cikitsā-vidyā, but there is nothing in the surviving literature to indicate that it ever became an independent study. He does not mention jyotiṣa among the vidyās, and it is clear that as astrology was an integral part of astronomy and the chief motive of its study, the latter science could not be expected to flourish so long as Buddhism forbade interpretation of the stars (e. g. Sn. 927 and Nd. I, 381).[1] It came in when the practice of astrology revived. The only astronomical work mentioned in Mitra's list is a ṭīkā on the Jain work *Sūryaprajñapti*. Among the Buddhist fragments from Central Asia edited by Hoernle is an astrological work which shows that it is based on Greek astrology, and that Buddhism had come to adopt astrological practices. There is also evidence of Greek influence in the list of the nine planets in *Mahāvyut.* 164. The first seven of them beginning with Āditya are in the order of the days of the week, and this order, which depends on an elaborate assignment of a planet to each of the 24 hours of the day, came from Greece.[2]

It is certain that the monasteries of Magadha were the chief places where this Sanskrit literature was studied, and probably also the region of its origin. It represents the product of several schools and shows certain relations with Pāli works. But the views of scholars concerning the district where Pāli, as we know it, originated are so divergent that

1 The knowledge of astronomy among the Buddhists has been treated in the writer's article *Sun, Moon, and Stars (Buddhist)* in Hastings' *Ency. of Rel. and Ethics.*

2 The Ptolemaic order of the planets is Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sun, Venus, Mercury, Moon. The lord of the first hour of Sunday is the Sun, of the second hour Venus, and so on. This makes the Moon the lord of the first hour of Monday, and so on throughout the week.

it is impossible to do more than draw attention to a problem still in need of solution. It is the question not of the original language of Buddha and his first disciples, but of the Pāli of Ceylon. The Pāli of the time of Buddhaghosa was no living language, except in so far as it may have been learnt and used within each monastery. The commentaries of that time were translations and adaptations in Pāli of those already existing in Singhalese. The traces of an earlier dialect surviving in the Canon may be survivals of the dialect in which it existed when it was taken to Ceylon. But it is the Pāli as used by Buddhaghosa which the Singhalese tradition calls Māgadhī.[1] The view that Pāli really was the language of Magadha is generally rejected, and various attempts to fix the district in India where Pāli developed have been made on the assumption that it must have been somewhere else than Magadha.

Oldenberg sought it in South India, probably in the kingdoms of the Andhras or Kaliṅgas.[2] According to Prof. R. O. Franke its original home was in a district somewhere in the middle to the west of the Vindhya mountains. "Accordingly it is not impossible, though naturally a pure supposition, that the city of Ujjen, which evidently had become a centre of culture comparatively early, also formed the centre of the dialect-area of literary Pāli."[3] This was also the view of Westergaard and E. Kuhn, which Oldenberg expressly rejected. Sir George Grierson holds that "we have a strong reason

1 Buddhaghosa was told to go and translate the Aṭṭhakathā into *Magadhānaṃ nirutti*, Mhvs. p. 251 (Turnour), quoted by Dr. B. C. Law, *The life and work of Buddhaghoṣa*, p. 75.

2 Vinaya, Introd., p. I.

3 Pāli und Sanskrit, p. 138. By literary Pāli Dr. Franke merely means the Pāli as generally understood. The reason is that he uses the general term Pāli to include the spoken Aryan languages of the whole of sub-Himalayan India and Ceylon ; ib. p. vi. There is nothing to be said against the terminology except that it has not won general acceptance, and that scholars still call these languages Prakrit.

for concluding that literary Pāli is the literary form of the Māgadhī language, the then *koine* of India, as it was spoken and as it was used as a medium of literary instruction in the Takṣaśilā University.[1] The conclusion of Rhys Davids was that "Buddhism born in Nepal, received the garb in which we now know it in Avanti, in the far West of India," and he held that this was nearer to the other view "so often put forward as convenient that Buddhism arose in Magadha and that its original tongue was Māgadhī."[2] These are the results of thirty years of research.

Geiger has taken the unpopular course of holding that the tradition of the Chronicles and commentaries is the true one, and that what they call Māgadhī is Māgadhī.[3] Oldenberg's statement that "it is certain that the Pāli language is not the Māgadhī language", merely means that it is not the language of the Asokan inscriptions. There is not slightest reason why the texts of the Canon should have been adapted to the spoken language of the time of Aśoka. It is far more likely that the dialect of the texts had already begun to form a sacred language , and we know that there was a rule in the Vinaya saying that the monks were to learn the word of Buddha in its own grammar or dialect, *anujānāmi bhikkhave sakāya niruttiyā buddhavacanaṃ pariyāpuṇituṃ*, and Buddhaghosa understands this as meaning in the Māgadhī language. It is true that this sentence has been understood against both grammar and tradition in a quite opposite sense, but this does not now need discussion.

The latest attempt to solve the question has been made by Dr. M. Walleser,[4] who also decides for Magadha, but it cannot be said that within the space of twenty-four pages he

1 Commemorative Essays presented to Sir. R. G. Bhandarkar, p. 123.

2 Cambridge History of India, I. 187.

3 Pali Litteratur und Sprache, p. 3.

4 *Sprache und Heimat des Pāli-Kanons.* Heidelberg, 1924.

has done justice to the arguments of his predecessors. He further prejudices his own case by asserting that Pāli means not the body of sacred texts but the language in which they were composed. However, his evidence for the phrase *pāli-bhāṣā* rests merely on Childers, and ignores such decisive passages as that of the *Mahāvaṃsa* referred to above, and thus translated by Dr. B. C. Law: "The Pāli (text of the Tripiṭaka) only (*pālimattaṃ*) has been brought over here. The Ceylon commentary is current among the people of Ceylon. Please go there and study it, and then translate it into Māgadhī (*māgadhānaṃ niruttiyā parivattehi*)."[1] But Dr. Walleser has certainly made the claims of Magadha more probable, and it may be hoped that deeper investigation of the geographical question will lead to the establishing of further links in the history of Buddhist scholarship.

E. J. THOMAS

1 *Life and Work of Buddhaghoṣa*. p. 74.

# Mahābhārata Philosophy—Mokṣadharma

This paper is confined to a study of the Mokṣadharma section of the 12th book of the Mahābhārata as it contains discussions which throw much light on the nature of philosophic speculation in the Epic. The very setting of the book has a philosophic bearing. Yudhiṣṭhira has lost many of his kinsmen in the Great War and has accordingly become dejected. He asks Bhīṣma, who is now sleeping on a bed of arrows (*śara-talpa*) to explain to him the highest ideal of life[1] higher than either of the two, Rāja-dharma and Āpad-dharma, which he has already described to him.

The Mokṣadharma is not however the only philosophic section in the Epic. The Sanatsujātīya of the fifth book (chapters 40-45), the Bhagavad-gītā of the sixth (chapters 25-42), and the Anugītā of the fourteenth (chs. 16-51) are other important philosophical sections. Barring the Gītā, the Mokṣadharma is the most important of them. It presents the characteristic variety of philosophical views of the age.

The philosophic importance of this section is also admitted by all scholars[2] and attested by the fact that Śaṅkara, who quotes[3] only sparingly from what falls outside the Vedic literature, has several quotations from it, for instance, in his commentary on the Bhagavad-gītā.

1 Mbh., XII, 174. 1.

2 Keith and Hopkins draw their conclusions on the "Epic Philosophy" from the materials of this section. Cf. Hopkins, The Great Epic, pp. 85-190; Keith, The Sāṅkhya System, pp. 29-53. Deussen also attempted to investigate epic philosophy first by collecting together and translating this section along with the others. Vijñānabhikṣu quotes profusely from this section in his commentaries on the Sāṅkhya Sūtras and the Yoga Sūtras.

3 XII, 175 (38), 177 (25), 201 (17), 241 (7), 245 (12).

The process by which the Bhārata underwent transformation and grew into its present size through additions and alterations indicates the general nature of its philosophy. A book, a national Epic, that fell into the hands of poets and scholars that lived between 500 B. C. and 200 A. D. cannot claim to possess a single system of philosophy. If it were the work of a single author or at least of a single school and remained unaltered by later poets, we could have expected such a thing in the epic. For a system means a consistent whole. It is "an association of thoughts which collectively belong to and are dependent on a single centre. A system has therefore an individual author, whether he has himself originated the thoughts brought together in the system, or has only adjusted to one another and welded into a consistent whole imperfect thoughts derived from without." The Epic that has absorbed into it the thoughts of many centuries cannot claim to contain a system. Not only words and phrases, but whole lines and the ideas of different systems have been interpolated into it.

All scholars, who have attempted to define the nature of the philosophy of the Epic, have admitted it to contain an eclectic teaching. Garbe believes it to be an amalgamation of the Vedantism of the Upaniṣads and the Bhāgavata religion with an independently developed Sāṅkhya. Keith defines it to be a confused mass of ideas representing various schools of thought. It is a world of chaos out of which it is impossible to deduce a system. It is a conglomeration of different systems and the only peculiarity is its theistic tinge. Deussen attempted to define the Epic philosophy in his 'Four philosophical texts of the Bhārata,' as representing the transitional stage of thought, the philosophy of the Epic age, midway between the Vedic and the Classical epochs, during which period there took place a transition from the Idealism of the Upaniṣads to the Realism of the classical Sāṅkhya. Historically speaking the Epic must represent a transitional stage of thought. But that does not preclude us from defining its

philosophy as eclectic, especially as it has received so many additions in the course of ages.

Besides the Idealism of the Upaniṣads, there existed the schools of Cārvāka. The Upaniṣads themselves, either singly or as a whole, did not present single system of thought. During the long period of transition from the early Upaniṣads to the Mahābhārata, Indian thought was in a state of turmoil. There were many currents and cross currents running against one another. It has been said that free speculations in the east of the Midland were mostly atheistic and later on culminated in such systems as Buddhism and Jainism, in the West there developed a theistic system with a personal God, and in the Midland, throve the doctrine of the Upaniṣads. And nearly all these types of thought are found in the Epic making its teaching miscellaneous in character. The authors of the work, whoever they might be, have not attempted a deliberate selection of the philosophic material with a definite system in view. They have collected together those half-philosophic and half-narrative 'Itihāsa-saṃvādas' which were current at the time among the people and which had a bearing on the 'Mokṣa-dharma'. The first point to be noted therefore is that the Mokṣadarma does not contain any single doctrine either fully systematised or in the process of systematisation. It is to be taken as a more or less heterogeneous collection of many doctrines known at the time, even after making sufficient allowance for interpolations that certainly have crept into the work during the long period of its growth.

Under the circumstances, the only thing we can do is to analyse the teaching as it is found into its various elements. While the whole teaching can be characterised in no definite way either as Vedānta or Sāṅkhya, or something like it, the elements of it generally fall, as will be seen, under one or other of the commonly known varieties of Indian thought. This 'non-descript' character, however, applies only to the metaphysical side of the teaching. There is another side, viz.,

the practical, which readily admits of being definitely described. From this side we may say that there is even a certain measure of consistency in the teaching of the section. This consistent teaching is asceticism "a fact which greatly influenced and gave a particular shape to Indian religion". The asceticism that is taught is, no doubt, not precisely the same everywhere. There are differences of greater or less importance in details. But yet as asceticism, it is one. The Mokṣa-dharma indeed begins with the exposition of the ascetic theory of life in answer to the question of the dejected Yudhiṣṭhira.

But there is also a comparatively minor current of thought, viz., theism. It is prominent only in the dialogue between Mṛtyu and Prajāpati and in the Nārāyaṇīya section of the book and there it becomes more conspicuous than asceticism itself. In the Nārāyaṇīya teaching especially, asceticism is absorbed into the theistic teaching and appears in some form as one of its elements. Elsewhere, however, theism emerges to the surface only occasionally and asceticism is the regular teaching.

Asceticism on the one hand and theism on the other are both in harmony with the popular character of the Epic. On *apriori* grounds we can easily see why these two as theories appeal to the common people. But this is not all. There is also historical evidence for concluding that they did so appeal to the people about the time when the Bhārata was composed. Asceticism began as a reaction against the ritualism already found in the late Mantras and underwent further elaboration in the Brāhmaṇa period. The Brāhmaṇas were entirely concerned with the sacrifice. The religion they promulgated was the religion of the 'priests' and not of the common people. This religion of the sacrifice became developed to such an extent that sacrifice by itself was regarded as possessing some mystical potency. The ideas of sacrifice in the abstract which appears in some of the Brāhmaṇas pushed the ceremonial gods themselves into obscurity and even the materials

used in the sacrifice became objects of adoration. There was nothing, neither idea nor action, which had not some connection with sacrifice. In fact sacrifice was considered the essence of the whole world. This religion had no intimate connection with the life of the common people. The conservative spirit of the priestly class and the caste duties made it impossible for the non-priestly class to perform any sacrifice without the assistance of a priest. Accordingly in sacrifice, hired priests played an active part, while the sacrificer only a passive one. This meant that the ordinary man had no way to exert himself in religious affairs, and feel and live the ideal life. But 'a religious man will always desire to exert himself for the attainment of perfection according to the light that is given to him.' Asceticism came as a boon to the common people. It appears to have first originated among the liberal section of the Brāhmaṇas and adopted wholesale in later times by the common people. The liberal Brāhmaṇa thought that by ascetic practices he could attain ends desirable for himself as the priest would get by sacrifice. Accordingly a clear distinction was made between the two methods, and asceticism in some form or other stood in opposition to the hieratic religion. In this connection, it is pertinent to quote what Dr. Winternitz says about the existence in Indian literature of the two opposing elements of thought : "Now, I believe, that this Parivrājaka or Śramaṇa or Ascetic literature has been preserved to us to a much greater extent than Leumann thought. It is to be chiefly found in the didactic parts of the Mahābhārata and occasionally also in the Purāṇas. This Ascetic literature is partly pre-Buddhistic and traces of it are already found in the Upaniṣads, partly contemporaneous with Buddhist and Jaina literature. If there had not been two different representatives of intellectual and spiritual life in India, how could we explain the constant occurrence of the phrase, Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas in the Buddhist sacred texts, of Samana-baṃbhana in Asoka's inscriptions, and the distinctions, Megasthenes

makes between Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas (Brahmanai and Sarmanai)."

The theism of the Nārāyaṇīya, again, is eventually to be traced to a reaction against the speculative absolutism of the Upaniṣads. Epic theism partly goes back to the monotheism of the late mantras and so far it is a natural development of the old belief. For, at the close of the Brāhmaṇa period, Prajāpati became the highest and the only God, and on the rise of new Vedic gods like Viṣṇu, Rudra, and Nārāyaṇa high in the esteem, he gradually lost his position. Viṣṇu and later, Nārāyaṇa, became the supreme god-head of this Vedic monotheism. Epic theism reflects both the positions of Prajāpati. In the Mṛtyu-Prajāpati dialogue, for instance, Prajāpati is the highest god. He has been there described as the 'Lord of the Universe' and as the 'God of gods,' bestowing boons upon a minor god, Sthānu, and deputing the goddess Mṛtyu (Death) to carry on his own work of destruction on earth (256, 20-21 ; 257, 17-20).

But in the Nārāyaṇīya it is Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu (for both have already been identified) is the supreme god ; and Prajāpati who is no other than Brahman is a 'Creature' of Nārāyaṇa. This theism of the Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa cult was amalgamated with the well-developed theism of the Vāsudeva cult and the result is the theism of the Nārāyaṇīya. This theism, may be represented as a reaction against ritualism, for, it stands opposed to the religion of the sacrifice, which made sacrifice more important than the God or gods to whom it was offered. But in the main it is the result of a reaction against the abstract teaching of the earlier Upaniṣads.

An examination of the material that has been worked up into the Mokṣadharma shows that the Epic was mainly intended to appeal to the common people. The larger part of it is in the nature of legends and stories probably current for a long time among the common people. The stories, which are in the form of dialogues, saṃvādas, are almost

always described as 'Ithihāsas' implying thereby their antiquity (cf. Ithihāsaṃ purātanaṃ,) and suggesting that currency among the people was the only guarantee for their genuineness. Sometimes they are described as Gītā or 'Song,' (cf. Maṅki Gītā, Piṅgala Gītā, Bodhya Gītā), which points to the fact that there were metrical statements or songs which enshrined a religious or philosophic doctrine suggested by deep experience in life. Such half-narrative and half-philosophic dialogues are also found in the Upaniṣads and the Tripiṭaka. These two elements, forming the chief stuff of the Epic, suggest its popular origin in the ballads which were recited by the common people at the religious or secular festival. It also implies a contrast with the scriptural teaching which had a different source. While the latter quotes scripture for its authority, the former, an old Gītā or Itihāsa for its support.

R. R. IYENGAR

## Rasātala or the Under-World

V

The Rakṣas or Rākṣasas and the Yakṣas are said to be the descendants of Kaśyapa by his wife Khasā.[1] Rāvaṇa, in his expedition to Rasātala, killed Vidyujjihva, the husband of his sister Sūrpaṇakhā, who is mentioned as a Rākṣasī.[2] The Rākṣasas evidently derived their name from the river Araxes, on the banks of which they originally lived. Most probably their original name was Arakṣa, but like the Amardi who were called

Rākṣasas and Yakṣas.

1 *Padma P.*, Sṛṣṭi kh. 7: *Khasā tu yakṣarakṣāṃsi janayāmāsa koṭiśa.*

2 *Rāmāyaṇa*, Uttara, ch. 23.

Mardi, a tribe which lived on the shore of the Caspian Sea, and like the Armenians who were called Rāmanīyakas, they were called Rakṣa instead of Arakṣa, by the elision of the initial *a*. They were very likely the tribe called Arachoti which lived close to the Massagetæ and the Bactrians, mentioned by Strabo.[1] Arachoti is evidently composed of *Araka* which is a corruption of Araxes and *ti* which is a contraction of *te-le* or *tie-le* meaning the Huns. There can be no doubt that the Araxes is the Jaxartes, as it flowed through the country of the Massagetæ who from all accounts lived on the banks of the Jaxartes.[2] Like the Massagetæ and other Scythic tribes the Rakṣas were cannibals.[3] The Rākṣasas are mentioned in the Avesta, where it is said: "Away, do I abjure the iniquitous of every kind who act as Rakṣas act."[4] The Rakṣas therefore were a Hunnic tribe, and were Turanians and not the aborigines of India as have been supposed by some writers. The Yakṣas were a tribe of Rakṣas. Rāvaṇa, the king of the Rakṣas, was a step-brother of Kuvera, the king of the Yakṣas.[5] The Yakṣas apparently derived their name from the Yaxartes (Jaxartes), on the banks of which they lived with the Rakṣas. The Buddhist stories of Hārita-yakṣinī, who devoured the children of Rājagṛha, and of Vakula-yakṣa show that the Yakṣas were also cannibals.[6] They were proverbially black, which indicates that they were the "black or sun-burnt Huns of the north."[7] In the Indian folk-lore the Yakṣas are represented as the

1 *Strabo*, bk. xi, ch. viii, 8 (vol. ii, p. 248).

2 *Ibid.*, bk. xi, ch. viii, 6 (vol. ii, p. 247); *Herodotus*, bk. I, ch. 201; see also *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. iv, p. 3; Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. I, ch. vi.

3 Hamilton and Falconer's *Strabo*, vol. I, pp. 299, 464.

4 *Yasna* xii in *S.B.E.*, vol. xxxi, p. 249.

5 *Rāmāyaṇa*, Uttara, ch. 13.

6 See *I-tsing*, bk. i, 9; Beal's *Records of Eastern Countries*, vol. I, p. 110 note; vol. ii, p. 191.

7 See *JBBRAS.*, vol. xxiv, p. 565.

guardians of buried treasures like the 'Leprechauns" with their pot of gold in the fairy tales of Europe.

Siddhas.

The Siddhas, who appear according to the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa[1] to have lived on the north of the Niṣāda or the Hindukush mountain, were undoubtedly the Sydracæ or Oxydracæ mentioned by Megasthenes and other writers,[2] who lived close to Mount Nysa, and are said to have been the followers of Bacchus who has been identified with Śiva.[3] They lived most probably near the source of the Oxus. Perhaps a colony of this tribe dwelt in the Punjab near Multan at the time of Alexander's invasion and were known as Sudrakas ; they were the ally of the Mālavas or Malloi of the Greeks.

Gandharvas.

The Gandharvas were not also the aborigines of India. They represent the Gandarians mentioned by Herodotus[4] and perhaps Gadha of the Avesta,[5] and Gadha is synonymons with Śaka or Scythian, and Śaka is a synonym for "a thief who carries off cattle." It is remarkable that in the Behistun inscription (516 B.C.), in the fifth year of the reign of Darius, Gadara is mentioned among his conquered countries. Gadara has been considered to be the same as Gandhāra or Gandharva-deśa.[6] It should be stated here that the Gandarians and the Dadicæ fought under one commander Artyphius, and not with the Indians under Pharnazathres, in the army of Xerxes.[7] Hence it is very probable that the Gandharvas were the Gandarian tribe of Scythians. According to Rawlinson, the Gandarians held

1 *Brahmānda P.*, ch. 44.

2 *Strabo*, bk. xv, 1, 8 (vol. iii, p. 76).

3 McCrindle's *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 111 note.

4 Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, bk. vii, ch. 66 (vol. ii, p. 147).

5 *S.B.E.*, vol. xxiii, p. 161.

6 See my *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India* s. v. *Gandhāra*.

7 *Herodotus*, bk. vii, chs. 65, 66 (vol. ii, pp. 145, 147).

Kabul and the mountain tract on both sides of the Kabul river as far as the upper course of the Indus.[1]

Kinnaras.

The Kinnaras appear to be the Kimmerii of Strabo. With regard to this tribe Herodotus says: "The wandering Scythians once dwelt in Asia, and there warred with the Massagetæ, but with little success; they therefore quitted their homes, crossed the Araxes, and entered the land Cimmeria. For the land which is now inhabited by the Scyths was formerly the country of the Cimmerians."[2] They must have therefore lived on the northern side of the Jaxartes. The sculptural representation of a kinnara is the figure of a bird with the face of a human being, though it is often described as having the shape of a man with the face of a horse, perhaps in conformity with the idea conveyed by the term 'kin nara,' the literal meaning of which is "Is this a man?" As the kinnaras were heavenly musicians, the figure of the bird perhaps represents their proficiency in singing, and the face of the horse, which represents a long face, indicates their Turkish origin. The Kimmerii originally lived on the Caucasus and they were considered to be an almost mythical race.[3] They evidently afterwards lived at the Ust Urt plateau in Kharizm, and "the inhabitants of Kharizm formerly had the fame of being proficients in the art of music."[4]

Bhogavatī.

The names of towns, rivers, etc., mentioned in the Purāṇas confirm that Rasātala was Śākadvīpa or Scythia. In the Rāmāyaṇa[5] we find the names of the following towns and places: Bhogavatī, Aśma, Manimayi, Varuṇa-pura, Bali-ālaya and Kṣīrada-sāgara. The town of Bhogavatī was guarded by Vāsukī. The word *Bhogavatī* is

1 Rawlinson's *Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World*, vol. iv, p. 20.

2 Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, bk. iv, ch. xi, 33 (vol. I, p. 291).

3 Maspero's *Passing of the Empires*, p. 342.

4 Conolly's *Journey to the North of India*, vol. I, p. 179.

5 *Rāmāyaṇa*, Uttara, ch. 23.

is the Sankritised form of *Bākhdhī* mentioned in the Avesta[1] which was the ancient name of Balkh,—the Bactria of the Greeks. It was the capital of Bactriana, which was subverted by the Scythians in 135 B.C.,[2] and it was called Um-ul-Bilad, "the mother of cities." It contained formerly many fine palaces and buildings of marble, the ruins of which existed at the time of Marco Polo in the 14th century A.D.[3] It is said to have been the ornament of all Ariana.[4] The opulence, prosperity and fame of Bhogavatī (Balkh) or Bactria was due to the fact it was the emporium of Asiatic commerce.[5] Bactria, according to Strabo, was also called Zariaspa, and it stood upon a river of the same name which emptied itself into the river Oxus,[6] and the river was evidently called Bhogavatī, the river Bactrus of Curtius, from the famous town situated upon it.[7] Burnes thinks that Zariaspa is a corruption Shahr-i-Sabz (Kesh) in the kingdom of Bokhara, the birth-place of Nadir Shah.[8] Bhogavatī is also called Pātālapura,[9] as it was the capital of the province of Pātāla. It is stated in the Mahābhārata[10] that Śeṣa Nāga, who represents "Sse" of Sogdiana, resided at this place. Pātāla, therefore, as a province, comprised both Bactriana and Sogdiana, the river Oxus flowing between them. Strabo also says that the Sacæ occupied Bactriana and Sogdiana,[11] as stated before. Burnes says, "Balkh boasts an antiquity beyond

1 *Vendidad*, ch. 1 (*S. B. E.*, vol. I, p. 2).
2 Professor E. J. Rapson's *Ancient India*, p. 118.
3 Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. I, p. 151.
4 *Strabo*, bk. xi, ch. xi.
5 Hamilton and Falconer's *Strabo*, vol. I, p. 23, note 2.
6 *Strabo*, bk. xi, ch. xi, 8.
7 Burnes' *Travels into Bokhara*, vol. ii, p. 211.
8 *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 6.
9 *Mbh.*, Udyoga, ch. 98.
10 *Ibid.*, ch. 102.
11 *Strabo*, bk. xi, ch. viii, 4; Hamilton and Falconer's *Strabo*, vol. ii, pp. 246, 240 note.

most other cities in the globe" and that its ruins extend over a circuit of about twenty miles.[1]

Aśma.

The town of Aśma is the same as Aksu, the Oxiana of the Greeks. It was the head-quarters of the province of Vaksh or Aksu, situated between the river Oxus and its tributary called Vaksh or Aksu, the Ochus of Strabo, in the country of Sogdiana.[2] The river Oxus, which is the Okos of the Greeks, formed the boundary between Bactriana and Sogdiana. It derived its name from its tributary, the Vaksh or Aksu,[3] evidently called Aśma by the Aryans, and therefore in the Ṛg Veda[4] the Oxus is called Aśmanvatī from its tributary, just as it is called Bhogavatī Gaṅgā in the Purāṇas,[5] from its tributary called Bhogavatī or Bākhdhī river, the Bactrus of Quintus Curtius,[6] on which Bākhdhī or Balkh is situated. The river Aksu (Vaksh) is the Vakṣu of the Matsya Purāṇa,[7] Vaṃkṣu of the Bhāgavata,[8] Cakṣu of the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa,[9] Ikṣu of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa,[10] all these names being some forms or variants of Aksu. Aśma was the capital of Sogdiana, which was Rasātala proper, being situated in the basin between the Jaxartes (the Rasā of the Ṛg-Veda) and the Oxus, and Rasātala is the same as Pātāla. The name of Pātālapura was originally applied to Aśma, as it is said in the Vāmana Purāṇa[11] that "Aśmaka is the foremost city of Pātāla," and

1 Burnes' *Travels into Bokhara*, vol. ii, p. 204.

2 Vambery's *History of Bokhara*, Intro., p. xxii, note 1.

3 *Ibid.*, Intro., p. xxii, note 1; Dr. Modi's *Ancient Pāṭaliputra* in *JBBRAS.*, vol. xxiv, p. 520.

4 *Ṛg-Veda*, x, 53-8.

5 *Bṛhad-dharma P.*, Madhya, ch. 22, v. 50.

6 Burnes' *Travels into Bokhara*, vol. ii, p. 211.

7 *Matsya P.*, ch. 101, quoted in the *Śabdakalpadruma*, s. v. *nadī*.

8 *Bhāgavata*, v, ch. 17. 9 *Brahmāṇḍa P.*, ch. 51.

10 *Viṣṇu P.*, ii, ch. iv.

11 *Vāmana P.*, ch. 10, v. 56.

there cannot be the slightest doubt that the seat of government was afterwards removed to Bhogavatī (Bākhdhī) or Balkh which has since been called Pātālapura, for we do not hear of the name of Markanda or modern Samarkand, which was destroyed by Alexander the Great in the 4th century B. C.[1] in any of the ancient works of the Hindus. Aśma evidently existed before Markanda became the capital of Sogdiana. Though the Mahābhārata[2] does not mention the name of Aśma, yet it appears from a chapter of the Udyoga Parva that it refers to it by the name of Pātālapura, which does not evidently mean Bhogavatī, as the latter is mentioned elsewhere as a town different from Pātālapura.[3] It says that all the Brahmins of Pātāla were devoted to the performance of *Go-vrata* or the rites relating to *Go* or cow. It should be stated that the ancient names of Sogdiana appear to have been "Gau" and "Sughda", and it was the second of the sixteen localities created by Ahura Mazda.[4] The words "Sughda," "Sogd" and "Sogdiana were perhaps considered to have been the growth upon the word *Gau* or perhaps variants of the word *sughur* which in Turkish means *cow.*[5] It is also related in the Vendidad[6] that Angra Mainyu, the evil spirit, thereupon counter-created the fly called 'Skaitya' which brings death to ox and cattle. Hence it will be remarked that *Go-vrata* is mentioned in connection with Pātāla in conformity only with its name of *Gau* which means a cow. It is also mentioned that near Pātālapura, fire is continually burning.[7] This, of course, refers to the spring of oil which according to Strabo[8] existed near the river Ochus which is identical with the river Vakhsh, or Aksu and it appears also

1 *Strabo*, bk. xi, ch. xi, 4. 2 *Mbh.*, Udyoga, ch. 98.
3 *Ibid.*, Udyoga, chs. 98, 102.
4 Vambery's *History of Bokhara*, p. 5.
5 Burnes' *Travels into Bokhara*, vol. iii, p. 216.
7 *Vendidad*, ch. 1 in *S.B.E*, vol. iv, pp. 5, 6.
8 *Mbh.*, Udyoga, ch. 98. 9 *Strabo*, bk. xi, ch. xi, 5.

that there are still petroleum wells in the country around Samarkand and Ferghana, the capital of which is Khokand.[1] All these circumstances show that Pātālapura of the Mahābhārata was Aśma, the capital of Sogdiana. Aśma was inhabited by the daityas called Kālakeyas. The Kālakeyas were the Kara-Asavana of the Avesta mentioned with the "Turanian Danus" (Dānavas) and "the most mighty Duraekatea" (Daitya) who were the enemies of the Aryans. The word Aśma means a *stone* and the word *Asabana* means 'one who kills with a stone' (Asan-ban), the sling being, as it seems, the favourite weapon of the Danus (Yast, xiii, 38)[2]." Hence Asabana was a descriptive epithet of *Kara*, the Sanskritised form of which is *Kāla*, both the words meaning black, and there can be no doubt that from Asavana the name of the town Aśma was derived. The word *Kālakeya* is a pleonastic and derivative form of *Kāla* or *Kara*. These Kara-Asavanas or Kālakeyas were evidently Kara-niru which is another name for the Hiung-nu or Huns.[3] It is curious that in the ancient map of Sogdiana there is a town by the name of Petra Sogdiana which means the same thing as Aśma, the word *Petra* meaning *stone* ; it was situated on the north of Oxiana. It should also be remarked that the Mahābhārata[4] in connection with another tribe of Huns named Nivāta-Kavaca relates that they were quite adepts in 'raining down stones unseen upon their enemies.' This evidently means that the Daityas or the Huns, as a class, were expert sling throwers. The Bhāgavata[4] distinctly says that the Nivāta-Kavachas and other Kālakeyas lived in the sphere called Rasātala. The derivation of the word *Pātāla* as given in the Mahābhārata[6] seems to be based on this idea. It says that *Pāta* means *fall* and *Akam* means

1 *Contemporary Review*, October, 1921, p. 504.
2 *Ābān Yast* (v) 73, (*S.B.E.*, vol. xxiii, p. 71).
3 Beal's *Records of the Western Countries*, vol. I, p. 20 n; 37n.
4 *Mbh.* Vana, chs. 170, 171.
5 *Bhāgavata*, v, ch. 24. 6 *Mbh.*, Udyoga, ch. 98.

*great*; therefore the word *Pātāla* means a "great fall," and the Mahābhārata interprets this as the melting of the Moon and other aqueous bodies in the shape of rain by the sound produced by Vedic students when chanting the Vedic hymns. This is of course the esoteric meaning of the word *Pātāla*. But it seems that the "Great fall" or "Pātāla" meant great fall of stones like pattering rains showered upon the enemies by the inhabitants of Pātāla, that is, the Epthalites or Nephthalities, a powerful tribe of the Huns, who lived on or about the banks of the Jaxartes and who like other Hunnic tribes were proficient in hurling stones with their slings. Śāka-dvīpa is evidently the Sanskritised form of Sog-dia or Sog-dia-na, as Śālmala-dvīpa is of Chal-dia, though the term Śākadvīpa was applied to the whole region known by the name of Scy-thia.

Maṇimayī of Rāmāyaṇa is the modern Maymene. It is situated to the south-west of Balkh and to the south-east of Marv or Meru of the Hindus and Meru or Maru of the Turks,[1] the capital of Margiana,—the Mṛga of the Purāṇas, and about half-way between Balkh and the river Murghab. It is twenty-two miles from Andkhuy. The ancient town of Nisaya or Nisa, one of the sixteen localities created by Ahura Mazda, was situated near Maymene.[2] The city of Maymene stands in the midst of hills and was a place of renowned strength.[3] From strategical point of view it must have been a great and natural stronghold of the Huns in olden times before the modern ordnance was invented, and it was renowned for the bravery of its defenders. According to the Rāmāyaṇa, it was inhabited by the Daityas called Nivāta-Kavaca. *Nivāta* is a corruption

Maṇimayī.

1 *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, ch. 16, V. 38; Burnes' *Travels into Bokhara*, vol. iii. p. 20 31.

2 Vambery's *History of Bokhara*, p. 5 note.

3 Vambery's *Travels in Central Asia*, p. 240.

of Nèph-tele, or the Nephthalites, which is one of the general names for the Huns, and *Kavaca* is a corruption of Kaptchak of Deguignes, Kiptchak of Vambery, or Kipechak of Burnes. They were a wild and warlike nomadic tribe who had no home before the time of Jenghis Khan.[1] The word *Nivāta-Kavaca* therefore means the Kapchak Huns. Their original abode appears to have been Desht-i-Kipchak, or the "Steppes" or "Plain" of Kipchak, by which is meant that portion of the Turanian highlands which is immediately to the east of the Caspian Sea, and it appears that there is still a country by the name of Kipchak which appertains to the kingdom of Khiva.[2] The Mahābhārata also says that Arjuna conquered the Nivāta-Kavacas of Dānavapura situated on the shore of *Mahāsāgara* or the Great Sea, by which is evidently meant the Caspian Sea.[3] Vambery says, "The Kiptchaks are, in my opinion, the primitive original Turkish race," and their discendants claim that "Desht-i-Kiptchak as Turkestan is named in the documents of oriental history was conquered and peopled by their ancestors."[4] Maymene is still inhabited by the Uzbegs[5] who are mentioned to have their original home in Desht-i-Kiptchak[6]; at least they claim their connection with the Kiptchaks.[7] The Uzbegs are now in possession of Transoxiana, that is the tract between the Oxus and the Jaxartes.[8]

1 Vambery's *Travels in Central Asia*, p. 397.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 342; Vambery's *History of Bokhara*, note 2; Deguignes' *Histoire des Huns*, vol. ii, p. lxix; Burnes' *Travels into Bokhara*, vol. iii, p. 341.

3 *Mbh.*, Vana, ch. 166.

4 Vambery's *Travels in Central Asia*, pp. 382, 383.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 249.

6 Vambery's *History of Bokhara*. 244, note 2.

7 *Travels in Central Asia*, p. 345, note.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 367; Elphinstone's *History of India*, pp. 264, 266.

Varuṇapura. Varuṇapura was evidently Aornos, one of the two principal cities of Bactriana at the time of Alexander's invasion, the other city being Bactria or Balkh.[1] But it appears that at the time of the Rāmāyaṇa Varuṇapura was under the dominion of the Surabhis or Khorasmii.[2]

Bali-ālaya. Bali-ālaya or the house of king Bali was evidently Balkh, the ancient names of which were Bactria and Bākhdhī, the Bhogavatī of the Purāṇas. It is stated that the Turks about the second century B. C. subverted the Greek kingdom of Bactria, and erected an empire which lasted till the middle of the sixth century of the Christian era. The name of the capital was changed from Bactria into Balkh. The word *Balkh* is nothing but the old Turkish word *Balikh* which, according to the Turks, meant 'the residence of the sovereign, that is the capital.[3]. *Bali-ālaya* has not only been evolved out of the word *Balikh*, that is from "the residence of a king" into "the residence of king Bali," but the further development of the story of Bali and Vāmana, which was extant during the Vedic period, appears to have been based upon this word at a subsequent period. That Bali-ālaya is the same as Bhogavatī appears to be confirmed by the Rāmāyaṇa. It is related that Rāvaṇa entered Rasātala or Pātāla through a hole, and the first city he entered was Bhogavatī, and after conquering Varuṇapura, he entered Bali-ālaya or "Bali's residence", and came out of Rasātala without going anywhere else through the same hole, through which he had entered it.[4] Bālhīka of the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa[5] and of the Bṛhat-saṃhitā[6] is the same as

1 McCrindle's *Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 39.
2 *Rāmāyaṇa*, Uttara, ch. 23 ; *Raghuvaṃśa*, 1, *v.* 80.
3 Vambery's *History of Bokhara*, p. 11.
4 *Rāmāyaṇa*, Uttara, ch. 24.
5 *Bhaviṣya P.*, Pratisarga, pt. iii, ch. 2.
6 *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, ch. 18 ; *JSAB.*, 1838, p. 630.

Balikh or Balkh. Bālhīka has been abbreviated into Bāhīka in the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa.[1] Bali-ālaya or Bali-sadma is synonymous with Pātālapura ; it became the capital of Pātāla after the seat of government was removed from Aśma or Akṣu. Balkh formerly covered a distance of five leagues ; at present only a few heaps of earth mark the site of ancient Bactria.[2] Bactria or Balkh, that is, Bhogavatī or Bali-ālaya, is situated in the country called Tu-ho-lo by Hiuen Tsang ; it is Tukhāra or Tuṣāra of the Purāṇas[3] and Tokaristan of the Arab geographers.[4] Tokaristan or Turkestan therefore was the Sutala sphere of the Purāṇas, where king Bali is said to have been kept confined. According to tradition Zoroaster was slain at Balkh in the holy war between Iran and Turan[5] It was one of the Haitalite centres.[6] In the middle ages Balkh became the capital of Islamic civilisation and was designated Kubbet-ul-Islam (the home of Islam) and Omm-el-Bul-dan (the mother of cities).[7]

Besides Bhogavatī, the Mahābhārata mentions two other cities called Pātālapura and Hiraṇyapura and a lake called Vāruṇa-hrada in Rasātala. Pātālapura, as already stated, was originally the name of Aśma and afterwards of Balkh, which were the capitals of Pātāla. Patanti-nagara of Pātāla, mentioned in the Devī Purāṇa,[8] is evidently the same as Aśma ; it was conquered by Asura Ghora, king of Kuśa-dvīpa.

Pātālapura.

We have already shown that Rāmaniyaka was Armenia. Romaka of the Bṛhat-saṃhitā is a corruption of Rāmaniyaka

1 *Bhaviṣya P.*, Pratisarga, pt. iii, ch. 3.
2 Vambery's *Travels in Central Asia*, p. 233.
3 *Mbh.*, Sabhā, ch. 31 ; *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, ch. 16.
4 Beal's *Records of the Western Countries*, vol. I, p. 37 note.
5 *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. I, p. 858.
6 *JBBRAS.*, vol. xxiv, p. 567.
7 Vambery's *Travels in Central Asia*, p. 233.
8 *Devī-purāṇa*, ch. 3.

and the word still exists in Erzeroum (Arabic *Arzen-el-Roum*). The province of Van, which now appertains to it, formed in ancient time an independent kingdom and was known by the name of Biainas,[1] the Vanāyu of the Purāṇas. The Rohita Parvata of Śālmala-dvīpa appears to be Mount Ararat.

Rāmaniyaka.

Hiraṇyapura is mentioned as the capital of the Dānavas called Nivāta-Kavaca and the Daityas.[2] It is, as we have already shown identical with Hyrcania, an old town near Astrabad on the south-eastern side of the Caspian Sea, in Mazenderan, the scene of Rustom's adventures against the "white Devas" or demons. The name of its king Hiraṇya-kaśipu represents the Kaspii who lived on the shore of the Hiraṇya or the Hyrcanian Sea.

Hiraṇyapura.

The name of Bokhara has not been mentioned in any of the Purāṇas, as it did not become the capital of Tartary, that is the region between the Oxus and the Jaxartes, "the vale, called by the Romans, Transoxiana or Transoxania till the time of the Samanidus, when Emir Ismail removed the seat of his government from Marakanda, the modern Samarkand, the capital of Sogdia or Sogdiana, to this place which is 120 miles from Samarkand.[3] The ancient Iranian name was Jemu-ket or Jem-kot, which was changed into the Turanian name of Bokhara when the Turks invaded Transoxania, the first invasion having taken place, according to Sir Henry Rawlinson, in the year 700 B. C.[4] Elphinstone also thinks that the Turks had settled in Transoxiana long before the Christian era.[5] According to Dr. Spiegel *Bukhar* "is even now the Mongolian word for a Bud-

Bhuṣkara or Puṣkara.

1 Maspero's *Passing of the Empires*, p. 55.
2 *Mbh.*, Udyoga, ch. 97 ; *Śiva P.*, IV, ch. 4 ; *Padma P.*, I, ch. 6.
3 Vambery's *History of Bokhara*, Intro., p. xxvii, p. 66.
4 *Quarterly Review*, 1863. p. 491.
5 Elphinstone's *History of India*, p. 266.

dhist temple or a monastery."[1] *Bhuṣkara* is the Sanskritised form of *Bukhar*; it is mentioned in the Rājataraṅgiṇī; it was conquered by Lalitāditya, king of Kashmir, in the 8th century A. D. Puṣkara of the Matsya Purāṇa[2] is a corruption or variant of Bhuṣkara. Puṣkara is mentioned in the Harivaṃśa as the place where Viṣṇu killed the Daitya named Madhu.[3] Perhaps Bokhara is referred to in the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa by the name of Taittiri-nagara or the city of Tartary.[4] But the ancient Iranian name of Jem-ket or Jem-kot (Jamakot) which, according to Abulfeda, "was considered as the eastern end of the habitable world" has been preserved by the Hindus and absorbed in their astronomical terminology as *Yamakoṭi*, signifying now the most eastern point of the world on the equator from the meridian of Laṅkā.[5] The ruins of Bykund (Baikuṇṭha?), one of the most ancient cities in Turkestan, lie about twenty miles to the south of Bokhara which did not then exist.

Bibhāvarī of the Bhāgavata[6] was *puri* or town of Varuṇa in Pātāla where Hiraṇyākṣa was killed. It appears to be a corruption of Bāveru of the Bāveru Jātaka,[7] Bamri of the Ṛgveda[8] and Bawri of the Avesta. Bāveru is the Sanskritised form of Babiru or Bapilu, the ancient name of Babylon as it appears from the Behistun inscription,[9] mentioned as Pripru in the Ṛg-veda.[10] From the inscription of Boghaz-Keui it appears that the

Bibhāvarī.

1 Vambery's *History of Bokhara*, p. 14.

2 *Matsya P.*, ch. 120, p. 44.

3 *Harivaṃśa*, ch. 202; *Bhaviṣya P.* chs. 24, 25 (M. N. Dutt's trans., pp. 881, 884).

4 *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*, Pratisarga Parva, pt. iii.

5 Vambery's *History of Bokhara*, p. 2, note 2.

6 *Bhāgavata*, iii, ch. 17.

7 *Jātaka* (Camb. ed.), vol. vi, p. 83.

8 *JASB.*, 1909, p. 407; *Ṛg Veda*, iv, 19, 9; *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, xiv, 1, 1, 8, 14.

9 *JRAS.*, vol. xv, pp. 9, 1692. 10 *Ṛg Veda*, I, 51; 1, 4.

Mittanians of Northern Mesopotamia (which included Babylon) worshipped Mitra and Varuṇa, who were also the gods of the Iranians and Indo-Aryans when they lived together in Ariana. Varuṇa was the prototype of Ahura Mazda as supposed by Professor Meyer.[1] *"Ilani Uru-w-na"* of the inscription, in the Babylonian language, means god Varuṇa. As Babylon contained the temple or "Citadel" and the tomb of Bel or Belus, the Bala Asura of the Bhāgavata,[2] it was situated in the sphere called *Atala*. Belus was king of Babylon; it was he who first introduced the celebrated Chaldian astronomy into that city. There was trade connection between India and Babylon, and the trade routes have been described by Layard and Isidora of Charax.[3] Babylon is situated on the Euphrates, the Vivṛti of the Garuḍa Purāṇa, and Nivṛti of the other Purāṇas, which rises from the mountain called Nephates in which it has got its source. The Rohita mountain of Śālmala-dvīpa is perhaps the Sanskritised form of mount Ararat.

The rivers of Rasātala are the Oxus, the Jaxartes and the Zarafshan.

The Oxus.

The Oxus, which is also called Amudaria (*Amu* being a variant of *Aśma*), is the Aśmanvatī of the Ṛg-veda.[6] As a river of Śākadvīpa it is called Cakṣu, Vakṣu, Vaṃkṣu, Ikṣu and Sucakṣu in the Purāṇas,[5] all these names being variations of Akṣu, a great branch of the Oxus, from which the name of

1 *JASB.*, 1909, pp. 723, 724; *Contemporary Review*, 1921, Dec., p. 767; *Strabo*, bk. xi, ch. xii, 3.

2 *Bhāgavata*, V, ch. 24.

3 Layard's *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. II, pp. 413, 414; *Parthian Stations* by Isidora of Charax, translated by Mr. Wilfred Schoff.

4 *Ṛg-veda*, X, 53, 8.

5 Their names are mentioned in *Brahmāṇḍa P.*, ch. 51; *Matsya P.*, ch. 101; *Bhāgavata*, V, ch. 17; *Viṣṇu P.*, pt. II, ch. 4; *Kūrma P.*, ch. 46.

Oxus is derived.[1] The Oxus is called the Bhogavatī-gaṅgā and the Pātāla-gaṅgā of Rasātala, the former name it has received from a branch of the river called Bactrus on which Bākhdhī or Bhogavatī, the Bactria of the Greeks is situated[2] and it is called Pātāla-gaṅgā as it flows through the "sphere" or province of Pātāla, that is, between Bactriana and Sogdiana. The river was held in respect by the Hindus as it formed the principal trade-route for conveying large quantities of Indian merchandise to the Hyrcanian or Caspian Sea, whence through the Cyrus they were transported to the Euxine and the Mediterranian;[3] hence it was called "Gaṇgā" by the Hindus. The Oxus issues from the Sarik-kul lake in the Great Pamir, which by some authority is identified with the Anavatapta lake of the Buddhists, and there can be no doubt that a branch of the river formerly flowed into the Caspian Sea through an ancient course which still exists, though it now falls into Lake Aral.[4]

The Jaxartes, which is also called Jaj (Djadj)[5] and Syr-daria, is the Rasā of the Ṛg-veda, the Raṅghā of the Avestā[6] the Araxes of Scythia, the Śīlā of the Mahābhārata,[7] perhaps the Gabhastī of the Purāṇa[8] and Sila of Megasthenes. Strabo mentions three rivers by the name of Araxes; the Araxes of Armenia,[9] the modern Aras on the northern boundary of Media, the

The Jaxartes.

1 Dr. Modi's *Ancient Pāṭaliputra* in *JBBRAS.*, xxiv, p. 520.

2 *Bṛhad-dharma P.*, Madhya, ch. 22, v. 50; Burnes' *Travels into Bokhara*, vol. ii, p. 211.

3 *Geography of Strabo*, (by Hamilton and Falconer), vol. I, p. 113; vol. II, p. 243; Robertson's *America*, bk. I.

4 Beal's *Records of the Western Countries*, vol. I, p. 12 note.

5 Vambery's *History of Bokhara*, p. 8.

6 Drs. Keith and Macdonell's *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, vol. II, p. 209; *JBBRAS.*, vol. xxiv, p. 532.

7 *Mbh.* Bhīṣma, ch. 11.

8 *Viṣṇu P.*, ii, ch. 4.

9 *Geography of Strabo*, vol. ii, p. 217.

Araxes of Persia,[1] the modern Bend-Amir, and the Araxes of Scythia.[2] The word *Jaxartes* appears to be a combination of the words *Jaj* and *Araxes* (of Scythia) in order to distinguish the latter from the Araxes of Armenia and the Araxes of Persia. From Syr-daria the Jaxartes is called Śīlā and Sītā, the word *Syr* being a corruption of *Su-Rasa*[3] (*i. e.* Su-Rasā), a local name of the Jaxartes. It should be stated that Gabhasti may more properly be identified with the Murgab or "the river of Mṛga" or Margiana in Śākadvīpa. Araxes and Rasā are different forms of the same word. The Jaxartes rises in the same mountains as the Oxus, and falls into the sea of Aral.

The river Zarafshan, the ancient names of which are Sogd and Kohik, rises in the mountain called Fan-tau, perhaps the Phena-giri of the Bṛhat-saṃhitā[4] and flowing a little to the north of Samarkand and Bokhara, falls into the lake called Kara-kul also called "Dengiz" or sea by the Uzbeks. It is called the "blessed" river, and Zarafshan means "scatterer" or "distributor of gold."[5] It is the Hāṭaki-nadī of the Bhāgavata,[6] Hiraṇvatī-nadī of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa,[7] and Hiraṇyavatī-nadī of the Mahābhārata mentioned by Fausböll.[8] Hāṭakī, Hiraṇvatī and Hiraṇyavatī-nadī all mean the "golden river." Hāṭakī appears to be a corruption of Kohik. The Hāṭakī-nadī is situated in the Bi-tala "sphere" of Rasātala.[9] The Kohik is the Polymetus of the Greeks, "a name imposed by

The Zarafshan.

1 *Strabo*, vol. iii, p. 132.

2 *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 247 ; Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. i, p. 302.

3 *JASB.*, 1911, p. 747. 4 Ch. xv, v. 20.

5 Vambery's *History of Bokhara*, Introduction, pp. xxxii, xxxiii ; *Travels in Central Asia*, p. 183 ; Burnes' *Travels into Bokhara*, vol. ii, p. 285.

6 *Bhāgavata*, v, ch. 24. 7 *Mārkaṇḍeya P.*, ch. 60.

8 *Mbh.* VI, 210 : see Fausböll's *Indian Mythology*, s. v. *Garuḍa* but in *Mbh.* Bhīṣma P. ch. 8, the river Hairaṇvatī is mentioned.

9 *Bhāgavata*, v, ch. 24.

the Macedonians, as they imposed many others, some of which were altogether new; others were deflections from the native appellations.[1] The river is called the golden river as it brings fertility to the soil over which it flows and helps in the luxurious growth of its crops. Samarkand, which became the capital of the great empire founded by Timur, was called the paradise of the world on account of its great beauty and fertility brought about by this river. Elphinstone also speaking of Transoxiana in which Sogdiana is situated says, "while it was in the hands of the Arabs, it seems not to have been surpassed in prosperity by the richest portions of the globe."[2] According to the Purāṇas,[3] Śiva was worshipped on the Hāṭakī-nadī or Zarafsan by the name of Hāṭakeśvara Mahādeva evidently by the Nāgas or Huns.

The mountain which is situated just on the outskirt of Rasātala is called Meru in the Rāmāyaṇa[5]; and Meru, according to the Mahābhārata,[4] is also the name of a mountain of Śākadvīpa or Scythia, the Mount Meros of Arrian and Megasthenes,[5] close to Mount Nysa or Niṣādha Parvata of the Purāṇas, that is, the Paropanisos mountain of Ptolemy, which is evidently a corruption of *Parvata Niṣādha*. It is therefore the Hindukush range.

Meru Parvata.

The Śyāma-giri is also mentioned as a mountain of Śākadvīpa. It is evidently mount Śyāmaka of the Avesta.[6] Both Śyāma-giri and Śyāmaka mean the "Black Mountain" and the mountain therefore is the Mustagh mountain, which means the Black Mountain.

Śyāma-giri.

1 *Strabo*, bk. xi, ch. xi, 5.

2 Elphinstone's *History of India*, 4th ed., p. 264.

3 *Devī Bhāgavata*, pt. 8, ch. 19; *Devī*, chs. 82, 83.

4 *Rāmāyaṇa*, Uttara, ch. 25. 6 *Mbh.* Bhīṣma, ch. ii.

5 McCrindle's *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes* and *Arrian*, p. 152, 180.

6 *Zamyād Yast* (XIX) in *S. B. E.*, vol. xxiii, p. 288, note 2 and 7; *Vendidad*, ch. I in *S. B. E.*, vol. iv, p. 7, note 8.

Durga-śaila[1] of Śāka-dvīpa, which means the "fort mountain," is evidently the same as the El-Burz which means "the Bastion mountain," and is situated on the southern side of the Caspian Sea; it is the Trikūṭa mountain of the Bhāgavata.[2] It was Mount Kaspios of the Greeks named after the Kaspii, an extinct tribe, the Kacchapa of the Gaja-kacchapa story of the Mahābhārata. Both Śyāma-giri and Durga-śaila are part of Meru Parvata.

Durga-śaila or Trikūṭa mountain.

The Kusesaya is the Caucasus mountain, which is a corruption of Koh Kosh (Kus) or the mountain Kus of Kuśa-dvīpa.[3]

Kusesaya

Varuṇa Hrada (lake) has been correctly identified with the Caspian Sea.[4] It is mentioned both in the Rāmāyaṇa[5] and the Mahābhārata[6] as being situated in Rasātala. The Caspian Sea is the Hyrcanian Sea of Strabo,[7] but the Avestic name of Hyrcania is Vehrkāna. There can be no doubt that "Vāruṇa" of the Vāruṇa-Hrada is a corruption of "Vehrkāna or "Vār kāna,"[8] in other words, Vāruṇa Hrada is the Hyrcanian Sea; hence Vāruṇa Hrada could not have been derived from the name of the god Varuṇa. Though the legend makes it so, forgetting its true significance, the Caspian Sea is also called Mare Seruanicum or the Sea of Shirwan;[9] Seruanicum or Shirwan is evidently a corruption of Hyrcania, though Shirwan has been identified with Albania.[10] Shirwan has been further corrupted into Sarain,

Vāruṇa Hrada.

1 *Mbh.*, Bhīṣma, ch. ii.

2 *Bhāgavata*, viii, ch. 2.

3 *Varāha P.* ch. 87; Thornton's *Gazetteer of countries adjacent to India*, s. v. *Hindoo Koosh*.

4 Mr. Shib Chandra Seal's *Āryajātir Ādinivāsa*, p. 7.

5 *Rāmāyaṇa*, Uttara, ch. 23.

6 *Mbh.*, Udyoga, ch. 97.

7 *Strabo*, bk. ii, ch. i, 15.

8 *Vendidad*, ch. I, 12 (41) in *S. B. E.*, vol. iv, p. 7, note 8.

9 Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. I, p. 59 note.

10 *Geography of Strabo*, vol. ii, p. 217 note.

and the Caspian Sea is called the Sea of Sarain.[1] Kṣīra-sāgara is the Sanskritised form of the sea of Shirwan; it is the sea of milk caused by the milk of the Surabhi cows (or Khorasmii), whose country Kharism (Khiva) is situated on the north-eastern side of the Caspian Sea. Surā-sāgara is the Sanskritised form of the Sea of Sarain. The Caspian Sea is also called Mahāsāgara in the Purāṇas. *Badku* generally called Baku on the west coast of the Caspian Sea is perhaps the *Baḍavā* of the Purāṇas, as it is famous for its naphtha springs and mud volcanoes, the "perpetual flame" mentioned in the Mahābhārata as existing in Varuṇa-hrada; it appears to have been a place of Hindu pilgrimage and was called Mahājvālāmukhī.[2]

The Sapta or Seven Dvīpas and Seven Sāgaras.

It should be stated here that according to the ancient Hiudu works, the then known world, that is, the whole of Asia, was divided into seven Dvīpas, each Dvīpa being surrounded by a Sāgara. According to the Paurāṇic notion Sāgara did not mean Sea only, but also the ocean, sea, river or lake, as Dvīpa (Dvi-Apa) did not mean an island, but simply a division situated between two sheets of water, the original meaning of the term.[3] The seven Dvīpas are Jambu, Śāka, Śālmala, Puṣkara, Kuśa, Krauñca and Plakṣa; and the seven Sāgaras are Lavaṇa (salt), Kṣīra (milk), Ghṛta (clarified butter), Ikṣu (sugarcane juice), Surā (wine), Dadhi (curd) and Svādu-jala (sweet water).[4] For Plakṣa we have Gomeda in some Purāṇas[5] and Śveta-dvīpa in the Mahābhārata,[6] and for Svādu-jala we have Jala in some works.[7] (1) Jambu-dvīpa or India was

1 Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. ii, p. 424.

2 *Mbh.*, Udyoga, ch. 97; McCulloch's *Geographical Dictionary* s. v. *Baku*; *Asiatic Researches*, v, p. 41.

3 Bhāskarācārya's *Siddhānta-śiromaṇi*, Golādhyāya, ch. 3, *v.* 35.

4 *Devī P.*, ch. 3.

5 *Matsya P.*, ch. 122; see *Brahmāṇḍa P.*, ch. 63, *v.* 6.

6 *Mbh.*, Bhīṣma, ch. 12.

7 *Garuḍa P.*, Pūrva kh., ch. 54, *v.* 6.

bounded by the Lavaṇa (salt) Sāgara or the Indian Ocean. (2) Śāka-dvīpa or Scythia was bounded on its two sides by the Lavaṇa (salt) Sāgara or the Indian Ocean and by the Sea of *Kṣīra*[1] (milk), which, as stated before, is a corruption of the Sea of *Shirwan*, a name of the Caspian Sea[2] The Caspian Sea therefore formed its northern boundary, while the Indian Ocean formed its southern boundary. Śāka-dvīpa was originally the Sanskritised form of Sog-dia or Sog-dia-na on the Rasā or Jaxartes, though the term was afterwards extended to the whole of Scythia. (3) Śālmala-dvīpa (i. e. the Sanskritised form of Chal-dia) had for its boundary the Sea of *Ghṛta*[3] which is clearly a corruption of the *Erythrean* Sea or the Sea of *Erythras*, which was either the Red Sea or the Persian Gulf, most probably the latter.[4] The Rohita Parvata of Śālmala-dvīpa seems to be the Mount Ararat. Perhaps the river Vidhṛti of the Garuḍa Purāṇa and Nivṛti of the other Purāṇas is the Euphrates, and the river Vitṛṣṇā the Tigris.[5] The Semetic Asuras, that is, the Assyrians dwelt in Śālmala-dvīpa. (4) Puṣkara-dvīpa or Transoxania was bounded by the *Ikṣu* (sugar-cane juice) Sea[6]. Ikṣu, however, is one of the names of the river Oxus.[7] The Matsya Purāṇa[8] also says that the river Śīlā or Jaxartes flowed through the

1 *Varāha P.*, ch. 86. We have preferred to adopt the names of Dvīpas and the Sāgaras surrounding them as given in the Varāha Purāṇa as the Purāṇas are contradictory on these points.

2 Sir Henry Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. I, p. 59 note.

3 *Varāha P.*, ch, 89.

4 McCrindle's *Commerce and Navigation of the Erythrean Sea*, pp. 1, 309 note. Nearchos means by it only the Persian Gulf ; see p. 222 note ; also Maspero's *Down of Civilization*, p. 546.

5 *Garuḍa P.*, Pūrva kh., ch. 56, *v.* 7. Bitṛṣṇā appears to mean "what assuages thirst" that is fit for drinking, see *Strabo*, bk. xi, ch. xiv, 8.

6 *Varāha P.*, ch. 89. 7 *Viṣṇu P.*, pt. ii, ch. 4.

8 *Matsya P.*, ch. 110. The text appears to be corrupt : some editions have Pulikan for Pushkaran, comp. *Alberuni's India* (Dr. Sachau's ed.), vol. I, p. 261.

country of Puṣkara. Puṣkara-dvīpa is the Sanskritised form of Bukhar-ia, which means the "country of the Buddhist monastery" or Bokhara, where *ia* stands for *dia*, Puṣkara being a corruption or variant of Bhuṣkara or Bokhara.[1] Puṣkara-dvīpa therefore commenced from the north of the Oxus which was the northern bonndary of Śāka-dvīpa. The Turanian Asuras originally lived in Osrushna in Puṣkara-dvīpa.

(*To be continued*)

NUNDOLAL DEY

# The Gītā Literature and its relation with Brahma-Vidyā

*Introduction*

Though the Bhagavad-Gītā is by far the most renowned Gītā, still it is only one out of a class. There is an extensive Gītā literature; and the extent of this literature is indicated by the fact that in the Mahābhārata alone, besides the Bhagavad-Gītā, there are more than a dozen other Gītās. Thus :—

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Utathya Gītā | xii. | 90-91. | 8. | Hārīta Gītā | ,, | 277 |
| 2. | Vāmadeva Gītā | xii. | 92-94. | 9. | Vṛtra Gītā | ,, | 278 |
| 3. | Ṛṣabha Gītā | ,, | 125-128. | 10. | Parāśara Gītā | ,, | 290-298 |
| 4. | Śampāka Gītā | ,, | 176 | 11. | Haṃsa Gītā | ,, | 299 |
| 5. | Maṅki Gītā | ,, | 177 | 12. | Anu-Gītā | xiv. | 16-19 |
| 6. | Bodhya Gītā | ,, | 178 | 13. | Brāhmaṇa Gītā | ,, | 20-34 |
| 7. | Vicakhnu Gītā | ,, | 264 | | | | |

Besides these, we have yet another list of Gītās embedded in other books of more or less the same class as the Mahābhārata. For instance :—

1. Īśvara Gītā ; Kūrma-purāṇa, ii. 1-11.
2. Vyāsa Gītā ; ,, ,, ii. 12-30.
3. Rāma Gītā ; (unlocated).
4. Gaṇeśa Gītā ; Gaṇeśa-purāṇa, ii. 138-148.
5. Śiva Gītā ; (said to belong to the Padma-purāṇa, but I have not been able to find it there.)
6. Devī Gītā ; Devī-bhāgavata, vii. 32-40.
7. Kapila Gītā ; Śrimad-bhāgavata, iii. 25-33.
8. Aṣṭāvakra Gītā ; (unlocated).
9. Avadhūta Gītā ; (said to have been written by Dattātreya,
10. Avadhūta Gītā, No. 2 : Srimad-bhāgavata, xi, 7-9.
11. Sūryya Gītā.
12. Yama Gītā ; Viṣṇu-purāṇa, iii. 7.
13. Yama Gītā No. 2 ; Nṛsiṃha-purāṇa, viii.
14. Yama Gītā No. 3 ; Agni-purāṇa, ch. 382.
15. Haṃsa Gītā ; Bhāgavata, xi. 13.
16. Pāṇḍava Gīta ; (unlocated).
17. Brahma Gītā ; said to belong to the Skanda Purāṇa, but unlocated there).
18. Brahma Gītā No. 2 ; Yoga-

Yoga-vāśiṣṭha v. 8 is a brief chapter called 'Siddha Gītā.' And Varāha-purāṇa has as many as three Gītās, viz. Pitṛ Gītā, (ch. 13), Agastya Gītā (ch. 50-53), and Rudra Gītā (ch. 70-71). A more laborious search might reveal more Gītās in other places.

The treatises in which the Gītās, at any rate, the great majority of them are found, deserve notice. It will be seen that as they have come down to us, they form part of some Purāṇa or other ; and for this purpose, the Mahābhārata also is a Purāṇa. Now, this is a significant fact ; and it throws an interesting sidelight on the interpolation theory about the Bhagavad-Gītā Surely, it will be too much to suppose that all the Gītās have been interpolated in the books in which they are respectively found ; and it is not safe either to single out the Bhagavad-Gītā from the class to which it belongs, and consider it an interpolation in the Mahābhārata. It would be more natural to think that the Gītās have formed parts of the Purāṇas to which they respectively belong. In other words, they belong to the same period of history and the same stage of the intellectual life of the country, to which the Purāṇas belong and reflect the same mental and spiritual outlook.

The question now arises : Why are they called *Gītās* ? The etymological meaning of the name is 'that which is sung or chanted.' Were the Gītās really sung ? Or, has the name any other implication ? It is a class name and cannot be altogether devoid of any general meaning.

It is of use in this connection to remember that a portion of the Vedic literature was also sung or chante d and was gradually separated from the main block and treated as a distinct book under a separate name. This gives us an illustration of the fact that, of a sacred literature, a certain portion may be so composed that it cannot only be read and recited but can even be chanted. And it is not only capable of being chanted, but is actually done so on specific occasions.

Add to this the practice of reading the Purāṇas as it has come down to our own day. The Purāṇas themselves declare that they were given out by some great Ṛṣi on the occasion of some vast sacrificial performance, mostly in the sacred place called Naimiṣāraṇya, but much later than the time to which they profess to belong ; they are only imaginary dialogues between persons known to fame and sanctified by later generations. So, the actual mode

one or other of them—mainly the Mahābhārata and the Bhāgavata —on some sacred occasion. And it is not unreasonable to suppose that they have been so read from the very beginning of their existence and that they were intended to be so. Now, at the time of such reading, the practice is to recite or chant some specific portion of the texts. The reader, or Pāṭhaka, as he is generally called in Bengal, would sometimes even compose a song of his own for the occasion and sing it, by way of adding to the attractiveness of the function.

This practice of introducing a song or chanting a portion of the original texts is not confined to the reading of sacred texts in Sanskrit only. In Bengali, too, there is a considerable sacred literature—variously called 'Pāñcāli', e. g. that belonging to the goddess Manasā, or, 'Maṅgala,' e. g. that called Annadā-Maṅgala, or, again, 'Caṇḍī,' e. g. the Caṇḍī of Kavikaṅkaṇa. Now, in reading books of this kind, too, especially on ceremonial occasions, portions are very often chanted.

Can the Gītās have served the same purpose with regard to the Purāṇas ? It is difficult to say that they did not. In fact, the Bagavad-Gītā is still read on sacred occasions in a sing-song manner. More than this perhaps is not meant by the name Gītā. The books are not composed as regular songs, and they do not appear to have been ever sung in the strictest sense of the term. Sometimes they even suggest that they should only be read, and nothing more ; and though the use of the verb 'to sing' (root *gai*), is also found, still the books use the verb 'to read' (root, *'paṭha'*), e. g., Bhagavad-Gītā, xviii. 70 ; Rāma Gītā, 62 ; Gaṇeśa Gītā, xi. 50 ; &c. In all these cases, it is said that the book is to be *read* ; whether the reading was to be in a sing-song manner or not is more than one is warranted to infer from the verbs used.

At the same time, we cannot overlook the fact that in some cases, the verb 'to sing' (*gai*) is very definitely used ; and seems to imply more than an ordinary and prosaic reading. Thus :

Brahma-Gītā of Skanda-Purāṇa, iii. 108—'artham-imam nityam *gāyan*-āste' &c.,

Do. Do. iii. 117—'*Gāyan* vicaret' &c.

Mahābhārata, xii. 175, 'Śampākeneha muktena *gītam* &c.'

It seems then that the Gītās were those portions of the Purāṇas to which a more than ordinary reading was to be given ; they were either to be actually sung, if possible, or read with intonations in such a

were regarded as compendia of religious precepts—a sort of constant companion—; and it was intended that they should be read as frequently as possible and even memorised, and, on suitable occasions, recited in assemblies and also to oneself. Some of the Gītās have been actually used as such, e. g., the Bhagavad-Gītā ; if all of them have not been equally favoured, it does not follow that they were not intended to be so used.

There is another point to be considered in connection with the names. It will be seen that the books are not called simply Gītās ; the word 'gītā' is a general suffix added to some proper name in order to derive the name of any of the books. Thus : *Bhagavad*-Gītā ; *Rāma* Gītā ; *Gaṇeśa*-Gītā ; *Śiva*-Gītā &c. Now, what does the proper name indicate ?

The key to the answer to this question is to be found in the fact that, in the Bhagavad-Gītā, the principal speaker is Bhagavān or Kṛṣṇa, who is communicating the teachings of the book to his disciple. In this sense, the book is *sung* by the Lord (gīta) ; and so it is called the 'Song of the Lord'. Similarly, the other *gītās*, too, profess to have been *sung* or delivered as a message by the deity whose name forms the first part of the name of the book. Thus, Rāma-Gītā was communicated to an enquirer by Rāma ; Śiva-Gītā, by Śiva ; Devī-Gītā, by the goddess specially so called, and so on. This is the general rule, the one or two exceptions that are there only confirm it. Among the exceptions, the Pāṇḍava Gītā deserves mention ; it professes to have been sung by the Pāṇḍavas among others, but they do not sing their own worship but the worship of Kṛṣṇa. Leaving out the exceptions, the proper names in the names of the Gītās indicate the deity whose praise is sung in the book.

Now, this is a very important fact. That the Gītā in each case professes to have come out of the mouth of some deity clearly shows that the worship of that deity was being preached. Let us take the Bhagavad-Gītā : In xviii. 64-66, the Lord says :

"Listen again to my last word, the most secret of all ; you are certainly dear to me and so I tell you what your good is. Think of me, love me, worship me and bow down to me ; and you will surely find me—I promise you, to be sure, and you are my dear one. Leaving aside all (other) religions, you come over to me ; I will save you from all sins."

Literally speaking, the Lord may be understood as preaching a sectarian worship. Was it Bhāgavata or Vāsudeva worship that was

sought to be taught through the medium of this discourse ? The Vaiṣṇavas have undoubtedly taken this book as teaching their own cult. But unfortunately for them, the sublimity of thought expressed in the book has lent itself to other interpretation and it has also been understood as teaching the most uncompromising monism like that of Śaṅkara.

But the same cannot be said of the majority of the other *gītās*. They are mostly sectarian and some of them are aggressively so. They preach the worship of some particular god or goddess. For example, Devī-Gītā, viii gives the details of the worship of that goddess ; and in ix. 10, the significant statement is made that Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra, Īśvara and Sadāśiva lie at the feet of the goddess. The meaning is obvious : these other gods do not deserve an independent worship. But this supremacy of one particular deity is taught in a very subtle manner, and this brings out the close and clear relation of the whole of the Gītā literature with the Brahma-vidyā of the Upaniṣads.

The many deities of the Vedas are all subsumed under the one all-pervading conception of Brahma in the Upaniṣads. The Gītā-literature indicates that this unity of the god-head in Brahma was, at that time, firmly established. But the gods were not altogether dead and gone.[1] They were still very much alive and were topping the hierarchy of created beings ; only, they occupied a position inferior to that of Brahma himself. Hence, to speak of a deity as only *one* of the many deities implied an inferior prestige for that being ; such a deity was not the supreme God and might, therefore, be ignored with impunity. The authors of the *gītās* knew it well enough. So whichever deity any one of these authors may have chosen as his own, his first care was to prove and to proclaim that the Absolute, the Ultimate and the Supreme Brahma was no other than the deity of his choice. His god or goddess was really the Brahma. Thus the Gaṇeśa-Gītā tries to identify Brahma with Gaṇeśa, the Śiva-Gītā with Śiva, the Devī-Gītā with Devī, and so on.

This is not all. It will be remembered that there are certain stages through which the Upaniṣads themselves arrive at the unity of Brahma. It is interesting to note that the Gītās, too, follow the same process : (1) In the first place, all the Vedic gods are, in the

1 Vide my paper on "The Vedic gods in the Upaniṣads", Indian Philosophical Quarterly, October, 1925.

Upaniṣads, absorbed in Brahma. This the Gītās also do by allowing the manifold deities to be swallowed up, as it were, by the deity which they respectively advocate. (2) In the second place, in the Upaniṣads, the entire universe is deduced from Brahma—He is the source and origin of all, the entire world is in Him. In the Gītās also the same attempt is made. In the Upaniṣads, however, this is done mainly by speculative methods ; an ocular demonstration is not thought necessary, nor is it attempted. But the Gītās were presumably intended for a different class of men and an appeal to sense-perception was deemed necessary. So, in the Gītās, the gods in question, like the prophets and messiahs of the Semitic peoples, stoop to perform miracles and give an ocular demonstration of their all-embracing divinity. This is illustrated in chaps. x-xi of the Bhagavad-Gītā. But these tactics are not a monopoly of the Bhagavad-Gītā alone ; the more important of the other Gītās follow the same. For instance, the Gaṇeśa-Gītā has a chapter corresponding to ch. xi of the Bhagavad-Gītā and gives it the same name, viz., ' Viśva-rūpa-darśana.' The Śiva-Gītā also has chapters corresponding to and bearing the same names as chaps. x and xi of the Bhagavad-Gītā.

Now, this similarity among the Gītās does not appear to be accidental. On the contrary, this and other evidences clearly show that, in following the foot-step of the Upaniṣads and even in slightly deviating from it, the Bhagavad-Gītā was largely imitated and taken as the type by the authors of the other Gītās belonging to other sects. But of this more later on.

(3) In the third place, the Upaniṣads not only proclaim the great truth that Brahma is all, but also suggest certain *yoga* practices—certain physical and spiritual discipline—as means for the attainment of Brahma (e. g. Śvetāśvatara Up. ii. 9-12). The Bhagavad-Gītā does the same ; nay, it goes further and even advises a regulation of diet for this purpose (ch. xvii). In the case of the sectarian Gītās, the practice advised consists mainly in the worship of the deity in question, to be performed according to prescribed rules. Thus the Gaṇeśa-Gītā, xi. 49-50, says ; 'One should make an earthen image of Gaṇeśa, with his vehicle and arms, and worship it on the fourth day after the new moon, in the month of Bhādra', &c. Again, the Devī-Gītā, v-ix, gives details of the worship of Devī and also a list of sacred places which should be visited as being dedicated to her. Similarly, Śiva-Gītā, (xvi, 27 *et seq.*), gives details of the worship of Śiva. And so on.

Thus we see how the sectarian deities, by means of their respective

Gītās, were tending to usurp the honour and prestige belonging to Brahma—the One without a second—of the Upaniṣads.

After this preliminary survey, we are now in a position to consider in detail the following questions :

(i) The Classification of the Gītās ;
(ii) The position of the Bhagavad-Gītā in the Gītā-literature ; and
(iii) The relation between the Gītās and the Upaniṣads.

### (i) *Classification of the Gītās*

We have suggested before that a large number of the Gītās are sectarian in character. They have their special gods and goddesses to plead for, and they do so under the garb of discussing the highest truths of Brahma-vidyā, and by quietly identifying the deity of their selection with Brahma. But the question is : are all the Gītās sectarian ? That is, do all of them stand up for some god or goddess other than Brahma ?

The answer is in the negative. The Gītās of the Mahābhārata are all more or less of the same type ; and, though the Bhagavad-Gītā may well be classed as sectarian, belonging to the cult of Bhāgavata-worship, yet the other Gītās partake very little of the sectarian character. They certainly inculcate the fundamental teachings of the Bhagavad-Gītā and also of the Upaniṣads ; but they have no special deity like Rāma or Gaṇeśa or Śiva whose worship they care to promulgate. They agree with the Bhagavad-Gītā and the Upaniṣads in so far as they, too, attempt to teach the realisation of the highest truth and goodness—the attainment of Mokṣa or salvation. But apart from this, they are too short to have any other resemblance with the Upaniṣadic literature or with the Bhagavad-Gītā. Most of them are but attempts at answering some special and brief questions. Instead of giving a direct answer to the question raised, the authority of a name and an anecdote is invoked to give point to it. Thus the Utathya-Gītā (Mbh. xii. 90-91) is an account of the virtues of a Kṣatriya as given by one Utathya. Here the proper name Utathya is not the name of a special deity who proclaims his own worship, as in the case of the Śiva-Gītā or Gaṇeśa-Gītā, but it is the name of a person who is reputed to have been the teacher of the doctrines contained in the book.

In the same way, the Vāmadeva-Gītā (Mbh. xii. 92-94), is an attempted solution of some problem and Vāmadeva is the teacher to whom this attempt is attributed. The same is true of Ṛṣabha-Gītā,

Śampāka-Gītā and all the rest in our list, with the exception of Haṃsa-Gītā, Anu-Gītā and Brāhmaṇa-Gītā ; in the case of these latter, the name of the book does not contain any proper name. Haṃsa is the name of a bird, under the guise of which, Prajāpati gave out the truths contained in the book, hence the name. Anu-Gītā professes to come after and thus to supplement the original Gītā i. e. the Bhagavad-Gītā. 'Anu' is the ordinary grammatical prefix, meaning 'after,' or ' after the manner of ' or ' in accordance with '. The Brāhmaṇa-Gītā is ostensibly given out by a Brāhmaṇa ; but towards the end of the book, it is revealed that the Brāhmaṇa is the mind of Kṛṣṇa (' Mano me brāhmaṇam viddhi &c.').

It will thus appear that the great body of the Gītās in the Mahābhārata, are not interested in the spread of the worship of any particular god or goddess ; they refer to teachers but not to specific deities and they are mainly concerned with abstract speculation which they popularise by means of stories. Broadly speaking, they are non-sectarian. And since this is so, the entire Gītā-literature cannot be branded as sectarian. But there are sectarian Gītās, too ; and in number and importance, they do not fall behind the others. There are thus two main divisions of Gītās.

Before, however, we emphasise the differences, we should, even at the risk of repetition, point out that there are certain general characteristics in which the Gītās agree, whether sectarian or non-sectarian. Some of these characteristics have been already indicated in a general way, while the meaning of the term ' Gītā ' was being discussed. Apart from the common name given to them all, there are other important and interesting points of similarity also.

(*a*) *Structure* :—So far as literary style and structure are concerned, they are all in the form of dialogues. The dialogue is the one general form of the entire Purāṇic literature, in which the Gītās are embedded. We may note in this connection, that the Mahābhārata, the Purāṇas, the Tantras are all written in the form of question and answer. The Rāmāyaṇa is perhaps a singular exception ; the other exceptions are of course the earlier and more classical sacred literature of the country, viz., the Vedic and Upaniṣadic literature. Dialogues certainly occur even in them ; but the entire book is not in the form of a dialogue. The later law-books, i. e., the Saṃhitās, are also in the form of dialogues, without, however, the dramatic element that might be looked for in them. Some one is questioned as to what should be done by different men in different circumstances and the entire system

of laws follows as an answer to that question. And the Purāṇas similarly are accounts given of diverse things by some one to whom a series of questions are put, one after another. And the Gītās, too, appear as parts of these long conversations, and partaking of the general character of the larger wholes, they too, are dialogues. And as we have indicated before, the principal person in the dialogues lends his name to the book. This is a common feature of the Gītās. It is no doubt a superficial resemblance ; but deeper points of similarity also exist.

(b) *Function* : Perhaps the Gītās were all conceived as instruments for a special kind of function. Whether it was the worship of a sectarian deity or a high principle of Brahma-vidyā, that it was singing; the Gītā served as a sort of compendium—a sort of ready reference, a select portion of sacred texts, which might be, and, perhaps actually was, recited on solemn occasions ; and was intended as a sort of spiritual guide-book.

Very often, the Gītās attempt an eclectic synthesis of conflicting doctrines and thus seek to place their own teachings on a firmer basis. That the Bhagavad-Gītā tries to synthesise the opposing schools of Karma, Jñāna and Bhakti is well-known. A similar attempt has been made by some of the other Gītās, too. Thus, the Devī-Gītā, ch. i, refers to diverse theories about the primal cause of the world. Some call it Tapas ; some call it Tamas; some call it unconscious ; some, conscious ; some call it Prakṛti and some by other names , but, we are reminded, after all, it is one and the same, and might as well be understood in the way in which our author defines it. The conflicts of sects are attempted to be overcome by what is unostentatiously put forward as a loftier conception, but is at bottom no less sectarian.

The Gītās thus attempt to establish a cult which, it seems to have been fondly hoped by each of them, might become universal. Their prime concern, they profess, was to teach Mokṣa or salvation ; the sect-deity is quietly introduced as means to that end. If the means ultimately swallow up the end, it is because each of our authors honestly believes that the means suggested by him are the only means. But though there are sharp differences of opinion as to the means to be employed, there is none as to the end. The Gaṇeśa-Purāṇa ii. 137, while giving an account of the genesis of the Gaṇeśa-Gītā, strikes the key-note of all the Gītās ; the enquiry there is : "Yenopadeśena muktim yāsyami tat vadasva me"—tell me the way by which I may attain salvation. If in answer to this question, the means suggested be the worship of Gaṇeśa, that is because the author

sincerely believed that no other means was equally efficacious. The different Gītās think and speak in different veins, but they have a common function to discharge—they profess a common aim—viz., to lead men to the path of Mokṣa.

(c) *Contents*: The most important and the most striking point of similarity among the Gītās, however, is to be found in their thought-content as well as verbal-content; all of them, directly or indirectly, borrow from the Upaniṣads. The exact relation of these books with the Upaniṣads we discuss separately.

We have seen now the common features of the Gītās as a class. It is time to remember again that they fall into two broad sub-divisions.

Leaving aside the Bhagavad-Gītā, the minor Gītās of the Mahābhārata form a class by themselves. They have no sectarian deity to uphold, nor any special worship to promulgate. They hang their teachings on some general principle of moral or spiritual life and cite the authority of some name, perhaps to give it a human touch or perhaps to command confidence. It is interesting to note that the great majority of these Gītās occur in the Śānti-parva of the Mahābhārata and quite a number of them again are found within that subdivision of the Parva which is called 'Mokṣa-dharma-parva'. This is a fairly clear indication of their general character; and their teachings do not belie the name.

The Gītās of the Purāṇas, however, are different from these in so far as a majority of them are pledged to support some special god or goddess. There are some among them, no doubt, which might well be classed with the Gītās of the Mahābhārata as scarcely sectarian: *e. g.* Brahma-Gītā of the Yoga-vāśiṣṭha, Yama-Gītā of the Agni-purāṇa, &c. These latter elaborate some principle of Brahma-vidyā and do little else besides. But the other Purānic Gītās are frankly sectarian.

Thus there are two kinds or Gītās: (1) the sectarian Gītās, associated with the god of some sect and propounding his worship; and (2) the non-sectarian Gītās, Gītās of the Brahma-vidyā school, which branch off, as it were, from the main trunk of the Upaniṣads, and evolve a religion out of it which might appeal to the ordinary run of men.

In their general characteristics, the Gītās appear to have been mainly built upon the model of the Bhagavad-Gītā. We shall next proceed to examine the position of this remarkable book in the literature of its class.

*(To be continued)*

UMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE

# Śukra's Economics in Hindu Science

## II

### (*b*) *The Realism of the Saccakas*

To use another modern term, it is not in the "idealistic" strands of thought that the Śukra authors are interested. The philosophies of Berkeley and Hume which seek to eliminate the external world and posit the exclusive existence of the mind, converting the universe into nothing but a system of mental states, would have left no impress upon the brains of the writers of *Śukranīti*. And of course, they would have had nothing to do with the Hegelian "absolute" soul as the only real entity, should it have been adumbrated in their *goṣṭhī* (club) or *pariṣat* (academy) by certain professors of "the other sciences."

On the contrary, should it have been necessary for them to declare their philosophical or metaphysical article of faith they would have sought their natural allies among one or other systems of "realism." The distinction between idealism and realism is an eternal item in human thought. The philosophical *milieu* of the Śukra authors was fully aware of it. And it was up to them to choose which system to follow.

It is not necessary to read literally the ideas of "modern" idealism (Hegelian and Anglo-Hegelian) or "neo-idealism" (Crocean) and the realism and pragmatism of American professors or the neo-realism of Bertrand Russel's *Analysis of Mind* in the metaphysical controversies of ancient and mediæval India. But that the world was a pluralistic one and that the scholars as well as laymen had to decide for themselves, consciously or unconsciously, between one or other *ism*, is evident on all hands.

In what academies or *Kutūhalaśālās* (halls for curio-seekers, knowledge-hunters or truth-investigators) the Śukra economists sought affiliations in order to equip themselves with an adequate *Weltanschauung* (world-view) it is not difficult to discover. One interesting story, coming as it does from Buddhist tradition, may serve as a specimen for the point in question.

Śākya the Buddha is said to have been abroad lecturing on the impermanence and unsubstantiality of body, sensation, perception and so forth. This sort of idealistic annihilation of the world of external objects was not to go unchallenged from the side of those who believed

that body, sensation, etc. were not items to be trifled with. Śākya, therefore, had to encounter opposition of various shades from the "stormers and stressers" of his times.

The *Culasaccaka Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* narrates how one of the great high-brows of the day, Saccaka Niganṭha-putta, invited Śākya to an open debate.[1] Saccaka's thesis was quite a chip of naturalism. He propounded the supreme value of the Mother Earth in the world of nature as well as in the world of man.

"Whatsoever seeds and plants grow and expand and come to maturity," thus argued Saccaka, "do so all in dependence upon the earth, and, firm-based upon the earth, and thus come to maturity." It is this solid earth of mud and stones that furnishes equally the basis of all human endeavours. Saccaka went on in his argument vehemently emphasising the point that "whatever deeds that require strength are all done in dependence upon the earth, and firm-based upon the earth," and that these deeds cannot be done in any other way.

The analogy of the earth was then exploited by Saccaka in order to substantiate his thesis of the dignity of body, the dignity of sensation, etc. What the earth is to plants and human beings, said he, that the body is to the individual. "By body is this individual man, and firm-based upon body does he bring forth deeds good or evil." The argument is carried forward in regard to sensation, perception, etc.

Saccaka is evidently an uncompromising champion of the doctrine of the physical basis of life. And, yet, one will have to admit that this exaltation of the body, sensation etc., this glorification, in one word, of materialism, does not rise to the pitch such as is embodied in the dogma of "economic determinism" or "materialistic interpretation of history," strictly so called, with which Marxianism is identified. For, Saccaka's world-view, materialistic as it is, does not assert that life, mind, culture, or law, religion, philosophy, science and fine arts are but the *reflexes* of the physical foundations.[2] The *causal*

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1 Bhikkhu Silacara's *First Fifty Discourses*, vol. II, pp. 84-88 in Nalinaksha Dutt's *Early History of the Spread of Buddhism* (London, 1925). See also *Mahāli-sutta*, and *Brahmajāla-sutta*, etc. in Rhys Davids' *Dialogues of Buddha* for some of the other *vitaṇḍās* (discussions) bearing on realism.

2 Othmar Spann's *Der Wahre Staat* (Vienna, 1921), pp. 131-133. The author is a vehement opponent of *Marxismus* and laments that

relation is wanting in Saccaka's philosophy, but it is this causal concatenation that furnishes the keynote to "modern" materialism.

The controversy between Śākya and Saccaka is but typical of the philosophical conflicts (*vitaṇḍās*) in old Hindu thought. And Śukra's materialism, as manifest in the analysis of the territory and finance, two of the seven limbs of the state, is ideologically in tune with the ideas of Saccaka. To the authors of the *Śukranīti*, the external world is not to be explained away as but a unit of mental states. The physical objects are, in their estimation, solid pragmatic realities.

The story of Śākya *vs.* Saccaka has incidentally brought out another feature of intellectual polarity which will help to throw fresh light on the materialism of the Śukra philosophers. The dialectic of the one is the exact opposite of that of the other. And we are reminded at once of one of Marx's statements in the *Kritik der politischen Oekonomie*. "With Hegel," says he, "the mind or the absolute (the world-reason) is the creator of the real. With me is the process quite otherwise. I consider the ideal to be nothing else but the material established in the human brain."

The logic of modern materialism is thus a direct antithesis to Hegelianism, *i. e.*, idealism *par excellence*. It is only reasonable to find that in its philosophical affiliations the materialism of *Śukranīti* was oriented to a mentality or mentalities the furthest removed from the Śākyan.

### (*c*) *The Sāṅkhya Basis of Secular Studies*

Saccaka, as contemporary of Śākya the Buddha, is certainly too "old" for the *Sukranīti* in the form in which we have it to-day. But the anti-Hegelian spirit, to employ a modern term with a retrospective effect, such as Saccaka's story reveals, has always been a living force in the Indian philosophical world. And the Śukra authors, no matter to how many successive ages the cycle may belong,

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the leading German economists of the nineteenth century and since have failed to wage war against the doctrines of Marx and have, on the contrary, virtually accepted the Marxist position in economics and social philosophy (pp. 136-137). Spann's sociological contributions, brilliant as they are, lie, however, outside of this anti-Marxian polemic. Notice how he explains society from the standpoint of "kinetic" universalism (pp. 33-42). He has, besides, a very acceptable scheme of *Staendestaat* (gild-state or *Śreṇī*-state), pp. 227-237.

have always had the opportunities to fraternize with the Saccakas of their days and exploit their findings in the interest of their own investigations.

Take, for instance, the six philosophies of the "older tradition." These in their developed form are certainly younger than the thoughts recorded in the *Dialogues of the Buddha*. Now, if the very environment in which Śākya the Buddha preached could not fail to furnish a philosophical stimulus to the economic realism of the Śukra authors, they would have found an equally congenial atmosphere in the *vitaṇḍā* or discussions of the *darśana*-academies.

At first sight it might appear, indeed, that these 'six systems' on account of their pre-occupation with "salvation" would repel the Śukra economists. But this can, at least, be only a superficial view. For, at least three of them, namely, the *Sāṅkhya*, the *Vaiśeṣika*, and the *Nyāya* deal more with the facts and phenomena of physics or natural philosophy rather than with the mental and moral philosophy proper. Thus they happen to furnish just the scientific foundations of materialism such as an economic system demands for its theoretical groundwork.[1].

No system of thought could be more serviceable to an economist than the *Sāṅkhya*, for instance, which constitutes the very antithesis of Vedantic mysticism. By establishing a rigid dualism it effectively segregates the spiritual from the material. And its "material" alone is powerful enough to be the cause of everything that happens in the non-spiritual world.

The matter of *Sāṅkhya* is not only real. It is eternal and indestructible at the same time. And the material world, self-evolving as it is, does not need the postulate of a God or a divine machinery.[2]

The very possibilities of a secular science, material or moral, are then to be sought in the *Sāṅkhya* philosophy, harnessed as it is, with its purely naturalistic rationalism. Nor is this realistic agnosticism the exclusive characteristic of the Sāṅkhyans. However much the

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1 The physico-chemical and mechanical theories of the "philosophical schools" have been analyzed at length in Brajendra Nath Seal's *Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus* (London, 1915).

2 Garbe's *Sāṅkhya Philosophie, eine Darstellung des indischen Rationalismus* (Leipzig, 1894), pp. 130, 137, 207, 232, 237, 238, Cf. A. M. Pizzagalli's *Cārvāka Nāstika e Lokāyatika* (Pisa, 1907) pp. 74-77.

professors of the *Vaiśeṣika-Nyāya* systems might differ from the Sāṅkhyans in the theories concerning the constitution of matter, the method of approach to the problems of the universe was identical. Even *buddhi* (intelligence ? ) is grouped by the *Nyāya* philosophers in the same category as earth, water, air and other material su bstances.

As long as the *Sāṅkhya*, the *Nyāya* and the *Vaiśeṣika* were there, the Hindu students of mental, moral and social phenomena never had to feel that their feet were off the ground. The idealism of *Vedānta*, such as in its extreme form might interfere with an objective investigation of the pluralities of the universe on the alleged ground that the many do not exist or that the only reality is the *Brahman*, mind, soul or whatever else it may mean, could be always challenged or rectified with the weapons forged in the other schools.

### (*d*) *Orientations to Nāstika-matam*

The Śukra materialists, then, were not alone in the field. They had but to draw upon the experience of other intellectuals who were oriented to the world in their own way. Their colleagues in different branches of materialism were many, and *Nītiśāstra* could flow on smoothly along the well-established currents of thought.

It seems that during the more recent phases of its development the *Sukranīti* cycle was being enriched with the findings of a new school of philosophical materialists. The school has been described by the Śukra authors as *Nāstika-matam* or system of the *Nāstika* (IV, iii, 108-109). In their estimation the *Nāstikas* are important enough to be described as representing one of the thirty-two branches of learning.

Now, whom do the Śukra authors call *Nāstika* ? Three characteristics are described by them as marking this system. First, we are told that "reason" is the chief feature in the *Nāstika theory*. In the second place, the *Nāstikas* are said to explain the origin of all things by reference to "nature." And thirdly, they do not believe in the existence of the Vedas. They are thus sceptics, but not necessarily atheists.

Whatever be the characteristics of *Nāstika* philosophy, it is evident that the Śukra authors consider it to be quite a "respectable" system of thought. They enumerate it in the same dispassionate, colourless, scientific manner as they enumerate the *Vedas, Upavedas, Darśanas*, etc. And here, *en passant*, we touch another aspect of the chronological problems.

The word *Nāstika* has been traced by Pizzagalli in his brochure

*Cārvāka Nāstika e Lokāyatika* as far back as the *Maitrāyaṇīya-Upaniṣad* (3, 5), one of the latest Upaniṣads. It occurs several times in the *Mahābhārata* (XII, 181, 1-6 ; XII, 322-16, XII, 121-38). Manu also knows the term (II, 10-11 ; III, 150 ; IV, 163 ; XI, 66-67).

But in none of these instances does the word describe the representative of a "system" of thought. It conveys simply the derogatory sense of a general character. By using *Nāstika*, the writers want us to understand a negator, one not abiding by the Vedas and Smṛtis, etc., or, perhaps, very often, an "ill-mannered" "uncultivated" boor, even a vicious sinner and so forth. Down to Manu nobody could think of mentioning a *matam* (body of knowledge, doctrines, or system of thought) as being the handiwork of a school of *Nāstika*, not to speak of listing it in a schedule of the sciences along with the conventional *matas* of historic tradition.[1]

The Śukra authors, however, are bold enough to do so. Shall we say that this boldness is but an expression of their "liberalism" ? Is it that they are tolerant or catholic enough, being students of materialism, to invite the "reason-worshipping" philosophers into the fold of the established convention ? Or shall we say that this boldness points to the lateness or "modernism" of the passage in which the expression occurs ? Perhaps we may take it in both ways. The Śukra authors or, at any rate, those of their cycle, responsible for the in corporation of the list of the thirty-two *vidyās*, are at once liberal and modern.

We know as a positive fact that it is in Mādhava's "compendium of all the philosophies" known as the *Sarvadarśana-saṃgraha* (1331), that the *nāstika* philosophy is for the first time presented as a *mata*, a system of thought. It is described as *Bṛhaspatimata*, also as *lokāyatika*. The Cārvākas, who are generally known to be professors of *Nāstika* doctrines have derived their inspiration, according to the tradition recorded by *Mādhava*, from Bṛhaspati, the *purohita* (priest) of Vedic gods. And this Bṛhaspati, we are assured further, is none other than the traditional father of *nītiśāstra* and *arthaśāstra*.

Mādhava, as the follower of Śaṅkarācārya, is, of course, a Vedantist, *i. e.* the furthest removed from the disciples of Bṛhaspati. But he is objective enough to give the devil his due, and include the system

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1. Pizzagalli, pp. 24, 28, 32. According to this Italian scholar *artha* and *nīti* literature embodies the most genuine expression of Hindu materialism.

of the Cārvākas in his examination of the "sixteen systems" prevailing in his time. Indeed, he accords this system the very place of honour in his book,—although, no doubt, as Pizzagalli points out, for dialectical reasons. Mādhava's mission is to establish the supremacy of Vedānta. And, in order to do this, he has to proceed in a climbing series,—demolishing the systems one by one at each step. Naturally, the least Vedāntic or rather the most anti-Vedāntic system conceivable is the Bṛhaspatian philosophy, the *Nāstika-matam*. So Mādhava's book has to commence with his very antithesis, namely, Bṛhaspati.

The Śukra authors, however, have no special axe to grind, so far as this *matam* is concerned. They can afford to be genuinely objective and mention it as a fact of the philosophical universe. It is then very probable, chronologically speaking, that *Sarva-darśana-saṃgraha* is responsible for the place of *Nāstika* theory in the Śukran list or that both belong to the same intellectual complex.

Śukra's description of the *Nāstikas* agrees in "general features" with that given by Mādhava. The Cārvākas, says this Vedāntist author, are used to denying *pāralaukikam artham* (other-worldly interests). According to them, everything exists through its own *svabhāva* (nature). Their logic recognises no *anumāna* (inference), but is based solely on *pratyakṣa* (observation or perception). They believe that the soul is identical with the body. The pursuit of pleasure is the sole teaching of their ethics. And so on.[1]

The definition of *Nāstika-matam* in *Śukranīti* is not, as a matter of course, as elaborate as in *Sarva-darśana-saṃgraha*. But it is precise enough to lead one to believe that this compendium of the sixteen systems was not unknown to the Śukra authors. To this extent, perhaps, an aspect of the chronological question may be taken to be solved.

But, for the present, we are interested in the philosophical orientations of the Śukra economists. The account rendered of the Cārvākas by Mādhava possesses, as one can notice, certain characteristics which would appeal very powerfully to the mentality of the Śukra philosophers. Whether the Śukra authors be prepared to deny the existence

1 Cowell's *Sarva-darśana-saṃgraha* (London, 1894); Muir's article on Indian materialists in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1862); Hopkins' *Great Epic of India* (New York); Pizzagalli, pp. 52-53, 56.

of the Vedas or not, there is no doubt that "rationalism" and *svabhāva* theory (naturalism) of the Cārvākas would fit in quite well with their general trend of thought. The logical and psychological affiliations of *Śukranīti* with *Nāstika-matam* may be considered to have been intimate.

Then there is an historical affinity as well. Mādhava says, as we have seen above, that the founder of *Nāstika-matam* is identical with the founder of *nītiśāstra* and *arthaśāstra*. That common founder is, indeed, known to be Bṛhaspati, who, as priest of the gods, is bound to be the sworn enemy of Śukra, the preceptor of the *asuras* (demons). It is not quite clear, therefore, how the name of Bṛhaspati would have sounded in the ears of the professors of the Śukra cycle. But, perhaps, by the fourteenth century the old feuds between the Vedic gods and demons, Bṛhaspati and Śukra, had retired into the limbo of oblivion. And the Śukra investigators of *artha* and *nīti* would have found no difficulty in accosting as comrades and holding *tête-à-têtes* with their colleagues of the Bṛhaspati cycle in one and the same *goṣṭhī* or *pariṣat*.

It is not necessary to identify the Śukra professors of economics, politics and allied sciences with the Saccakas of the Buddhist tradition, or with the *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika-Sāṁkhyāyanas*, or, finally, with the *Nāstika-Cārvāka-Lokāyatikas*. Only one point has been sought to be established. It is that the anti-Vedāntic, anti-Hegelian, anti-idealistic trends of thought were varied enough all through the ages to furnish the positive foundations on which a materialistic scheme of *loka-hita* (utilitarianism) can be built up.

### (*e*) *The Problem of "Modernism" in Śukranīti*

#### [1] The Notions of Italian Indologists

There is another manner in which the materialistic worth of Śukra's economic philosophy may be gauged. It is by trying to appraise it in the light of modern economic categories and theories.

We know what the *Śukranīti* has to say about the arts and crafts in a state. Such ideas can be gleaned from the *Mahābhārata* also, as well as from the other *Nīti* works including the *Arthaśāstra*.

Kāmandaka, for instance, says: "Agriculture, pasture and commerce constitute the foundations of social life" (XIV, 27). The king is advised by him to promote eight kinds of enterprise. These are (1) agriculture, (2) commerce, (3) construction of fortresses, (4) construction of bridges,

(5) elephant hunting, (6) extraction of minerals from mines, and marbles and stones from quarries, (7) timber industry and (8) colonisation of depopulated territories. These economic functions are to be undertaken by the state, as one is to understand, in order that the people may be provided with all sorts of occupations. For, it is said expressly in a preamble, "in order to live in this world it is necessary to work in all those professions which *apportano la sussistenza*, as the Italian translation[1] reads, *i. e.*, bring in subsistence" (V, 78-79). And, of course, the state is not to hinder commerce in any way, for it is a great source of gain by means of which even a poor ruler can carve his path to progress (V, 80).

The importance of *vārtā* (economics) as a science was equally well grasped by the theorists. In Kāmandaka's estimation (IV, 27) *Vārtā vai lokasaṃśrayā, i. e.*, economics affords shelter or sustenance to mankind[2].

The *Mahābhārata*'s idea is identical. We read in the *Vana-parva* (I, 50): *Vārtayā dhāryate sarvam* (everything, the entire world, is upheld by *Vārtā*).

These "general" statements have acquired an adamantine precision in the language of Kauṭilya. For, says he, *tayā svapakṣam para-pakṣam ca vaśīkaroti koṣadaṇḍābhyām* (book I, ch. IV). That is, economics is instrumental in the establishment of public finance (*koṣa*) and the army (*daṇḍa*), thereby leading to the subjugation of one's own state (*sva-pakṣam*) and the enemy-state (*para-pakṣam*). The science of *Vārtā* plays therefore a great role in domestic and foreign policies.[3]

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1 *I Primi Principi della Politica secondo Kamandaki* (First Principles of Politics according to K.), Italian translation of the *Kāmandaki-nīti* by Carlo Formichi, Rome, 1925.

2 This *Kāmandaki* passage is borrowed of Jayaswal's *Hindu Polity* (Calcutta, 1924), pt. II, p. 171. It is not to be found at IV, 27 in Formichi. Jayaswal quotes from the Trivandrum edition (1912) while F.'s translation is based on the *Bibliotheca Indica* text. Other aspects of financial and economic theories have been discussed in my *Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus* (Leipzig, 1922), pp. 183-186.

3 The passages from the *Mahābhārata* and the *Arthaśāstra* are to be found in Jayaswal, *loc. cit.*, in another context. My renderings differ verbally from his, although there is no substantial distinction to be noted.

In regard to these, or rather to the *Kāmandaki* passages Formichi has something interesting to say in his *Salus Populi* (Welfare of the People).[1] He quotes Machiavelli's *Prince* (ch. XXI) to indicate how the Italian thinker advised the prince to promote agriculture, commerce and industry. Hobbes's *Leviathan* (II, 30) is likewise cited by him. It is clear that the English philosopher of the seventeenth century repeats in almost identical words the ideas of Kāmandaka and Machiavelli.

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It is strange, however, to notice that wherever in the ancient Indian texts Jayaswal finds certain "lessons taught to the ruler," he assumes that these were actually followed. In his estimation there is no distinction between what *should be* and what *is* or *was*. The entire book is full of such confusion at almost every point. And this confusion is due to the author's evading the discussion as to how far the lectures of the *śāstras* (*artha* and *nīti*), *kāvyas* (*Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*), *purāṇas* and other literary documents possess a positive, historical, and institutional value.

Shamasastry in his *Evolution of Indian Polity* (Calcutta, 1920), commits a like fallacy when he takes phrases like *dhamma-cakka* (kingdom of righteousness) as denoting an established fact of polity during certain periods of Indian history. A critical estimate of Shamasastry's work appears in my *Hindu Politics in Italian* (*IHQ.*, II, pp. 353ff).

This is not the place to discuss Jayaswal's book, bulky and learned as it is. But one serious mistake in his chapter on "economics in government" should be pointed out. He is strong on the point that "Hindu politicians disliked direct taxation" (p. 173). But he devotes nine or ten pages to prove,—and it must be said that he proves it effectively,—that land in Hindu India was as a rule private property, *i. e.*, not *khas mahal* or "public" domain. Now, if land be the property of the citizens, the government's revenue from land becomes automatically a "tax," *i. e.*, not a mere "rent." And a property-tax is nothing but the most characteristic form of "direct" tax. The result then is the exact opposite of Jayaswal's thesis. We are to understand that the "keynote" of Hindu public finance was really struck by direct taxation.

Śukra's ideas on land revenue may be seen in my forthcoming work *Hindu Sociology*, pp. 119, 120. Notice also the actual facts of finance (Tamil and Maurya) described in my *Pol. Inst. and Theor.*, pp. 113, 115, 123-124.

1 (Turin, 1908) p. 134. This is a book of comparative study in the political ideas of Kāmandaka Machiavelli and Hobbes.

And Formichi's conclusion is as follows :—"Such correspondence has in it nothing exceptional or surprising. For, no state, no matter in what epoch or in what part of the world, could subsist without the labour of its citizens, without what may be called the springs of national wealth"[1].

In other words, the economic teachings of Kāmandaka, Machiavelli, and Hobbes do not rise above the minimum, the very elemental preconditions in a philosophical conception of the state. This would be quite a sound judgment on the value of the materialistic philosophy as adumbrated by the ancients and the mediæyals down to, say, 1700 (Hobbes died in 1679). It need be noted that Machiavelli and Hobbes are not modern enough in time or spirit.

But Formichi goes too far when he finds nothing but the same ideas in the "moderns." According to him the philosophical world of to-day has not gone beyond the level reached by the three great masters mentioned above. This, indeed, is the fundamental message of his *Salus Populi.*

In *Gl' Indiani e la loro scienza politica*[2], again, Formichi has summarized the ideas of Kāmandaka on the "King's Duties." He points out on one occasion how Kāmandaka teaches that it is only in a well-governed state that the arts and sciences can flourish (II, 8, 9). This statement is followed by the comment that "an economist of our own days could not speak otherwise." We are asked to believe that Kāmandaka's economics is quite up-to-date.

In the same strain writes Bottazzi [3] his comparative study of

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1 *Salus Populi*, pp. 140-143, also pp. 10-12.

2 (Bologna, 1899). Part I, p. 60. The title of the book reads in English as follows : "The Indians and their Political Science, Part I. The King's Duties."

3 *Precursori di Niccolo Machiavelli* in *India ed in Grecia Kautilya Tucidide* (Pisa, 1914), pp. 5, 154.

The entire work of the Italian Indologists in the field of Hindu politics has been summarized and reviewed by me in "Hindu Politics in Italian." (Vide *IHQ.*, vols. I & II). The contributions are valuable as militating, unconsciously although, against the absurd Hegelian standpoint in social philosophy which was based on the postulate of an alleged distinction in spirit between the East and the West. But the authors attach too little importance to,—nay, seem almost to be unconscious of or blind to, the epoch making advances in science and philosophy since the industrial revolution.

Kauṭilya and Thucydides as precursors of Machiavelli. The estabalishment of identity between the East and the West is with him as with Formichi the principal aspect of the fundamental thesis. But identically, and almost as a postulate Bottazzi would, like Formichi, have us believe that the "theories and inventions of modern times were enunciated and practised in India centuries and centuries before the Christian era."

His message has been thus worded :—"These movements and facts repeat themselves with relative constancy in time and space. For, the passions, the immanent interests in human nature vary in intensity, but their substance remains the same."

[2] Vico's Universalism Examined

It seems that the Italian indologists live and move under the influence of their great sociologist-philosopher Vico.[1] His *Scienza Nuova* (1731) is never indeed mentioned by them. But one knows how the doctrine of "history repeating itself" (*ricorso delle cose umane*) was life-blood to him. He was never tired of talking of the *principio eterno de governi* (eternal principle of government),"constant uniformity" in the laws of nations, *una certa mente comune di tutte i popoli* (a certain common mentality of all the peoples), and the ideal history of eternal laws (*storia ideale delle lege eterne*).

But, to what extent, is the social philosophy of Vico, universalistic

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That is why they so easily read "modernism" in everything from Thucydides and Kauṭilya down to Hobbes. In any case, besides, Hobbes is not modern in the strictest sense of the term.

1 Vico's *Pagine Scelte* (Select Pages) edited by Ceva (Florence), pp. 35, 47-49, 52-53, 81-83.

One of the "elements" or *assiomi* (axioms) in his *Scienza Nuova* is thus worded : "No. XIII. Uniform ideas born among nations that do not happen to know one another should possess a common motive of truth (*Idee uniforminate appointieri popoli tra essi loro non conosciuti debbon avere un motivo comune di vero*)."

This axiom pervades the examination of the ideas of Thucydides, Kauṭilya, Kāmandaka, Machiavelli and Hobbes by Formichi and Bottazzi,—although nowhere expressly stated as a contribution from the philosophy of Vico. Perhaps Vico's "discoveries" belong to Italian "tradition," and do not require to be specifically mentioned by modern Italians.

as it is, acceptable ? Perhaps neither more nor less than the common proverb that "there is nothing new under the Sun." To this conclusion he seems to have come after painstaking, comprehensive studies extending over years. And his literature or bibliography comprised not only the ancients from Homer down to Plato, Virgil and Tacitus, but all the "moderns" of his days as well, including the physicists Gassendi (1592-1655) and Robert Boyle, Descartes, Bacon and Grotius.

There is a great amount of truth in this formulation of the "eternal history" or the "universal" in mankind, especially when one remembers that the facts and phenomena observed by Vico came down to the early decades of the eighteenth century. The really significant discoveries of the experimental sciences were yet to come. The technical inventions which were to revolutionize the methods of production, transportation and exchange, could not be dreamt of by Vico. All that we call modernism, modern civilization and so forth in material and spiritual life, in philosophical categories as well as institutions of social and political well-being, does not, for all practical purposes, go beyond, say, 1830. That is, there is a full century dividing the beginnings of the modern world from the *Scienza Nuova* (New Science).

For the eighteenth century, especially until the "ideas of 1789" began to introduce novel conceptions in life and thought, Vico's categories and explanations must have appeared to be very adequate, nay, marvellous and almost acceptable *in toto*. But the situation is quite otherwise to-day. The data of world-history, say, from the Chartist agitation down to the Leninist outlook on politics, from the primitive locomotive down to the futurist physics of to-day, which is seriously attacking the problem as to how to harness the immense energy contained within the atom so that a pound or two of coal may be enabled to propel the mammoth boats across the oceans,—can these facts of world development be interpreted in terms of Vico's "eternal history ?" The answer must have to be given in the emphatic negative.

Even for mediæval conditions Vico's dialectic should really be considered to be inadequate. So far as the East and the West are concerned,—from the standpoint of objective history an enormous amount of analogies and substantial identities or uniformities could, indeed, be discovered in economic background, social and religious institutions, politics, political ideals and general philosophizings. But, while the "horizontal" uniformity was unquestionable, the diversity in "vertical" strands, in other words, in the phenomena of growth in the same region from epoch to epoch, was no less unquestionably a

settled fact. An historical world-view that would fail to mark the different stages in the evolution of a particular region or race through the ages would be untrue to reality.

### [3] The Momentum of Epochs

It is this momentum furnished by the epochs to human society, the cumulative push of the successive ages such as constitutes the ever renovating element in social dynamics, that has been overlooked in Vico's philosophy. And Formichi, Bottazzi or others who would read modernism into the ideas of Śukra or his peers, would but commit the same fallacy of ignoring time's contributions in the making of humanity.

We have seen how far behind the Marxian "monism" in materialistic interpretation Saccaka lies. Śukra's materialism is but akin to Saccaka's. He does not rear his body politic on the *sole* foundations of economic activities. The analysis of his ideas in chapter II has made it sufficiently clear how far the Śukra authors are prepared to go. We are not told anything farther than that *rāṣṭra* (territory) and *koṣa* (finance) are two very vital limbs of the *saptāṅga*.

Passages, again, like that in the *Mahābhārata* to the effect that the entire word is upheld by economics, or that of Kāmandaka to the effect that economics maintains mankind, seem quite "monistic," at any rate emphatic, and are, indeed, to be found almost everywhere throughout Hindu thought. But their impact on philosophy is not to be treated as identical with or similar to that of the ideas in Bagehot's *Physics and Politics* or Buckle's *History of Civilisation*, in which "natural" (geographical and climatological) causes are treated as being almost the exclusive factors in the growth of the human spirit. These are nineteenth century works. Even the eighteenth century conception, such as we find in Montesquieu's *Spirit of Laws*, is not to be found in the materialistic teachings of Śukran economics. A more or less approximate approach to the geographical, climatological, or economic "interpretation" of history in the "causal" sense, was not realized in Hindu thought, nor, indeed, in European thought down to Machiavelli, Hobbes and their contemporaries.

It is perhaps, if we accept the Crocean conception of history as "the perpetual increment of itself upon itself," that we can place the ancients and mediævals in their true perspectives, as well as interpret the real significance or worth of their affiliations with modern thought. In Croce's analysis the 'reality' is not a statical absolute as conceived

by Hegel, but is ever new in its continual expression of itself in multiple forms. A "perpetual becoming" underlies this neo-idealist's theory of "progress".

And to the same results comes Bergson although along a different path. Over against Vico's conception of "eternal history" and permanent laws we come across the ideas that the most motionless object changes even while it persists. Bergson's "memory" introduces something of the past into the present. In his own words, "my mental state, as it advances on the road of time, is continually swelling with the *duration* it accumulates."

To what extent this "perpetual becoming," "progress," "memory" "duration" or time-element has entered "modern" thoughts can be well understood if one only looks at the contents of a treatise like Spann's *Der Wahre Staat*, Barker's *Political Thought in England from Spencer to the Present Day*, or Gide and Rist's *Histoire des doctrines economiques contemporaines*. One will then be automatically inclined to draw a sharp line between this world and the philosophical universe represented by Śukra, Machiavelli and the like.

To claim modernism for the economic ideas of Śukra, *Mahābhārata*, Kauṭilya or Kāmandaka, on the strength of the thoughts indicated above, would be as unreasonable as to claim that modern "pragmatism" is but Protagoras's maxim, "man is the measure of all things," writ large. Or perhaps when somebody were to assert that the Bergsonian standpoint in philosophy is "identical" with Heraclitus's announcement that flux or change is the eternal law, one would not make a more serious statement.

### [4] Categories vs. Substances of Thought

And yet it must be observed that it is not at all unreasonable to advance such claims, *prima facie* absurd although they are. The reasonableness consists in the fact, that the "categories" of thinking are common between the pragmatists of to-day and the Greek sophists, or between Bergson and Heraclitus. It is, similarly, in the realm of categories that an identity is to be detected between many of the economic and materialistic dissertations of Śukra and those of the moderns. These categories may be likened to the "forms" of Plato with their eternal and independent existence. Or to cite a contemporary philosopher, these are the "concepts," "abstract ideas" or "universals" of Bertrand Russel's *Problems of Philosophy*.

But to be identical in category is not to be identical in substance. In

the preceding chapter we have had occasion to point out, wherever necessary, how Śukra's analysis of the economic foundations of a state, although seeming to be an almost modern investigation of the same problem, fell far short of it. The philosophic mind that *Śukranīti* reveals is in all its essential or substantial particulars the mind of pre-modern materialism.

How deep the difference between that world and the modernism of to-day is, was very accurately described by Adam Müller in his *Elemente der Staatskunst* (1808). Müller indeed saw very little of what we call modern civilization. But already he seems to have tasted enough of it to preach the all-too modern cry of "back to the Middle Ages" in tune with the romanticists of Young Germany. He possessed, however, a critical historic sense, and in spite of his pronounced zeal for mediævalism, had to pass a judgment like the following on the good old days : "*Die element alles politischen Lebens* (the elements of all political life)," said he, "*sind im Mittelalter vorhanden* (are present in the Middle Ages)." But the *Verbindung dieser Elemente* (unification of these elements) was not accomplished because these appeared on the scene "more federatively than organically."

It is more than a century since this judgment was passed on the strength and weakness of the Middle Ages by one of the fathers, so to say, of German political philosophy. He was indeed interested,here, more in politics than in economics, and more in the problem of national unity than in anything else. But the essential distinction that he established between the past and the present in at least one aspect of life is a solid fact. And it has a universal application.

The moral of this distinction on the question of Śukra's affiliations to modern philosophy is unmistakeable. The "elements" of economic thought in *Śukranīti* seem very much to be modern, but they do not constitute a modern complex in any significant sense. Simply because some of the terms and rudimentary ideas are common to the Śukra authors and the moderns, one must not establish an equation between the two sets.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

# Marriage in Buddhist Literature

In the Buddhist period of Indian history we do not find any hard and fast rule about the age at which girls are to be married, nor do we come across instances of early marriage. Girls are sometimes seen to have been married at the age of sixteen. In the Asilakkhaṇa (no. 126) and the Mudu-Pāṇi (no. 262) Jātakas, we read that a princess was given in marriage when she was sixteen years old. The Dhammapada Commentary (II, 217) says that Kuṇḍalakesī, a beautiful daughter of a banker of Rājagaha, remained unmarried till the age of sixteen. It further says that at this age women long for men—(tasmin ca vaye ṭhitā nāriyo purisajjhāsayā honti purisalolā).

Marriageable age of girls.

Limitations on marriage imposed by Brāhmaṇic usage are conspicuous by their absence in Buddhist literature and even sister-marriage is referred to. The mythical origin of the Licchavis as recorded in the Paramatthadīpanī on the Khuddakapāṭha (ed. by H. Smith, pp. 158-160) illustrates the point.

Sister-marriage.

The Sumaṅgalavilāsinī (pt. I, pp. 258-260) presents us with another instance of marriage not allowed by Brāhmaṇic scriptures. It says that king Okkāka had five queens. By the chief queen, he had four sons and five daughters. After the death of the chief queen, the king married another young lady who extorted from him the promise to place her son upon the throne. The king thereupon requested his sons to leave the kingdom. The princes accordingly left the kingdom accompanied by their sisters, and going to a forest near the Himālayas, they began to search for a site for building a city. In course of their search, they met the sage Kapila who said that they should build a town in the place where he (the sage) lived. The princes built the town and named it Kapilavatthu (Kapilavastu). In course of time, the four brothers married the four sisters, excepting the eldest one and they came to be known as the Śākyas. The Mahāvaṃsa also refers to sister-marriage. It says that Sīhabāhu, ruler of the kingdom of Lāḷha, made his sister Sihasīvalī his queen.[1]

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1 Lāḷharaṭṭhe pure tasmin Sīhabāhu narādhipo rajjam kāresi

It is, however, difficult to say how far the Buddhist stories about the origin of some famous political communities by sister-marriage can be regarded as historical. Sister-marriage was not in vogue in ancient India even in the earliest times of which we have any record, as the story of Yama and Yamī in the Ṛg-Veda amply demonstrates. The idea was revolting to the Indians from the time of the Ṛg-Veda down-wards.

Marriage of a woman with her cousin.

The marriage of cousins, on the other hand, seems to have been by no means unusual. The marriage of Princess Vajirā with king Ajātasatru the son of her father's sister, is an illustration of this kind of marriage. Magha, a householder of Magadha, married his maternal uncle's daughter named Sujātā (Dhammapada Commentary, 265). Ānanda was enamoured of the beauty of his father's sister's daughter named Uppalavannā and wanted to marry her (ibid., p. 48). This shows that cousins could marry. This is also borne out by the following Jātaka story (no. 262; cf. no. 126):

A king had a daughter and a nephew who were in love with each other. The king intended to marry his nephew with a princess of some other country and his daughter with a prince of some other kingdom. The king guarded his daughter very closely. One night he watched his daugther and let her rest upon a little bed in his presence. She lay down without going to sleep. A little while after she said, "Father, I want to bathe." "Come along, my daughter," said the king. Holding her hands the king led her to the window; he lifted her and placed her on a lotus ornament outside it, holding her by one hand. As she bathed herself, she held out a hand to the prince, the nephew of the king and lover of the daughter. The prince loosed off the bangles from her arm, and fastened them on the arm of his soft-handed page boy; then he lifted the lad and placed him upon the lotus beside the princess. She took his hand, and placed it in her father's and went away with the prince. The king considered the lad to be his own daughter; and when the bathing was over, he put him to sleep in the royal bed chamber, shut the door and set his seal on it; then setting a guard he returned to his own chamber and lay down to rest. The next morning he opend the door and saw the lad. The lad being questioned

katvāna mahesiṃ Sīhasīvaliṃ (Mahāvaṃsa, Geiger's ed., p. 60; cf. ibid., ch. VII., verses 67-68).

told the king how his daughter had fled with the prince. The king was cast down and thought, "Not even if one goes along and holds hands can one guard a woman?" Then he gave his daughter in marriage to the prince, his nephew who, on his maternal uncle's death, ascended the throne.

In the Mahāvaṃsa also we find references to cousin-marriage[1]. Cittā, daughter of king Paṇḍuvāsudeva of Laṅkā, was so very beautiful that anybody seeing her would run mad. Hence Cittā was called Ummādacittā. Afraid of a prophecy that Cittā's son would kill Cittā's brothers for the throne, the princes kept their only sister in a chamber having but one pillar and the entry to the chamber lay through the king's sleeping apartment. Cittā had only one serving woman. One day she saw her maternal uncle's son named Dighagāmani and fell in love with him at first sight. With the help of the maid Gāmani used to get into the princess's chamber stealthily every night. Matters went on in this way for sometime till Cittā was discovered to be with child. The serving woman informed the queen who, having questioned her daughter, brought the matter to the notice of the king. The king in consultation with his sons gave Cittā in marriage with her lover who was her maternal uncle's son.[2]

Suvannapālī was married and made queen by her father's sister's son named Paṇḍukābhaya.[3]

Different forms of marriage.

Marriage was usually of three forms: (1) Marriage arranged by guardians of both parties, (2) Svayaṃvara, and (3) Gandharva marriage.

The common form of marriage was that arranged by guardians of both the parties and established between two families of the same caste and equal rank. This was akin to the Prājāpatya form of marriage current amongst the Hindus. Equality of birth and not of wealth was a matter of primary consideration before the settlement of a marriage. The Sāvatthian treasurer, Migāra, for instance, considered the equality of birth before he agreed to the proposal sent by Treasurer Dhanañjaya of Sāketa for the marriage of his daughter, Visākhā

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1 Pitucchādhītaraṃ taṃ so ādāya dhajinīpati, gantvāna Vaṅganagaraṃ saṃvāsaṃ tāya kappayi (Geiger's ed., p. 58).

2 Mahāvaṃsa, Geiger's ed., ch. IX.

3 Ibid., ch. X, 78.

with Migāra's son (Buddhist Parables, p. 161 ; cf. Dhammapada Commentary, vol. I, p. 390). In the Babbu Jātaka (no. 137) we read that a Sāvatthian girl named Kāṇā was married to a husband of the same caste in another village. The Nakkhatta Jātaka (no. 49) tells us that a gentleman of the country near Sāvatthī asked in marriage for his son a young Sāvatthian lady of equal rank. We learn from the Therīgāthā Commentary (p. 250) that Isidāsī, daughter of a virtuous and wealthy merchant, was married to a merchant's son of equal position. Uttarā, daughter of Nandaka, commander-in-chief of Piṅgala, king of Suraṭṭha, was married to one of a family of equal position (Petavatthu Cy., pp. 244-257).

The Vimānavatthu informs us that a daughter of an upāsaka at Sāvatthī was married to a member of another family of equal status. (Vimānavatthu Commentary, p. 128). The Manorathapūraṇī (p. 227) tells us that Sigālakamātā who came of the Treasurer's family at Rājagaha was married to a family of equal rank.

The usual practice in the form of marriage mentioned above was that the bridegroom used to come to the bride's house for marriage. The bridegroom and his party were received with great honour and were provided with both lodging and requisites—garlands, perfumes, garments and the rest.

Exceptions regarding caste and rank are sometimes met with in several works such as the Viruḍhakāvadāna in the Avadānakalpalatā, the Therīgāthā, the Mahāvaṃsa and the Jātakas. Pasenadi, king of Kosala, married a slave-girl of the Sākya Mahānāman and took her with him in great pomp to Sāvatthī. This girl was called Mallikā, well-known for her wonderful touch. Pasenadi while intending to establish a connection with the Buddha's family by marriage, was deceived by the Sākyas who gave him in marriage, a girl named Vāsavakhattiyā, a daughter by a slave-woman of one of their leading chiefs, Mahānāman. This deception was avenged by Viḍūḍabha, son of Pasenadi by Vāsavakhattiyā (cf. Introduction to Kaṭṭhahāri Jātaka, no. 7 ; Dhammapada Commentary, vol. I, pp. 345 ff.). Asoka made a merchant's daughter named Devī his wife who bore him, in course of time, a son named Mahinda and a daughter named Saṅghamittā (Mahāvaṃsa, p. 88). The marriage of Kisāgotamī, daughter of a poverty-stricken house, with the son of a rich merchant was not preceded by any consideration of caste or rank (Dhammapada Commentary, II, p. 270). Similarly the equality of birth, family and wealth had to be sacrificed by the parents of Kuṇḍalakesī in marrying

her with a thief with whom she fell in love at first sight from the top of her house (ibid., p. 217). Cāpā, daughter of the chief of the hunters of Vaṅkahāra country, was given to an ascetic named Upaka as his wife. Upaka lived near the hunter's house where he used to go for alms. Once the hunter had to go out for seven days on a hunting excursion. Cāpā was asked to wait upon the ascetic. The first day the ascetic came to the hunter's house for alms, Cāpā came out and gave him alms. Upaka was captivated by her beauty. He returned home and lay fasting for seven days being fired by lust. The hunter came back and learnt everything. Thereupon he gave his daughter Cāpā to the ascetic Upaka as his bride (Therī-gāthā Commentary, pp. 220 ff.). The circumstances which brought about the union of the hunter's daughter with an ascetic go to show that the consideration of caste or rank was sometimes sacrificed in exceptional circumstances. Cāpā, it might be said without fear of contradiction, was given by her father to an ascetic out of respect towards the latter. The story of Triśaṅku, the Caṇḍāla chieftain, narrated in the Divyāvadāna, is the only instance indicating the marriage of a Brahmin daughter with the Caṇḍāla's learned son Śārdulakarṇa (pp. 620 *et seq*).

The second form of marriage was Svayaṃvara or a girl's publicly choosing a husband for herself from a number of suitors assembled for the purpose. The Kuṇāla Jātaka (no. 536) refers to the Svayaṃvara marriage of princess Kaṇhā who, on seeing the five sons of king Paṇḍu, viz., Ajjuna, Nakula, Bhīmasena, Yudhiṭṭhila and Sahadeva in Svayaṃvara assembly, fell in love with all five, threw a wreathed coil of flowers on their heads while they were standing before her, and said, "Dear mother, I choose these five men." She was allowed to have these five men as her husbands. This is evidently a reminiscence of the celebrated Svayaṃvara marriage of Draupadī recorded in the Mahābhārata. In the Nacca Jātaka (no. 32) also we read that a princess prayed to her father for a boon that she might be allowed to choose a husband for herself. With a view to grant her prayer, the king invited all princes to a Svayaṃvara sabhā convened for the purpose. Princes from all countries assembled there. The king sent for his daughter and bade her go and choose a husband after her own heart. The girl appeared before the assembly and selected one as her life-mate. The selected husband was then found to be wanting in modesty and was therefore disapproved by the king.

Svayaṃvara.

Generally do we find in the Hindu literature that a person chosen

by a maid in Svayaṃvara assembly becomes the husband of the maid despite his demerits. Of course in such an assembly kings and princes are suitors. But this appears to be an exceptional instance in which the final verdict rests with the bride's father.

The Dhammapada Commentary furnishes us with another reference to a Svayaṃvara marriage. It tells us that Vepacitti, king of the Asuras, refused to give his daughter in marriage to any of the Asura princes. So he said, "My daughter shall choose for herself such a husband as she sees fit." He then assembled the host of Asuras, made over a garland of flowers to his daughter and said to her, "choose for yourself a husband who suits you." The girl selected one as her husband and threw the wreath over his head (Dhammapada Commentary, vol. I, pp. 278-279).

Gandharva marriage.

The third form of marriage is what may be called the Gandharva form of marriage in which the bride and the bridegroom make their own choice without the knowledge of their guardians, and are married without rites or ceremonies.

The Kaṭṭhahāri Jātaka (no. 7) gives us an instance of this Gandharva form of marriage. Once a king having gone in great state to his pleasure-garden was wandering hither and thither for fruits and flowers. He saw a woman who was merrily singing away as she picked up sticks in the grove. The king fell in love with her at first sight and became intimate with her. The woman knew and told the king that she would become a mother. The king gave her the signet-ring from his finger and said, "If it be a girl, spend this ring on her nurture; but if it be a boy, bring the ring and the child to me." In course of time a child was born. When the child could run about and play, he was taken by his mother to the king with the signet ring. After great difficulty the boy was proved to be the son of the king who made him viceroy and his mother queen-consort. This story reminds us of the well-known union of Śakuntalā with king Duṣyanta in the Abhijñāna-Śakuntalaṃ of Kālidāsa.

Elopement.

Women were sometimes seduced and abducted. These eloped women subsequently married in some cases and in others they used to pass off as wives without going through any matrimonial rite. In the Dhammapada Commentary (vol. I, pp. 191 ff.), we read that Vāsuladattā, daughter of Caṇḍapajjota of Ujjain, was given by her father to Udena to teach her the mantra for capturing elephants. Udena fell in love with Vāsuladattā and eloped with her. Afterwards Udena married her and made her his queen. The

same work (vol. II, p. 260 f.) informs us that Paṭācāra was the daughter of a rich banker of Sāvatthī. When sixteen she was kept on the topmost floor of a seven storied palace and was guarded with excessive care, but she fell in love with her own page. On the day fixed for her marriage with another youth, equal in birth and rank, she eloped with her lover, took shelter in a distant village and dwelt in a hamlet. Nowhere in this account do we find that Paṭācāra was married by her paramour subsequent to elopement. But they passed off as husband and wife and in course of time Paṭācāra gave birth to a child (cf. Therīgāthā Commentary, p. 108). The Assaka Jātaka (No. 100) also says that the king of Kosala came up with a great force against the king of Benares, slew the king and bore off his queen to be his own wife. A similar instance of the abduction of a woman is met within the Takka Jātaka (No. 63) which says that a village girl was kidnapped and kept as wife by a robber chieftain.

To guard against elopement, abduction and unions not sanctioned by custom, women were often kept inside the purdah. We learn from the Dhammapada Commentary that a rich man's daughter, when she attained marriageable age, was lodged by her parents in an apartment of royal splendour on the topmost floor of a seven storied palace, with a female slave to guard her (vol. III, p. 24). No male servant was kept in that house (ibid., vol. II, p. 217). Daughters of noble families did not ordinarily come out of their houses but they travelled in chariots and the like, while others entered an ordinary carriage or raised a parasol or a palmyra-leaf over their heads ; but if this was not available, they took the skirt of their undergarment and threw it over their shoulder (Dhammapada Commentary, vol. I, p. 391).

Seclusion of women.

From the instances cited above it is reasonable to hold that elopement and the preservation of chastity *inter alia* contributed largely to the observance of purdah by the tender sex before or after marriage. But there are exceptions, Visākhā, for example, while going to her father-in-law's house just after her marriage entered the city of Sāvatthi not under the purdah but standing up in a chariot uncovered showing herself to all the city (D. C., I, pp. 384 ff.). Daughters of respectable families who did not ordinarily stir out used to go on foot, during a festival, with their own retinue and bathe in the river (Dhammapada Commentary, vol. I, pp. 190, 191 and 388). These instances indeed show a relaxation of the purdah system.

Lucky days were arranged for marriage in which the bride or bride-

groom was brought home or sent forth (Dīgha Nikāya, vol. I, p. 11).

Auspicious days observed for the celebration of marriage.

Marriage ceremonies were held during auspicious hours which were strictly observed by some. We learn from the Nakkhatta Jātaka that a naked ascetic was consulted as to whether stars were favourable for holding marriage ceremonies. The fixed day was found to be inauspicious and the bride-groom did not come to the bride's house for marriage (Jātaka, no. 49).

Dowry.

The Buddhist literature hardly mentions the prevalence of dowry system in connection with marriage ceremonies. But instances of dowry being given by the bride's father are referred to in the Visākhāya-vatthu of the Dhammapada Commentary (vol. I).

The Sāvatthian treasurer, Migāra, on the occasion of the marriage of his daughter, Visākhā, well-known in the Buddhist literature, gave her as dowry five hundred carts filled with money, five hundred filled with vessels of gold, five hundred filled with vessels of silver, five hundred filled with copper vessels, five hundred filled with garments made of various kinds of silk, five hundred filled with ghee, five hundred filled with rice husked and winnowed, and five hundred filled with ploughs, plough-shares and other farm implements. Sixty thousand powerful bulls and sixty thousand milch-cows, and some powerful bull-calves were also given to her.

Bath and perfume money.

The Dhammapada Commentary and the Jātakas tell us that marriage of girls was celebrated with bath-money given by the father to his daughter. Mahā-Kosala, father of Pasenadi, king of Kosala, married his daughter Kośala-devi to king Bimbisāra of Magadha and gave her a village in Kāsi for her bath and perfume money (Jātakas, nos. 239 and 283). Princess Vajirā was the daughter of Pasenadi of Kosala. She was given in marriage to Ajātasattu of Magadha. Kāsigāma was given to her by her father for her bath and perfume money (Dhammapada Comy., vol. III, p. 266). The Sāvatthian treasurer, Migāra, gave his daughter, on her marriage, fifty-four crores of treasure to buy aromatic powders for the bath (ibid., vol. I, p. 398).

Levy on the occasion of a marriage ceremony.

The custom of collecting presents (paṇṇākāran) on the occasion of a marriage ceremony is met with in the Dhammapada Commentary (vol. I, p. 182), where we read that on the occasion of the marriage ceremony of Visākhā, daughter of Dhanañjaya Seṭṭhi with the son of Migāra Seṭṭhi, presents including a hundred each of all kinds of gifts were collected from hundred villages.

Admonitions to a married girl.

After marriage the girl was sent to her father-in-law's house with the following admonitions :[1]

1. Do not bring outside the indoor fire.
2. Do not bring inside the outdoor fire.
3. Give only to him that gives.
4. Do not give him that does not give.
5. Give both to him that gives and him that does not give.
6. Sit happily.
7. Eat happily.
8. Sleep happily.
9. Tend the fire.
10. Honour the household divinity.

These ten admonitions were interpreted as follows :—

1. If the mother-in-law or other female members of the household engage in a private conversation within the house, their conversation is not to be communicated to slaves, whether female or male, for such conversation is tattled about and causes quarrels.
2. The conversation of slaves and servants is not to be communicated to persons within the household ; as such conversation is talked about and causes quarrels.
3. This means that one should give only to those that return borrowed articles.
4. This means that one should not give to those who do not return borrowed articles.
5. This means that one should help poor kinsfolk and friends who look for succour, without considering their capability of repaying.
6. This means that a wife seeing her mother-in-law or her father-in-law, should stand and not remain sitting.
7. This means that a wife should not eat before her mother-in-law, father-in-law and husband have taken their meals. She should serve them first, and when she is sure that they

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1 Anto aggi bahi na nīharitabbo, bahi aggi anto na pavesitabbo, dadantass' eva dātabbam, adadantassa na dātabbaṃ, dadantassāpi adadantassāpi dātabbaṃ, sukhaṃ nisīditabbaṃ, sukhaṃ bhuñjitabbaṃ, sukhaṃ nipajjitabbaṃ, aggi paricaritabbo, antodevatāpi namassitabbā' ti idaṃ dasavidhaṃ ovādam. Dhammapada Comy., I, pp. 397-398.

have had all they care for, then and not till then may she herself eat.

8. This means that a wife should not go to bed before her mother-in-law, father-in-law and husband. She should first perform all the duties which she owes them and then she may herself lie down to sleep.

9. This means that a wife should regard her mother-in-law, father-in-law or husband as a flame of fire or a serpent-king.

10. When a monk, after keeping residence in a remote lodging, comes to the door of a house and the housewife sees him, she must first give to such a monk whatever food there is in the house, both hard and soft; and then she may eat. (Dhammapada Comy., I, pp. 403-404).

Polygamy and polyandry.

Buddhist literature contains but one reference to polyandry. The only exception indicating the existence of polyandry occurs in the Kuṇāla Jātaka[1] in which we read that princess Kaṇhā was allowed to have at a time five husbands selected by her in a Svayaṃvara assembly. A woman could not marry more than one man at a time nor could a woman as a general rule marry twice in her life though there were exceptions.[2] We learn from the Nakkhatta Jātaka (no. 49) that on the failure of the selected bridegroom's coming to the bride's house on the appointed day the bride was given in marriage to another bridegroom. When the first bridegroom came he was told that the girl could not be married twice over. It was not the custom for a wedded wife to take another mate even if she was not loved by her husband.[3] But there are instances in which married women who were either kidnapped or seduced were kept as wives. While a woman does not generally appear to have taken more than one husband, a man appears to have married more than one woman. In the Vimānavatthu Commentary (pp. 149-

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1 Jātaka, no. 536.

2 Infra.

3 "Ārā dūre na idha kadāci atthi.
paramparā nāma kule imasmiṃ,
taṃ kullavattaṃ anuvattamānā
'māham kule antimagandhinī ahuṃ'
etassa vādassa jigucchamānā
akāmikā baddha carāmi tuyhan ti."
(Kaṇhadīpāyana Jātaka, Fausboll, Jātaka, vol. IV, p. 35).

156) we read that Bhaddā being barren told her husband to marry her sister Subhaddā. The husband did so. The Babbu Jātaka (no. 137) tells us that a wife delayed in coming back to her husband's house from her father's house and the husband took a second wife. The Ruhaka Jātaka (no. 191) informs us that a husband sent her naughty and deceitful wife away and took a second wife. The Assaka Jātaka (no. 207) gives us another instance of a husband's taking a second wife. In it we read that king Assaka of Potali, a city in the kingdom of Kāśī, took a second queen on the death of his first queen Ubbarī. In some of the Jātakas[1] we find that certain kings had as many as sixteen thousand wives. A Magadhan householder named Magha had four wives at a time, viz., Nandā, Cittā, Sudhammā, and Sujātā (D. C., I, 265). King Bimbisāra had 500 wives (Mahāvagga, viii, 1, 15). King Okkāka had five queens (Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, p. 258). The Mahāvaṃsa records that Māyā and Mahāmāyā, two uterine sisters, were given in marriage to Suddhodana (Geiger's text, p. 14). This is borne out by the fact related in the Tibetan Buddhist books as translated by Rockhill (Life of the Buddha, p. 15) that Suddhodana, inspite of the rigorous provision of the law of the land prohibiting every citizen from marrying more than one woman, was allowed to have two wives as a mark of gratitude for his subduing the hillmen of the Pāṇḍava tribe while a prince. Thus we see that husbands used to take more than one wife in the lifetime of the first wife or after her death. While the man had the privilege of marrying more than one woman at a time, the woman had the misfortune of enduring cruel treatment at the hands of her co-wife.

Co-wives.

The worst misery for a woman is to have a co-wife. In almost all cases fellow-wives quarrel with one another and make home a place to fly away from rather than to fly to for peace and comfort. A woman cannot tolerate that her husband should ignore her very existence and take pleasure with other women (Jātaka, no. 519). Sometimes barren women used to bring a second wife for their husbands for the continuance of their husband's line; but the inherent jealousy of women against their co-wives exhibits itself when their co-wives bear children and become husband's favourites. The Dhammapada Commentary (I, 45 ff.) tells us that the first wife of a householder of Sāvatthī being barren, brought another wife for her husband. When her

1 Jātakas, nos. 514, 538.

co-wife became pregnant, she was jealous and effected abortion by administering medicine. Thrice did the woman commit this heinous crime with the result that her co-wife succumbed at last to the effect of the abortive medicine. But the cruel woman did not escape the penalty for doing this sinful deed. She was beaten to death by her husband who declared her to be the cause of the death of his pregnant wife and destroyer of his line.

The Petavatthu gives us another illustration. Mattā the wife of a householder of Sāvatthī was childless. Hence her husband took another wife named Tissā. Being jealous of the rival wife, Mattā, one day, heaped together the sweepings and threw them on the head of her co-wife. Tissā endured humiliation and bad behaviour of her co-wife. On her death Mattā was born as a petī who suffered various miseries. One day she appeared before Tissā and requested her to offer on her account, food, etc. to eight bhikkhus. Tissā bore no grudge against her co-wife despite her ill-behaviour. She did as requested, and Mattā was released from the petaloka (Paramatthadīpanī on the Petavatthu, pp. 82-89).

Divorce.

Divorce was allowed but without any formal decree. Isidāsī, for instance, had to return twice to her father's house having been turned out of the house by successive husbands because she did not prove desirable for one husband after another (Therī-gāthā Comy., p. 260). No instance is recorded of similar action taken against the husband.

Remarriage of women.

Certain passages indicate that remarriage of women was not unknown in the Buddhist period. The introduction to the Ucchaṅga Jātaka (no. 67) which tells us that a woman's husband, brother and son were once imprisoned. Her loud lamentations caused the king to show her favour. The king said to her "I give you one of the three, which will you take?" "Sire," was her answer, "if I live, I can get another husband and another son; but as my parents are dead, I can never get another brother. So give me my brother, Sire." This reply of the woman indicates that a woman could probably marry more than once. The instance of Isidāsī, cited above, also illustrates the point.

Widow remarriage.

The Ceylonese Chronicle, the Mahāvaṃsa, furnishes us with an instance of widow-remarriage. In it we read that king Khallāṭanāga was overpowered by the Commander of his troops named Kammahārattaka. The Commander was killed by the king's younger brother named Vaṭṭagāmaṇi. The latter began to rule the kingdom, took his nephew, Mahācūḷika as his son

and made his elder brother's wife, Anulādevī, his queen (Geiger, text, pp. 269-270).

The Avadānakalpalatā of Kṣemendra mentions that woman was man's absolute property. Man could dispose of woman in any way he liked.

Gift of wife.

It tells us that Śrīsena, a charitable king of the Ariṣṭā country, had a queen named Jayaprabhā. To fulfil the desire of his preceptor, a disciple came to the king and prayed for queen Jayaprabhā to be given as a preceptor's fee. Śrīsena with a smiling face gave away his queen Jayaprabhā. But the preceptor, on receiving the desired fee, changed his mind. He sent back the queen with due respect to the king (Śrīsenāvadāna). In complying with the request of Vāhīka-muni, a disciple of Marīci, Manicūḍa, king of Sāketa, gave away his queen Padmāvatī along with her son to wait upon the old sage (Manicūḍāvadāna). Viśvantara, prince of Viśvapurī, being requested by Indra in a brāhmaṇa's guise, gave away his own wife Mādrī (Viśvantarāvadāna).

BIMALA CHURN LAW

## Philosophy of Dharma (Law)*

Law is genetically connected with custom and usage, and with abstract truth so far as its nature is concerned. Law expresses the truth underlying creation and conduct and is thus a standard or ideal. It is the sanction for and at the same time the evaluation of daṇḍa or state authority, since the state would be blind without it in the absence of some form of guidance and direction. The state upholds it for its nature which helps the state to realise some truth or part of it within its jurisdiction. Whether metaphysical or empirical its normative character is correlated with the doctrine of daṇḍa as power over individuals living in society. "Law itself must be created by the social

* *N. B.* For the technical uses of *dharma*, see Central Conception of Buddhism, p. 74; Buddhist Psychology (Introduction), History of Indian Philosophy, pp. 316-317.

spirit which it aims at creating."[1] The unity behind social spirit shows law in relation to morals and freedom. Law needs to be explained as to its permanency, authority and operation.

*The Basis of Law*

As the expression of system or order, Law was the theme of the Vedic time. It supplied the basis of ethical and social ideas reflecting itself in the concrete social order as well as in custom and usage, probably known in its narrower sense through the dictates of the Vedic assembly which was a national institution representing society in general. But its abstract foundation engaged the most poetic and sublime vision of the sages. It was thus idealised to the highest while the stages of the process revealed philosophic depth regarding the significance of the world order as a whole. A type of philosophy of law is traced in the ancient Vedic literature yet unexpanded into schools.

K. V. R. Aiyangar has remarked—"The two senses of law (dharma) are closely related to each other in ancient India. To maintain law in its wider sense, all its legislative activity had to be guided and controlled by the existence of law as an ideal.[2] It is exactly here that the philosophy of law intervenes and shows the higher reaches of legal thought. Rising from the idea of order in the Vedas it spreads over all sides of human activity. The gods of the earliest ages all expressed order or system of some kind in their own spheres.[3] Their decrees and statutes, whether of Varuṇa the ethical god or of Indra the national god, meant regulative principles of nature and society. The projection of this idea into all departments of human life was only a natural and legitimate procedure for the early thinkers. They saw order everywhere in the world and declared "order dwells amongst men, in truth in noblest places."[4] Thus the foundation of moral, social and political law was laid down for ever. Max Müller said "in the Vedic hymns *ṛta*, from meaning the order of the heavenly movements, became in time the name for moral order and righteousness."[5] The character of this ever-present system or order in the universe is described as "of

1 Bosanquet, Phil. Theo. of State, p. 38.
2 Ancient Indian Polity, p. 64.
3 Griswold, Religion of the Ṛg Veda, pp. 108, 174.
4 Ṛg Veda, IV, 40 (Dutt's Trans.)
5 Hibbert Lec., 1878, p. 235.

*ṛta* (order), sure and firm-set are the bases."[1] Its moral effect is that "the thought of *ṛta* slayeth crookedness."[2] "Human laws only reflect the laws of gods, the first effect of law is that it binds men together."[3]

Backed up by this conception of the Vedic seers, the abstract side of law came to be developed philosophically. Indeed a clear and definite vision of a system pervading the universe in its metaphysical aspect is one of the greatest discoveries of the time. Further, law led to truth, everlasting as it is,[4] yielding a sense of unchanging permanency. It is said "by law they came to truth"[5] and then both are identified as one. Thus "Truth is the Sun's extended light.....Truth is the base that bears the earth."[6] Again "Law and truth are born of fervour"[7] being two sides of one reality. In the Atharva Veda[8] law is above the gods, "the home and life of the gods." It was a mysterious entity to the early mind, but still a metaphysical reality to be put later in philosophical language by the writers of the Upaniṣads.

Leaving aside all figurative clothing, the Upaniṣads proceeded in the spirit of pure philosophy and declared the truth, that is, the one reality, and law and order ; and everything of system and interconnection are merged into it as merely its different phases. In this period the word *ṛta* is replaced by the word *dharma*, the former being simpler as the latter is highly complex, but the conceptions are closely parallel. The advance in Vedic thought consists in more abstract treatment and better analysis. If law and order are analysed the remainder is abstract truth ; that which is true in law and order is truth, *i.e.*, law is truth. And nothing but truth endures, for truth is the measure of the degree of reality. Law is powerful and lasting because it pertains to truth. It was the age of the solidification of thought and the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad crystalised the idea almost to finality in its famous passage quoted below,—

"Brahman (the supreme being) created the most excellent law.

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1 Ṛg Veda, V, 8 (Gr. Tr.). 2 Ibid., V, 9.

3 Hopkins' Ethics of India, p. 38. 4 Ṛg Veda, VII, 39 ; IX, 74.

5 Ibid., VII, 56.

6 Ibid., I, 105, 12—Satyaṃ tātāna sūryyo...; X, 85, 1—Satyenottabhitā bhūmiḥ.

7 Ibid., X, 190, 1—"Ṛtaṃ ca satyaṃ cābhīddhāt tapaso'dhyajāyata."

8 II, 1 ; Cf. Ṛg Veda, X, 65.

Law is the king of kings.[1] Therefore there is nothing higher than law. Thenceforth even a weak man rules with the help of law as with the help of a king. And if a man declares what is true, they say he declares law, and if he declares law they say he declares what is true.[2] Both are the same."[3]

Again: "Law (dharma) is the honey (sweetness) of all beings... and the lustrous, deathless spiritual being in it is···Brahman"[4]

This is only another way of saying that moral authority imbedded in law is metaphysical in character. The same conception is found in Hooker—"Of law there can be no less acknowledged than that her seat is the bosom of God, her voice the harmony of the world, all things in heaven and earth do her homage, the very least as feeling her care and the greatest as not exempted from her power."[5] In the Upaniṣadic treatment it is noticeable that the law-givers are called the declarers of truth, law and truth being definitely characterised as the same. All the later law-makers followed this standpoint if they wanted to be idealistic and not simply empirical. It is the well-known Pindaric attitude to law conceived in the same spirit as Pindar's immortal words: "Law, the king of all, both mortals and immortals." The old Vedic idea of order in the very core of the world is spiritualised in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad[6] which puts the whole matter pithily in a short sentence: "So the whole world has truth as its soul, that is, reality." Hopkins says that "*dharma* is employed to characterise the very nature of god" and is "the form of god."[7]

The Buddhist period in fact supported the ideal of law handed down through the ages. Norm and righteousness are the principal thought and the Buddhist conception of law, though essentially moral in nature, shows the tendency observed in the Upaniṣads. Buddha himself gave the broad indication of four dharmas to Nandaka, namely, unshakable faith (*a*) in the Buddha, (*b*) in the dharma, (*c*) in the saṅgha, and (*d*) the possession of śīlas, as declared by the Āryas, by which a disciple can obtain salvation.[8] The second is the point at issue here.

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1 Cf. Aṅguttara Nikāya, Rājovādavagga :—dhamma is raññō rājā.

2 Cf. Dr. Barua's Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy (on the relation between truth and law and the meaning of truth), pp. 87, 335-6.

3 Br. Up., I, 4, 11-14 (R. C. Dutt's Trans.).

4 Ibid., 5, 11.

5 Ecc. Pol., I, 18.

6 VI, 6, 13.

7 Ethics of India, pp. 64, 185.

8 Saṃyutta Nikāya (P. T. S.), vol. v, pp. 389-90.

Later on Buddhism converted the law and the church into expressions of the Buddha himself, and the law (dhamma) became an external manifestation of Buddha.[1] Rhys Davids in a general way summarised the ideal,—"Dharma is not simply law, but that which underlies and includes the law—a word often most difficult to translate and best rendered by truth or righteousness."[2] Mrs. Rhys Davids has explained Dharma to mean "the normal, necessary and eternal order and law of all moral spiritual things ; it stood in place of a theodicy or cosmos created and carried on by a first and final cause."[3] It is like the necessity of Æschylus, a Greek conception which was used for explaining things and events. According to Dr. Stcherbatsky, "the conception of dharma is the central point of the Buddhist doctrine. In the light of this conception Buddhism discloses itself as a metaphysical theory developed out of one fundamental principle, viz., the idea that existence is an interplay of a plurality of subtle, ultimate, not further analysable elements of matter, mind and forces. These elements are technically called dharmas, a meaning which this word has in this system..... But although the conception of an element of existence has given rise to an imposing structure in the shape of a consistent system of philosophy, its inmost nature remains a riddle. What is Dharma? It is inconceivable. It is subtle. No one will ever be able to tell what its real nature is. It is transcendental."[4] This is equal to saying that it eludes definition and determination and is therefore of the character of the absolute inspite of the fact that it has been applied in many ways.

Exhaustive elaboration was made of it in the great Epic. The epic character of Dharma (righteous law) is likewise highly generalised in conception and metaphysical at the last analysis. In the Mahābhārata, Dharma is at first superficially said to be based on justice and truth.[5] As such it is the good of all.[6] Ultimately all these are run into one another and Dharma becomes equal to goodness,[7] light and beauty.[8] Further it is "the immortality of the gods," i.e. im-

1 Ethics of India, p. 185. 2 Buddhism, p. 45.

3 Buddhism, p. 35. 4 Central Conception of Buddhism, pp. 73,75.

5 Udyoga Parva, 33 ; Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva, 85.

6 Mokṣadharma Parva, 262. 7 Anuśāsana Parva, 105.

8 Bhīṣma Parva, 23 ; cf. Matthew Arnold, who identifies perfection with sweetness and light as well as with reason and God's will (Culture and Anarchy, p. 30).

mortality itself. Consequently Nīlakaṇṭha has made it the very "cause of Kaivalya."[1] The conclusion of the Epic verily goes back to the idea of the Atharva Veda. Figuratively it is spoken of as rising out of Nārāyaṇa (God) and "merging back into Him"[2] and is also asserted to be the ultimate salvation[3] and its absence is death.[4] Even Kauṭilya's empirical outlook had to yield that "Dharma (righteous law) is eternal truth holding sway over the world."[5] In the Vyavahāra Darpaṇa, which closely follows the Upaniṣadic style and thought, "law is described to be something eternal and self-existent, the king of kings, far more powerful and right than they."[6] Legal idealism handed down by the earliest speculations was in this way maintained throughout until it rose to its highest in the great Epic. It appears to be eternally ordained and embedded in the constitution of the world and also capable of ascertainment partly by revelation and partly by enquiry in a reverential spirit into the very nature of Dharma. Prof. Sen Gupta has remarked that this is the "comprehensive idea of law which is the dream and perhaps the despair of the sociological school of the modern philosophical jurists."[7] Here is found "the oriental counterpart of the Greek, Stoic, Roman and Patristic conceptions of law."[8]

### *Empirical View*

Away from the philosophic treatment given above there is another line of thought which does not care so much for the content of Dharma as for its practical use in society through human agency. It would be the empirical basis of law in the sense that it does not go backwards enough but rests with the human stage of it, which is seen in pronounced collective opinion solidified into codes. "In early Aryan society Law was invariably looked upon as founded on the twin roots of religion and agreement of men learned in sacred lore."[9] The ancient pariṣads or

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1 Mokṣadharma Parva, 193—"Dharmo...devānāmamṛtaṃ divi" (Bengal ed., p. 455). According to Nīlakaṇṭha, it is "kaivalya-kāraṇam" (Bombay ed., p. 28).

2 Mokṣadharma Parva, 348—"Antar dadhe tato bhūyo Nārāyaṇa-samāhitaḥ" (Beng. ed., p. 871).

3 Āpad-dharma Parva, 147. 4 Anuśāsana Parva, 61.

5 Arthaśāstra, p. 191. 6 Pol. Theo. and Inst. of H., p. 208.

7 Sources of Law and Society, p. 27.

8 Pol. Theo. and Inst. of Hindus, p. 208.

9 Sources of Law and Society, p. 44.

assemblies of Brāhmaṇas functioned as law-declarers from this point of view, and the Brāhmaṇas were the makers of law.[1] In a more positive way the principle of agreement would apply to the statutes of corporate bodies such as guilds and municipalities which were states within the state with full recognition of their power and status. Mr. Jayaswal says, "they are really the resolutions of these bodies and had the force of law."[2]

(*a*) From the general standpoint both Āpastamba and Gautama have acknowledged this principle of agreement.[3] Laws rising out of agreement are called "Samayācārika" rules, from the word 'Samaya' which means an agreement. It is explained by Haradatta as "consisting of customs settled by human agreement."[4] Accordingly the character of law is determined by common consent and law is based on it. Āpastamba makes it clearer by admitting that "so far as Samayācārika rules are concerned the Vedas furnish very little guidance."[5] The whole idea of basing law on agreement is modern and is found in writers like Locke, Hobbes and Rousseau. Under this exposition fall the definitions of law such as :—

(i) "Law is what is unanimously approved in all countries by men of the Aryan society, who have been properly obedient to their teachers, who are aged, of subdued senses, neither given to avarice nor to hypocrisy."[6]

(ii) "Law is whatever is practised and cherished at heart by the virtuous and the learned who are devoid of prejudice and passion."[7]

(iii) "Law is the practice of the Śiṣṭas, i.e., those whose hearts are free from desire."[8]

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1 Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva, 77 ; Manu, viii, 391.

2 Hindu Polity, II, p. 106—N. B. This has been lately refuted by Dr. N. N. Law on very cogent grounds. It is evident that Dr. Law's criticism of texts and their substances reveals new meanings and relations, and thus does not logically allow the position held by Mr. Jayaswal (*I. H. Q.*, June, 1926, p. 385).

3 Āpastamba I, 1, 1 ; Gautama, VIII, 11.

4 Sources of Law and Society, p. 43.

5 Āpastamba, II, 2, 29.

6 Āpastamba, I, 7, 20. Cf. "That is virtue which is applauded by many, etc." (Śukra-nīti, p. 264).

7 Manu, ii, 1. 8 Vasiṣṭha, I, 5-6; Baudhāyana, I, 1, 1, 4-6.

A tacit agreement is assumed in these cases in the approvals and practices of those who are looked upon as guides and patterns, otherwise no standard could possibly be found for any kind of judgment.

Specific legislation by bodies of men associated together would fall into two divisions 'Samaya' and 'Saṃvid'. The first class is defined as "law or resolution agreed upon in an assembly" and the second as "agreement or laws by agreement recorded in a roll." Thus they are not "*leges*" which were embodied in the Hindu common law but were administrative statutes of fiscal and political nature.[1] It seems probable that 'Samaya' was more general and powerful, applying to the whole country, while 'Saṃvid' was particular and limited to groups and sections.

A further division of the 'Saṃvid' agreement is pointed out by Mr. Row. According to him it is of two kinds—Rāja-kṛta and Samūha-kṛta, i.e., either laid down by the king or by the different public bodies. "The body of learned men *created* by the king is called 'Rāja-kṛta samudaya' and their prescribed course of duty is 'Rāja-kṛta saṃvid'. The body of learned men *elected* by the people is called Samūha or Samudaya and their prescribed course of duty is Samūha-kṛta saṃvid."[2]

The aspect of law based on agreement equally formed a distinct division of legal thought in the ancient West. Demosthenes, Xenophon and Anaximenes gave indications of this line of speculation showing the practical nature of law-making through deliberation and agreement. Demosthenes has called it "the common covenant of the state" and Anaximenes "a definite proposition in pursuance of a common agreement of the state." According to Xenophon "whatsoever the ruling part of the state, after deliberating what ought to be done, shall enact, is called a law."[3]

(*b*) Another source of law (dharma) is the will of the sovereign in the Austinian sense and in this respect it is determinate and definite positive law like the laws of agreement which have the same character. The standpoint of Hobbes expresses the import of positive law as against natural law, serving for the criterion required in this case. In the Leviathan it is said of laws that "positive are those which have not been laws from eternity but have been laws by the will of those that have had sovereign power over others."[4] The same strain is found in

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1 Hindu Polity, p. 107. 2 Dev. of Democracy in India, p. 98.
3 Holland, Jurisprudence, p. 39. 4 Leviathan, p. 148.

Kauṭilya who is for accepting as law "the royal command enforced by sanction."[1] Speaking of such commands he mentions "thirteen purposes for which royal writs are issued," and as regards their varieties he gives the following :—"Writs of command, of information, of guidance, of remission, of license, of gift, of reply, of general proclamation."[2]

The Epic endorses Kauṭilya's view and states clearly that "whatever he (the king) shall fix as dharma (law) is to be considered actual dharma (law)."[3]

Nārada has shown the rise of positive law (vyāvahāra) because of the neglect of duty on the part of men.[4] This is equal to saying that positive law in the shape of king's order was necessitated by the peoples' conduct who did not do their parts and were therefore forced to do them through the machinery of the state. Prof. Sarkar says "the performance of duty having fallen into disuse, positive law (vyāvahāra) has been introduced and the king as superintending the law is known as daṇḍa-dhara" i. e. the inflictor of punishment.[5] It is worthy of notice that Manu takes a middle course in recommending the king to declare law, having first referred to sacred texts and old customs.[6] Bṛhaspati likewise says that "a decision must not be made solely by the letter of the written codes" ; "the reason of the law" and "immemorial usage" are also factors for consideration.[7]

Śukra, inspite of his wide outlook, seems to have followed Kauṭilya in respect of positive law. He lays down direct promulgation of laws by the king.[8] And these laws are to be given the widest publicity by means of drums and notices[9] backed up by the categorical statement that "I (the king) will surely destroy by severe punishment those offenders who after hearing these, my decrees, would act contrary to them."[10] Hence the king has been fittingly called "the maker of the age" i. e. of good and evil practices.[11]

The Mīmāṃsā dictum which is parallel to the views of Hobbes

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1 Pol. Theo. and Inst. of Hindus, p. 209. 2 Arthaśāstra, p. 83.

3 Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva, 91. Cf. Dharma lies in "the dictates of good men and superiors" (Ādi Parva, 123 ; Vana Parva, 208).

4 Nārada, Intro., I, 2. 5 Pol. Theo. and Inst. of Hindus, p. 209.

6 Manu, VIII, 41. But in VII, 13, Manu and his commentator have both accepted "rajānujñā" in the sense of positive law.

7 Quoted from Vyavahāra-tattva in S. Roy's Customary Law, p. 17.

8 Sukranīti, p. 38. 9 Ibid., p. 43.

10 Śukra-nīti, p. 42. 11 Ibid., p. 132.

and Bentham gives the most succinct definition yet found of positive law. According to Jaimini, Dharma is "Codanālakṣaṇo'rthaḥ" *i. e.* that desired for object which is characterised by command.[1] Hobbes makes it "the speech of him who by right commands somewhat to be done or omitted".[2] "Jaimini has also examined the reason as to why that which is determined by a command should be obligatory. He analyses the reason as lying in the fact that the relation between the word of command and the purpose to which it is directed is eternally efficacious."[3]

In Nārada and Bṛhaspati, positive law is seen to be above all other laws. Both are emphatic on this point. By their time it is certain that the power of the state was consolidated to a great, if not the greatest, extent. Nārada says,—"Royal order over-rules such laws."[4] And Bṛhaspati adds that "where the king, disregarding established usage, passes a sentence (according to his own inclination), it is called an edict."[5]

*Rational View*

Another source of Dharma is said to be reason, in the sense of higher reason. The revelation of reason or conscience gives the knowledge or intuition of Dharma which is authoritative. It is called "self-satisfaction" as different from deliberation as a logical process. Manu as well as Yājñavalkya mentions this "ātma-tuṣṭi" and both agree that it leads to Dharma, or in other words yields Dharma in its own sphere, it being on the same plane as the other sources of law in their treatment.[6] And they have not laid down any limitation to its application.

Medhātithi and Vijñāneśvara raised the point as to when it should be really and actually applied. In other words they doubt if conscience could be the absolute guide for the purposes of Dharma. Medhātithi has, therefore, qualified it with the word "sādhūnāṃ" i. e. of the good.[7] The conscience only of the virtuous is trustworthy. It becomes clearer when Kumārila's criticism is subjoined, who shows that "Manu could

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1 Jaimini, Mīmāṃsā Sūtras, I, 1, 2, 2, cited in Hinduism by Govinda Das, p. 73. 2 Quoted in Holland's Jurisprudence, p. 39.
3 Pol. Theo. and Ins. of Hindus, p. 209.
4 XVII, 24 (S.B.E., 33, p. 217). 5 II, 27 (S.B.E. 33, p. 287).
6 Manu, II, 6, 13 ; Yājñavalkya, I, 7.
7 Manu I, Mandlik's ed. p. 100.

not have contemplated the satisfaction of evil passions by ātma-tuṣṭi."[1] Vijñāneśvara on the contrary allows self-satisfaction from conscience to operate in the field of alternatives where choice can be made between a number of injunctions. He definitely says, "It relates to optional matters.....in selecting any one of the alternatives."[2] Both commentators have thus kept within the sphere of othodoxy by straining the point too much.

Manu, Yājñavalkya and Nārada have enunciated another principle, namely, that of discursive reason. It is called "saṅkalpamūlakāmaḥ" and "saṅkalpajakāmaḥ"—desire rooted in or born of deliberation.[3] Here deliberation or reasoning is the prime factor in giving rise to Dharma. It is secondary indeed but nevertheless important. While Manu says "all dharmas...are born of deliberation," Yājñavalkya says "they are rooted in deliberation." Medhātithi and Vijñāneśvara have for this the limitation that desire must not be "opposed to sacred law."[4] Nārada also upholds critical reason and gives it a place very significant from the standpoint of the proper adjustment of contradictory rules of the śāstras. It is reason which decides the case and elicits true Dharma and is therefore equal to criticism and reconstruction of Dharma. Nārada's line is—"In the case of difference in dharma-śāstras, the right way is said to be with reason."[5]

Bṛhaspati says,—"In case of conflict between two smṛtis, equity should be resorted to ; when the law books are inapplicable that course should be followed which is indicated by the consideration of the circumstances of the case.[6] Dr. Sen Gupta has thus remarked on this position of reason : "by putting it forward as a source of law the authors were not recognising any principle like the equity of Rome or England but simply laying down that law was to be rationally interpreted and applied."[7] Yet it seems that the Hindu legislators saw in reason a real reconstructing element which brought out some newness for dharma. The Epic has something to say on it starting with the assumption that "there are many doors to dharma,"[8] and that "dharma

1 Sources of Law and Society in Anc. India, p. 84.
2 Mitākṣara (S. C. Vidyāratna's ed.), p. 14.
3 Manu Saṃhitā, II, 3 ; Yājñavalkya Saṃhitā, I, 7.
4 Manu (Mandlik's ed.), I, p. 91 ; Mitākṣara, (Vidyāratna's ed.)p. 14.
5 Nārada I, 40. "Dharmaśāstravirodhe tu yuktiyukto vidhiḥ smṛtaḥ"
6 Bṛhaspati, XXVII, 2.
7 Sources of Law and Society, p. 82. 8 Mokṣadharma Parva, 174.

is a very subtle thing."[1] "The more it is discussed the finer it becomes."[2] Consequently "the truth of dharma has to be found out by reason."[3] "The core of dharma is sought by the wise just as hunters trace the bloody foot-marks of the wounded deer."[4] "They can find out true dharma by separating it from true adharma".[5] Indeed "the wise gain dharma"[6] ; and "the wise indicated many kinds of dharma by the power of knowledge."[7]

The knowledge of dharma is a corollary from the philosophical position of the source of dharma. Hence the question arises as to who knows dharma. The agreement basis of law is cut across by the Epic, Yājñavalkya and Śukra when it is said that even one competent man could declare law ; just as one valid instance is sufficient to establish causation, so is one wise man enough to reveal authoritative dharma. Yājñavalkya says that dharma may be "that which even one person, who is best among the knowers of the spiritual science, declares.[8] Parāśara gives the same rule :—"Even a single brāhmaṇa, who is a muni with a knowledge of his self and devoted to prayers, performer of vedic sacrifices and ceremonial oblations, may constitute to himself an assembly (for declaring law) in his own individual capacity."[9] Śukra allows a man to dictate under all circumstances if he is aware of dharmaśāstra : "The man who knows dharma can speak whether appointed or unappointed. He speaks the voice of God who knows the śāstra. What only one man says can even be law if he is spiritually minded."[10]

Thus the knowledge of dharma is at least but culture of the highest type which is able to disclose the nature of ultimate reality. It depends on the "turning of the soul" in the language of Plato and this again is the pre-condition of the true philosopher. Truly "on the mind depends dharma and on the practice of dharma depends enlightenment."[11] An intuition of this kind alone can reveal the true nature of righteousnesss.

*(To be continued)*

J. N. C. GANGULY

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1 Ibid., 264.
2 Āpad-dharma Parva, 136.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid., 132.
5 Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva, 33.
6 Prajāgar Parva, 34.
7 Āpad-dharma Parva, 160.
8 Yājñavalkya Saṃhitā, I, 9.
9 Parāśara Saṃhitā, VIII, 20.
10 Śukranīti, pp. 185, 186.
11 Ind. Phil., p. 423.

# The Early Adventures of Guru Govind Singh

## I. EARLY LIFE

Guru Govind Singh was born on the 7th bright lunar day of *Pauṣ, Saṃbat*, 1723 (January, 1665 A.D.)[1] at Patna where Guru Tegh Bahadur had left his family when he accompanied Raja Ram Singh in his expedition against Assam[2]. Of his early life there is not much to relate. In the Vicitra Nāṭak the Guru merely says that he was born at Patna and was afterwards taken to the *Madradeśa* where he received instructions in various forms and when he 'arrived at the age to perform his religious duties', his father departed to the other world.[3] The other Sikh records, however, give us many details but these are not of much historical value. Even when a mere child the Guru is said to have shown unmistakable signs of future greatness and his grandmother Nānakī is said to have declared on one occasion that the boy would follow in the footsteps of his grandfather Hargovind and become a great warrior. The favourite game of the child, Govind Rai, was to divide his companions into two opposing camps, representing the Sikhs and the Muhammadans respectively and it is said that invariably the latter were worsted. Though still a child, Govind Rai is said to have daily practised the use of arms. The Sikhs claim that he soon became a great favourite at Patna and that when he left for the Punjab, whole Patna wept as did Ayodhyā on the exile of Rāma.

How long Govind Rai remained at Patna we do not definitely know. Some time after the birth of his son, Guru Tegh Bahadur joined his family at Patna and after 'a protracted residence there turned his thoughts towards the Puñjab.' The Guru then started

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1 Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, vol iv, p. 358 ; Gur Bilas, iii, 45 ; see also, Irvine, *Later Moghuls*, vol. i. p. 84. f. n.

2 Mr. Gurbux Singh disputes this on chronological grounds and I think that there is force in what he says. But his suggestion that it was perhaps Subul Singh Sesodia whom Guru Tegh Bahadur accompanied has, as yet, no evidence to support it (*Dacca Review*, 1915, p. 229, f. n.).

3 Vicitra Nāṭak, vii.

for his native land alone, leaving instructions to his family to join him there as soon as he would send for them, apparently because he was dubious as regards the nature of the reception he was likely to get there. It seems, however, that it was not long before Tegh Bahadur sent for his family and Govind Rai immediately started for the *Madradeśa*. The Sikhs relate that throughout the journey wherever the young Guru halted, 'crowds came with offerings to him.' Govind Rai soon reached Lucknow, via Benares and Ayodhyā. At the Oudh capital 'they were all hospitably entertained by Baba Fateh Chand, to whom the party gave a letter of thanks for his hospitality—a letter still preserved by the Sikh Mahant of that city'[1]. Govind Rai then proceeded to Lakhnaur, 'a town about nine miles from Ambala, in the Punjab', and here he seems to have halted for some time. While at Lakhnaur Govind Rai's favourite amusement is said to have been playing at mimic warfare. 'He used to form the boys of the town into opposing armies and engage them in sham fights and martial exercises.' On other occasions, he would divide his companions into two parties and play the game of splash-water. He also received regular education in various forms[2] and the Sikh records suggest that already the future Guru Govind Singh was in the making.

It seems that Govind Rai reached his father's place shortly before Guru Tegh Bahadur was summoned to Delhi by the Emperor Aurangzib. The story of Guru Tegh Bahadur's subsequent execution must be told elsewhere and we would forthwith begin with Govind Rai's accession to the *gadi* of his father. The young Guru's first important act was the performance of the obsequies of his father. We are told that immediately after Guru Tegh Bahadur's execution 'a great storm arose which filled every one's eye with much dust.' A devoted Sikh, who was present on the spot and into whose lap the severed head of the Guru is said to have fallen, took advantage of the opportunity afforded by the storm and succeeded in taking the head over to Govind Rai who cremated it with due ceremony.[3]

What followed immediately is not very clear. The Sikhs state that although a mere boy, the Guru soon revived the policy of his grandfather. We are told that 'the Guru delighted to wear uniforms

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1 Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, vol. iv, p. 366.

2 *Gur Bilas*, iv, 34, 35.

3 Macauliffe, *Ibid.*, vol. iv, p. 387. The story, however, is highly improbable.

and arms, and practise and induce others to practise archery and musket-shooting.' He soon collected an army and constructed a big drum to complete his equipment. And like his grandfather Guru Hargovind, 'he caused it to be publicly known that he would be grateful to all who brought him arms and horses' and we are told that his appeal met with a ready response. It thus appears that the policy of armed resistance, which had been almost wholly abandoned by the successors of Guru Hargovind, again became predominant under Guru Govind Singh. It seems that for some time the Guru peacefully continued to stay on at his father's place. His first marriage with Jito was celebrated with great pomp in 1677 and the second with Sundarī followed soon after. But the Sikhs state that suddenly quarrel broke out with Raja Bhim Chand of Bilaspore and the Guru accepted the invitation of the Raja of Nahan and retired to Paunta.

## II. RETIREMENT TO NAHAN AND THE BATTLE OF BHANGANI

In the *Vicitra Nāṭak* the Guru informs us that when he obtained sovereignty he promoted religion to the best of his ability. But afterwards he left *that country* and proceeded to the city of Paunta, where he enjoyed himself on the bank of the Kalindri (Jumna) in amusements of various kinds, particularly in hunting various sorts of game in the forest. But Fateh Shah, the king, became angry with him and came to blows with him without any reason.[1] This is all that the Guru tells us of his retirement to Nahan and the circumstances that brought about the battle of Bhangani.

Evidently there are gaps in this scrappy account and we would forthwith proceed to fill them in with the aid of the more detailed Sikh records. These latter almost unanimously tell us that after his father's death the Guru continued to stay at Makhowal. He soon collected an army and busily strengthened his resources when suddenly quarrel broke out with Raja Bhim Chand of Bilaspore. We are told that Raja Bhim Chand became very eager to dispossess the Guru of some valuable presents from his disciples, a trained elephant and a magnificent tent being among others. Their relations became more and more strained and at last both resolved to appeal to arms. At this crisis an invitation came from the Raja of Nahan, and the Sikh party opposed to war, mostly composed of *masands*, who had succeeded in convincing the Guru's mother and grandmother of the inexpediency

1 *Vicitra Nāṭak*, viii, 1—3.

of an immediate war with Bhim Chand, persuaded the Guru to accept the invitation and leave Makhowal alone for some time.

But it appears that the root of the matter went even deeper. Guru Govind Singh was becoming a menace to the integrity of Bhim Chand's dominions. The beating of a drum was regarded as a symbol of sovereignty in those days. The Guru, it is stated, had constructed a big drum and beat it regularly at Makhowal. The Guru's followers, again and again, ravaged the villages of the Raja and took contributions from the villagers by force. Therefore it is no wonder that Bhim Chand became somewhat nervous and consulted some of his brother chieftains, Raja Kripal of Katoch among others, as to the course he should pursue. It was decided that the question should be finally settled as soon as the impending marriage of Bhim Chand's son with the daughter of Fateh Shah of Srinagore was over and Fateh Shah himself had been consulted about it. In the meantime the Guru had retired to Paunta and became a great friend of Fateh Shah by amicably settling the disputes between him and the Raja of Nahan. 'The Guru brought the two Rajas together in open court, caused them to embrace and promise eternal friendship.' Naturally, when the nuptials of Fateh Shah's daughter were celebrated soon after, the Guru sent rich presents through his Dewan, Nand Chand. But difficulties were immediately raised by Bhim Chand about the acceptance of the Guru's presents and he openly threatened his new relation that he would cut off all connections with him if he accepted presents from his declared enemy. Many of the Rajas had assembled at Srinagar on that occasion and they also seem to have supported Bhim Chand in his resolution. The social obligations to a daughter's father-in-law compelled Fateh Shah to cast all other considerations to the wind and when it was decided that the Guru should be immediately attacked, Fateh Shah was even constrained to take the lead of the allied army.

But there are obvious difficulties in the way of our accepting this story *in toto*. According to this view, the Guru's stay in Nahan territory must have been nominal, for he left Anandpur when the nuptials of Bhim Chand's son with the daughter of Fateh Shah were impending and he came back immediately after the battle of Bhangani, which was fought as soon as the wedding ceremony was over. The Sikh writers state that when the Guru had definitely refused to hand over the trained elephant to Bhim Chand, the latter asked a temporary loan of the animal for the occasion of his son's marriage. Thus it

would appear that even when Bhim Chand was making preparations to proceed to Srinagar to celebrate the nuptials of his son, the Guru was at Anandpur. From the Guru's own narrative as well as from the other Sikh records, we learn that he returned to Anandpur immediately after the battle of Bhangani. Therefore the Guru must have stayed in Nahan territory for a very short time. But the relics of the Guru's fort at Paunta and the Nahan tradition lead us to think that the Guru's stay there must have been somewhat prolonged. The Sirmur Gazetteer states that Guru Govind Singh lived at Paunta for about five years[1] and the Guru's own statement seems to indicate that he had not remained long at Makhowal after his father's death.

Indeed, it seems almost certain that there has been a confusion in the later Sikh records and possibly their ignorance of the real causes of the battle of Bhangani led them to make two things appear as cause and effect, which originally had no connection. The main cause of the Guru's retirement to Nahan might have been, as the Sikh records suggest, the enmity of Raja Bhim Chand of Bilaspore but that the same ill-will of Bhim Chand was solely responsible for bringing about the battle of Bhangani almost immediately afterwards, we find it difficult to accept. We have already pointed out that this would make the Guru's stay in Nahan purely nominal, while we have very good reasons to believe that he made a protracted residence at Paunta. Moreover, it is very important to notice that in the *Vicitra Nāṭak* the Guru informs us that immediately after the battle of Bhangani he went to Kahlur (Bilaspore) and there established the village of Anandapur.[2] 'Anandapur is situated close to Makhowal. The first name was given by Gobind to his own particular residence at Makhowal, as distinguished from the abode of his father, and it signified the place of happiness.'[3] Taken literally, the Guru's words mean that it was only after the battle of Bhangani that Anandapur was established as his headquarters. Towards the beginning of the same section of the *Vicitra Nāṭak* the Guru says that he 'afterwards left that place for Paunta.'[4] The place that the Guru left was very probably

1 *Sirmur Gazetteer*, p. 51. It is, however, stated on p. 112 that the Guru resided at Paunta for about three years. At any rate the Guru's stay must have been rather protracted.

2 *Vicitra Nāṭak*, viii, 36.

3 Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, Garrett's edition, p. 77, fn. 1.

4 *Vicitra Nāṭak*, viii, 2.

Makhowal where his father had retired owing to the enmity of the Sodhi Khatris. If we regard Makhowal and Anandapur as identical, the Guru's statement may not be literally true but it clearly indicates that the Guru's earlier stay at Anandapur-Makhowal was purely nominal and that it was made the real centre of his activities after the battle of Bhangani.

It seems that inspite of its apparent confusion in some respects Forster's statement is the nearest approach to the truth of the matter. He says, "the intelligence of his father's death, and dread of a like fate, had induced him to fly from Patna whence he retired after a series of various adventures into the territory of Sriningnaghur" and "afterwards proceeded with his adherents to the Punjab, where he was hospitably received by a marauding Hindu chief of that quarter, who gave him the dependencies of Mackaval."[1] It is, no doubt, evident that the Guru could not have fled in the first instance from Patna because we learn from the *Vicitra Nāṭak* itself that the Guru had been brought to the Punjab before his father's death, but the rest of Forster's statement agrees, on the whole, very well with what we would get from a literal interpretation of the Guru's own words that it was only after the battle of Bhangani that he went to Kahlur and established the village of Anandpur. At the time of his father's death the Guru was a mere boy and as yet his resources were slender and scanty. The mighty Moghul Government had declared itself the open enemy of his faith and the first result of that open breach had been the execution of his father. It is also very probable that the Raja, in whose territories the Guru resided, also raised difficulties about his continuance there as it might involve him in troubles with the Government and the Guru thought it better to leave the place and retire further into the hills. There he lived in seclusion for several years but suddenly quarrel broke out with Fateh Shah of Srinagar. The Guru won the battle that followed but still perhaps he did not think it convenient to remain there any longer. In the meantime circumstances had changed in Kahlur. Bhim Chand was now meditating rebellion against the Government or had perhaps actually rebelled. At this crisis he was only too glad to welcome the Guru back to his territories. The Guru, in his turn, readily consented and coming to Kahlur founded the village of Anandapur, which henceforward became the centre of his activities.

1 Forster's *Travels*, p. 261.

What has been said above seems most in accordance with the probabilities of the case. At any rate, the evidence of the *Vicitra Nāṭak*, practically the only reliable authority on the point, supports this view more than any other. It is, no doubt, unsafe to place too much reliance on negative evidence but it is significant that the Guru nowhere mentions Bhim Chand in connection with the battle of Bhangani and it seems improbable that he would so readily return to Kahlur after the battle if, as the Sikh writers suggest, the Guru's original quarrel with Bhim Chand was the main or in fact the only reason that brought him into collision with Fateh Shah. Moreover, the story that the Guru passed the first twenty years of his pontificate in seclusion in the hills, although it has no evidence to support it or is indeed, in some respects, contrary to all evidence, certainly suggests that early in his career the Guru had passed several years in retirement and it seems to us that the story of this early retirement was mixed up with the Guru's temporary obscurity in the hills on the eve of his convening the assembly at Keshgarh and became the foundation of the myth that the Guru passed the first twenty years of his pontificate in seclusion in the hills.

We would now proceed direct to the battle of Bhangani. The Guru's own account does not help us much in understanding the causes of the conflict. As we have seen, he merely says that Fateh Shah came to blows with him *without any reason.* It has also been pointed out that the reason, which the various other Sikh records suggest, is hardly acceptable. We have thus practically no direct evidence to work upon. However, from the Guru's description of the battle it appears that some of the Hill Rajas had made an alliance against him. The chiefs of Dadhwar and Jaswal,[1] Gaji Chand of Chandel[2] and Rajas Gopal[3] and Hari Chand[4] fought on the side of Fateh Shah. The *Gur Bilas*[5] and the *Panth Prakash*[6] add the names of some other chiefs who joined Fateh Shah or at least participated in the consultations that preceded the battle. Thus it seems that, for some reason or other, the Guru had seriously alarmed the Hill chieftains. Cunningham says that the Guru "seems to have endeavoured to mix himself up with the affairs of the half-independent chiefs, and to obtain

1 *Vicitra Nāṭak*, viii, 20. 2 *Ibid.*, viii, 21.
3 *Ibid.*, viii, 11. 4 *Ibid.*, viii, 12, 13, 15, 21, 26, 29, 33.
5 *Gur Bilas*, vi, 96, 156. 6 *Panth Prakas*, xxiii, 16.

a commanding influence over them, so as by degrees to establish a virtual principality amid mountain fastnesses to serve as the basis of his operations against the Mughal government."[1] Though it is doubtful whether the views of the Guru had as yet advanced to this extent, there are indications in the Sikh records that he wanted to mix himself up with the affairs of the Hill Rajas.[2] But Govind's policy in the hills proved a conspicuous failure. The Kangara Hills are that portion of the Punjab which is most essentially Hindu. It has been said that 'one is almost tempted to believe that the type of Hindu society still found in this tract preserves an even more archaic organisation than anything described by Manu.'[3] There had never been any long sustained Musalman domination and the Rajas who ruled over 'the most ancient principalities of Northern India' were naturally resentful of all external influence. Therefore, it is not at all surprising that the Rajas would look upon the Guru as an 'upstart.' Govind represented a faith which inculcated liberal ideas and many of his followers were Jats, whom the Rajputs looked down upon as persons of inferior breed. Thus political privilege, social exclusiveness and tribal pride, all combined to induce the Hill Rajas to present a united front against the Guru. This explains why Guru Govind Singh never succeeded in maintaining any lasting alliance with the Rajas and why Sikhism never made any headway in the hills. But it may not be improbable that the causes that brought about the Guru's conflict with Fateh Shah were more direct. The Guru's army was, as yet, something of a rabble and a Pathan commander in the Guru's pay is said to have observed, "the Guru's main dependence is on us. The rest of his army is a miscellaneous rabble who have never seen war, and will run away when they hear the first shot fired".[4] This was certainly a misrepresentation of the Guru's resources as was finally demonstrated in the battle of Bhangani but that some at least had joined the Guru merely for the sake of booty and did not stand by him when the moment of trial came is clearly proved by Govind's own statement that after the establishment of Anandapur he drove out all those who did not join his ranks during the battle.[5] Even after this, desertions at critical moments were by no means rare,[6] and it thus appears that there

1 Cunningham, p. 77. 2 Macauliffe, vol. v, pp. 7, 18.
3 *Glossary of Punjab Tribes and Castes*, vol. i, p. 6.
4 Macauliffe, vol. v, p. 30. 5 *Vicitra Nāṭak*, viii, 37, 38.
6 *Ibid.*, x, 1; xiii, 2.

was a party in the Guru's camp who cared little for his cause and who had joined him merely for the sake of personal profit. Perhaps these were the people who were primarily responsible for those repeated outrages on the hill subjects, of which we get many indications in the Sikh records.[1] Indeed, the marauding instinct was characteristic of the Jats, who preponderated the others among the Guru's followers and whom, it seems, the moderating influences of Sikhism had not yet completely chastened. Here we possibly get the clue to one of the reasons that might have inspired the combination against the Guru. And Fateh Shah, particularly, had perhaps a special cause of grievance. The Sikh records state that Medini Prakas of Nahan and Fateh Shah of Srinagar had been constantly engaged in border warfare but after his retirement to Paunta the Guru had brought the two Rajas together and amicably settled their disputes.[2] But it seems that the settlement had not been lasting and as the Guru had taken up his quarters at the south-eastern extremity of the Nahan dominion,[3] perhaps nearest to the western boundaries of Fateh Shah's territories and as he was an intimate ally of the Raja of Nahan, it does not seem improbable that the Guru himself became somehow involved in these traditional boundary disputes between the two States. But it must be distinctly understood that all these are offered here as mere suggestions and that the original cause of the Guru's quarrel with Fateh Shah remains still obscure.

But as regards the battle itself we stand on surer ground. The Guru's own description might be animated and 'more calculated to inflame the courage of his followers than to convey correct information

1 *Ibid.*, ix, 24 ; Macauliffe, vol. v.

2 Macauliffe, vol. v, p. 18.

3 The Guru established his residence at Paunta, which is situated on the banks of the Jumna, twenty-six miles from Nahan. There is a *gurdwara* here and the ruins of the fort built by the Guru still exist. Some say that the name 'Paunta' is derived from the fact that the Guru first halted (fixed his *paw*-feet) here after his departure from Makhowal. The Sirmur Gazetteer, however, states that the Guru first halted at Toka, where the spot is marked by a *gurdwara* 'though it only consists of a small platform near a well.' Thence he was brought to Nahan by the Raja and afterwards proceeded to Paunta. (*Sirmur Gazetteer*, pp. 15, 51 ; Macauliffe, vol. v, pp. 16, 17 ; *Gur Bilas*, vi, 19-21).

of actual events,[1] still the main facts appear clearly enough. The opposing forces met on the field of Bhangani which stands about 6 miles distant from Paunta on the plain between the Jumna and the Giri, not far from the city of Rajpura on the Mans-suri (Mussoorie) road.[2] The battle commenced with great vehemence and immediately the five sons of Bibi Viro,[3] the only daughter of Guru Hargovind, organised an attack, which was nobly backed up by the Brahmin Dayaram,[4] Dewan Nand Chand, and the two Kripals, one, the Guru's uncle and the other, a *Udasi* mahant. The brunt of the attack seems to have fallen, in the first instance, on those Pathan mercenaries who had been in the Guru's pay but had mutinied and joined the Rajas just on the eve of the battle. We are told that of their four leaders, Hayat Khan, Najabet Khan, Bhikhan Khan and Kale Khan, the last alone remained true to the Guru 'with the troops of one hundred men of which he had been originally in command.[5] It appears that early in the battle Hayat Khan was killed by the mahant Kripal[6] but the others fought on and the action continued with great determination on both sides. After some time Raja Gopal and Hari Chand[7] became

1 Malcolm's *Sketch of the Sikhs*, p. 54.

2 Macauliffe, vol. v. p. 29; *Gur Bilas*, vi. 250, 251. The Sirmur Gazetteer (p. 15) states that both Hari Chand and Fateh Shah fell in the battle. "The Rānīs of both the fallen leaders became *satī*, and their eight tombs are still shown at Bhangani." We, however, learn from the Sikh records that Fateh Shah had fled when he found his cause hopeless. A *gurdwara* still commemorates the Guru's victory.

3 These were Sangu Shah, Jit Mal, Gopal Chand, Gangaram and Maheri Chand. The Guru is said to have called Sangu Shah by the name of Sri Shah because of his great military skill. Macauliffe (vol. v. p. 43) says that after his glorious death on the field of Bhangani the Guru changed his name to Shah Sangram (Lord of Battle). See also *Gur Bilas*, vi, 247.

4 He was a friend of the Guru's youth (Macauliffe, vol. v, p. 2).

5 Macauliffe, vol. v, pp. 30-33. The Guru, however, does not say anything about Kale Khan.

6 *Vicitra Nāṭak*, viii, 7.

7 Possibly Gopal is the same Raja Gopal of Guler who is the hero of the XIth section of the *Vicitra Nāṭak*. The *Gur Bilas* and

prominent in attack and for a time the Guru's prospects looked very dark.[1] At this crisis Jit Mal came to the rescue of his side. With his spear he struck Hari Chand, who fell down senseless and had to be carried off the field.[2] This seems to have immediately relieved the pressure and the Guru's party again became aggressive. The Pathan leaders maintained a determined resistance but the Rajas of Jaswar and Dadhwar, who had hitherto been fighting with zeal, left the field with all their troops and Gaji Chand of Chandel stood exhausted and

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the Panth Prakas definitely connect the two (Gur Bilas, vi, 156; Panth Prakas, xxiii, 16.) The Sikh records state unanimously that Hari Chand was the Raja of Nalgarh (Handur), though in the Guru's account there appears nothing that would justify us in conecting him with Nalgarh. But that cannot mean much because the Guru's account is always scrappy and in some places hardly intelligible without the assistance of the more detailed Sikh records. The Guru generally describes him as the simple Hari Chand without the appellation of Raja and the only place where he hints that Hari Chand was a chief is verse 33. Says the Guru,—

Hari chand mare, su jodha latare,
Su Karor rayan, wahai kal ghayan.

Macauliffe translates "Karor rayan" as "the chief of Karori" (vol. v, p. 44.) but contradictorily makes Hari Chand 'the Raja of Handur' in his general biography of the Guru (vol. v, p. 41). But as we nowhere find it mentioned that a chief of Karori had anything to do with Guru Govind Singh, we think that Bhai Bishan Singh Gyani is right in interpreting 'Karor' as 'the owner of a crore' or a multi-millionaire, (annotated edition of the Vicitra Nāṭak, p. 211). Hari Chand then was a rich and powerful chief but there are difficulties in the way of our accepting the statement that he was the Raja of Handur. The Nalgarh Gazetteer states that an able and just ruler named Dharm Chand ruled in Nalgarh for no less than 83 years, from 1618 to 1701, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Himmat Chand (Simla Hill States Gazetteer, Nalgarh, p. 60). In the long list of kings we do not find the name, Hari Chand, mentioned even once. On the other hand, the Sikh records are all very positive in connecting Hari Chand with Nalgarh. We are, therefore, tempted to suggest that Hari Chand might have been a younger son, who had been sent by his father to assist Fateh Shah, the Raja himself being too old to attend personally.

1 Vicitra Nāṭak, viii, 11-13. 2 Ibid., viii, 15.

perplexed.[1] A general rout of the allies was about to commence but at this juncture Hari Chand rose from his swoon and became immediately alive to the duties of a leader.[2] The allies again rallied and the last phase of the battle commenced. A great fight began between Sri Shah on the one hand, and Najabet Khan on the other, and many soldiers on both sides were killed. After some time both the leaders fell[3] and the Guru, who had as yet taken no actual part in the fray, now personally undertook the direction of affairs.[4] In his second attempt the Guru struck Bhikhan Khan in his face and the latter fled precipitately leaving his horse hehind, which was immediately killed.[5] Now began the great duel between the Guru and Hari Chand who fought with great skill and dash, and sent hundreds to the other world.[6] Says the Guru, "Hari Chand, in his rage, drew forth his arrows. He struck my steed with one and then discharged another at me, but God preserved me and it only grazed my ear in its flight. His third arrow penetrated the buckle of my waist-belt and reached my body, but wounded me not. It is only God who protected me, knowing me His servant. When I felt the touch of the arrow, my anger was kindled. I took up my bow and began to discharge arrows in abundance. Upon this my adverseries began to flee. I took aim and killed the young chief, Hari Chand."[7] The death of Hari Chand was the signal for a disorderly retreat[8] on the part of the hillmen and the Guru's victory was complete.[9]

*(To be continued)*

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1 Ibid., viii, 20, 21. 2 Ibid., viii, 21. 3 Ibid., viii, 23.
4 Ibid., viii, 24. 5 Ibid., viii, 25. 6 Ibid., viii, 26-28.
7 Vicitra Nāṭak, viii, 29-33. I have used Macauliffe's translation (vol. v, p. 44). 8 Ibid, viii, 34.
9 Dr. Narag states that 'Syed Budhoo Shah, the chief of Sadhawra at whose recommendation the Guru had taken the Afghans into his service, hearing of their desertion, hastened to the Guru's help with a force of two thousand men and with this timely aid the Guru obtained a complete victory over the allied Rajas' (Transformation of Sikhism, p. 90). The story is given in the Panth Prakaś (xxiii, 11, 16). It is stated Budhoo Shah sent two of his sons with one thousand soldiers. But as nothing of this occurs in the Vicitra Nāṭak or in the Gur Bilas we have not incorporated it in our account of the battle.

# Indian Literature Abroad

## V

Buddhism revived under the Sui Emperors

In 581 Sui Dynasty came to power and the emperor at once gave the people permission to become monks, which had been withheld by Chou Wu-Ti. Towards the close of his reign he prohibited the destruction or maltreatment of the images of the Buddhist or Taoist sects. The Confucian literati were not pleased at the Emperor's tolerance and thought it to be due to weakness of age. It is said that the Buddhist books were at that time ten times more numerous than the Confucian classics. The Sui history, in the digest, it gives of all the books of the time, states that the Buddhist sect had as many as 1950 distinct works. Many of the titles are given, and among them are not a few treating of the mode of writing by alphabetic symbols used in the kingdoms whence Buddhism came. It is called *Si-yo-hu-shu* or "Foreign Writing of the Western Countries" and also *Po-la-men-shu*, or "Brahmanical Writing."

Influence of Indian Phonetic on Chinese.

The tables of initials and finals found in the Chinese native dictionaries were first formed in the third century, but more fully early in the sixth, in the Liang dynasty. It was then that the Hindus, who had come to China, assisted in forming according to the model of the Sanskrit alphabet, a system of thirty-six initial letters, and described the vocal organs by which they are formed. They also constructed tables, in which, by means of two sets of representative characters, one for the initials and another for the finals, a mode of spelling words was exhibited. The Chinese were now taught for the first time that monosyllabic sounds are divisible into parts, and alphabetic symbols were not adopted to write the separated elements. It was thought better to use characters already known to the people. A serious defect attended this method. The analysis was not carried far enough. The intelligent Chinese understand that a sound, such as 'man' can be divided into two parts, *m* and *an* ; for they have been long accustomed to the system of phonetic bisection here alluded to, but they usually refuse to believe that a trisection of the sound is practicable. At the same time the system was much easier to learn than if foreign symbols had been employed.

and it was very soon universally adopted. Sheu-Kung, a priest, is said to have been the author of the system, and the dictionary *Yu-P'ian* was one of the biggest works in which it was employed. That the Indian Buddhists should have taught the Chinese how to write the sounds of this language by an artifice, which required nothing but their own hieroglyphics and rendered unnecessary the introduction of new symbols, is sufficient evidence of their ingenuity, and is not the least of the services they have done to the sons of Han. It well answered for several centuries, and was made use of in all dictionaries and educational works[1]. In Northern part of China four tones and in Canton nine tones are attached to a sound. It is said that this was due to the introduction of study of Sanskrit phonetics among the Chinese.[2]

Sui Emperors: Patrons of Buddhism.

The Sui Rulers were great patrons of Buddhist learning. A Chinese mission had been sent to India between 575-581 A.D. When they came to west of China, they heard that the Buddhists were persecuted by the Chou Emperors, so they did not at once proceed home but stopped in the land of Turks. There they met Jinagupta, whose profound learning struck the envoys with admiration. They were all recalled by the new emperor. The mission brought a large number of Sanskrit texts from India. A competent Indian Paṇḍit was sought for to translate them into Chinese and Narendrayaśa, who has been already mentioned, was summoned to the capital Chang-an from his exile in 582 A. D. He lived in the temple of Ta-hing-chan and began to translate the newly brought books. Some thirty Śramaṇas were asked to help in the work. With their assistance Narendrayaśa translated between 582-585 eight works in 28 fasciculi. He died in 589 A.D. His works were—*Sūrya-garbha Sūtra* (No. 62); *Mañjuśrī-Vikrīḍita Sūtra* (No. 185); *Mahāmegha Sūtra* (No. 188)—a very popular book in China translated about six times by different writers; *Śrīgupta Sūtra* (No. 232); *Balavyūha-Samādhi Sūtra*, (No. 409); *Śata-buddhanāma Sūtra* (No. 411); *Padmamukha*(?) *Sūtra* (No. 465); *Sthiradhī Sūtra* (No. 525).

1 Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism*, p. 112-113.

2 These statements of Edkins are too general to be accepted by critical scholars; Maspero and other modern sinologues do not attach much importance to that theory.

The greatest name of this age was Jinagupta[1] who translated two books in the earlier part of the Northern Chou rule, but had to leave the country for Wu-ti's rage. He like Narendrayaśas came back during the rule of the Sui dynasty and worked from 585-592 A. D. According to some compilers he wrote 39 books in 192 fasciculi of which 36 are found in the Ming catalogue.

Jinagupta.

I have already referred to the enthusiasm of the emperor for Buddhism; the method he adopted for a faithful translation in good idiomatic Chinese was doubtless commendable. He appointed a board of monks to undertake the work of translating the Sanskrit books brought from India by the last mission. The first board was presided over by the Indian monk Narendrayaśas. After the board had accomplished some works a few monks of Ta-hing-Chan temple found out some divergences and contradictions in the translations. They thought that a better qualified man should be put in charge of this responsible work and their choice fell on Jinagupta, who was still in exile. The emperor sent a special invitation and recalled him. A new board was constituted with Jinagupta as president for the translation of the rest of the texts. Jinagupta was asked to translate the Sanskrit texts with another Indian monk Dharmagupta and two Chinese śramaṇas.

Method in Chinese translation.

Over this board ten other śramaṇas were appointed to supervise the translation and to see that the original sense was preserved. To revise these works and to make the style perfect, two other Chinese śramaṇas were appointed. This innovation in the method of translation greatly improved the style of Chinese and we find Jinagupta and his colleagues translating many popular books, which had already been done into Chinese. Jinagupta's books were mainly from *Sūtra literature.*

One of his greatest works was the *Abhiniṣkramaṇa Sūtra* in 60 fasc. (Nanjio, 680) which in Chinese literally means 'Buddha-pūrva-kārya-saṃgraha-sūtra.' An English translation, in abstract form, of this book has been published by Beal entitled the *Romantic History of Buddha.*

Abhiniṣkramaṇa Sūtra: Beal's translation.

Another important work of Jinagupta and Dharmagupta was the

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1 Chavannes,—Jinagupta, *T'oung Pao*, 1905; also Nanjio, App. II, 129.

translation of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* (Nanjio, 139). There is an interesting preface to this work by one who seems to have taken part in the translation, and I believe, by one of the chief editors of the translation board mentioned above. He writes, "the translations of Chu-Fa-hu or Dharmarakṣa and Kumārajīva are most probably made from two different texts." In the repository of the Canon in the temple of Ta-hing-Chan there were two copies of the text of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*, one written on the palm leaves and probably in the then Nāgarī character of Northern India, while the other was written in the scripts of Karashar or Tukhāra i. e., Brāhmī. Kumārajīva followed the latter text as he was a man of that region (Nanjio, 134). The editor, in 601 A. D., together with Jinagupta and Dharmagupta, examined the two palm leaf texts and carefully collated the differences in the text. This is a later translation of Dharmarakṣa's and Kumārajīva's translations. (Nanjio, 134, 135).

Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka in China.

The *Gayaśīrṣa-Sūtra* and the *Mahāyāna Vaipulya-Dhāraṇī-Sūtra* were translated by Vinītaruci, a śramaṇa of Udyāna in 582 A. D. The last writer of this period was Dharmagupta, who assisted Jinagupta in translation. Dharmagupta was a native of Southern India, and had gone to China through the North-western passage. He translated several works between 530 and 616 A.D. Opinions greatly differ as to the number of works he translated. Some say seven works, others nine, while one compiler mentions eighteen works in 81 fasciculi; but we have only ten in the Ming Tripiṭaka. His principal works are the translations of the *Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā*, and its commentary the *Vajracchedikā-sūtra-śāstra*, by Bodhisattva Asaṅga. He also translated fasciculi 21-30 of the commentary on Asaṅga's *Mahāyāna Samparigraha śāstra* by Vasubandhu.

Dharmagupta.

During the short rule of thirty-seven years of the Sui emperors, six translators translated 60 books in 265 fasciculi, a fact which really testifies to the encouragement obtained under these princes. Under them three catalogues of Indian books in Chinese were compiled in A. D. 594, 597 and 603. All of these catalogues have come down to this time. The *Li-tai-san-pao-chi*[1] (Record concerning the three precious things, Triratna, under successive dynasties) was compiled by Fa-chan-fang in 597 A. D., in

Catalogues of Indian books.

1 Nanjio, 1504; Intro., p. xvii.

15 fasciculi. The first three fasciculi contain a general history of Buddhism, from the birth of Buddha to the time of the compilation of this work. The last fasciculus contains an index or a detailed list of the works. This catalogue contained 1076 works in 3,325 fasciculi of which 551 books belonged to Mahāyāna and 325 to Hīnayāna. The Canon was divided into Mahāyāna Sūtra, Vinaya and Abhidharma, and Hīnayāna Sūtra, Vinaya and Abhidharma. Books on Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna are almost equally represented in China; most of these Hīnayāna books were written in Sanskrit and it is a misconception of most people that Hīnayāna books were all written in Pāli. It is only the Theravāda, which has a Tipiṭaka written in Pāli, while almost all the other sects had Tripiṭaka written in semi-Sanskrit language, most of which have disappeared.

Classification of Indian books.

1st Catalogue.

The *Sui-chung-ching-mu-lu* (Nanjio, 1608) is another catalogue of Buddhist sacred books collected under the Sui dynasty by the priests and literati in A. D. 603, who were appointed by the emperor Wan-ti. The total number of books in this catalogue is 2,109 in 5,058 fasciculi; unfortunately 420 works in 747 fasciculi had been already lost. There were in this collection 370 books with one translation and 277 works had more than one translation.

2nd Catalogue.

The third catalogue (Nanjio, 1609) was compiled by Fa-Ching and others under imperial orders in 594 A. D. In it 2,257 distinct works in 5,310 fasciculi are mentioned. They classified the books into Sūtra, Vinaya, Abhidharma for Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna separately and under the fourth heading put as 'Later works, Indian and Chinese'—being extracts, records and treatises, which do not fall under the three or rather six divisions.

3rd Catalogue.

Nanjio speaks of another catalogue which is recorded in the Sui annals. "In the period Ta-yeh (A.D. 605-616) emperor Yang ordered the Shaman Chi-Kuo to compile a catalogue of the Buddhist books at the Imperial Buddhist chapel within the gate of the palace. He then made some divisions and classifications, which were as follows :—Sūtras, which contained what Buddha had spoken, were arranged under three divisions—(1) Mahāyāna, (2) Hīnayāna, (3) Mixed Sūtras; other books, that seemed to be the production of later men, who falsely ascribed their works to greater names, were classed as Doubtful Books."

4th Catalogue.

"There were Vinaya works under each division as before, Mahāyāna, Hīnayāna and Mixed. There were other works in which Buddhi...

and others went deeply into the explanation of the meaning, and which illustrate the principles of Buddha. These were called Disquisitions or Śāstras."

"There were also records or accounts of the doings in their times of those who had been students of the system. Altogether there were 77 classes under which the books were arranged.' (Intro. xix). There were 1962 books in 6198 fasciculi. But neither the catalogue nor the compiler is mentioned in Chinese Buddhist works. The number of books is again different from that mentioned in the earlier catalogue in existence. This may however be called the fifth collection made by an emperor of China (Intro. p. xix).

Buddhism under the T'ang Dynasty.

Now we enter into the most brilliant epoch of Chinese history, viz., the T'ang and Sung Dynasties. The T'ang dynasty lasted from 628 to 907 A. D. i.e. about three hundred years. During these three hundred years, we cannot expect from our previous knowledge of history that the attitude of all the emperors towards Buddhism should be uniform. Indeed its career was chequered during its long life. Buddhism succeeded in establishing itself as a faith of the majority among both Tartars and Chinese. Still there was a triangular war between the religions of Kung-fu-tzu (Confucius), Buddha and Lao-tzu. The opposition of the Mandarians and the Literati, who were generally Confucianists, some times caused great havoc to Buddhist culture and set back the progress made in one generation. Still the Buddhist and the Taoist made themselves felt in public life and estimation by their knowledge and character, and during the Sui and T'ang and the last half century of the Northern Sung dynasties their books were accepted as texts for the public examinations (Biot, *Histoire de l'instruction publique en chine*, pp. 289, 313). During the reign of the first emperor of the T'ang, magistrates were ordered to enquire into the lives of Buddhist monks and nuns, as a result of a memorial from the Confucianist blaming on their character. Those found guilty were ordered to return to the world. The second emperor allowed every monastery to receive five new monks and showed great favour to Buddhism.

It was during the rule of the Second T'ang emperor that the great Chinese savant and traveller Hiuen Tsang flourished. The great Indian emperor Harṣavardhana sent an envoy to China in 641 A. D. and two Chinese missions were despatched in return. During the rule of the empress dowager Wu Hou, Buddhism found favour with her. Even she went to the length of getting divine honours and called herself Ku-an-Yin. But in the earlier part of the next reign reaction set in, and building of monasteries, making of images and copying of sūtras were forbidden ; 12,000 monks were ordered to return to the world. But in later life the same emperor became a devout Buddhist and one of the most important Tripiṭaka collection was done under his auspices in A.D. 730. Many Buddhist poets and artists of this period have won immortal fame. In 740 there were in the city of Chang-an alone 64 monasteries and 27 nunneries. During the eighth and ninth centuries of T'ang rule, the emperors with one exception Wu-Tsung, (841-847), were favourable to Buddhism and the latter half of the 8th century marked in Buddhist history not only an epoch of increased popularity among the masses but also the spread of ritualistic and doctrinal corruption, for it is in those years that its connection with ceremonies for the repose and honour of the dead became more intimate (Elliot, III, p. 262). In 845 Wu-Tsung had ordered that 4,600 great temples and 40,000 smaller rural temples be demolished, that 2,60,500 monks and nuns be secularized and 1,50,000 temple servants set free. These figures, which might be exaggerated, still show the great influence and strength of Buddhism.

Harṣavardhana's mission in China and Chinese mission in India.

The T'ang dynasty collapsed in 907 A. D. owing chiefly to the incapacity of the later-day emperors. It was followed by a troubled period in which five short dynasties ruled in quick succession ruling 53 years in all. In 960 the Sung dynasty united China, of which we shall hear later on.

Buddhist literature during the T'ang period.

For the spread of Indian literature in China during these three hundred years, our record is most useful. About 27 monks flourished and translated more than 380 Sanskrit books into Chinese. The earliest books that were translated during this dynasty were *Ratna-tārā-dhāraṇī-sūtra*, (No. 82), *Prajñā-pradīpa-śāstra-kārikā* (No. 1185)[1] and *Sūtrālaṅkāra-ṭīkā* (No. 1190). The second book

1 Walleser translated its Tibetan version called *Akutobhaya Sūtra* of Nāgārjuna.

'Prajñā-pradīpa-śāstra' (Nanjio, 1185) was composed by Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna and a Vṛtti or explanation of the 500 verses was written by Nirdeśaprabha. This is the principal work of the Madhyamaka school founded by Nāgārjuna. Another very important work was 'Sūtrālaṅkāra Sūtra' which had been composed by the great Aśvaghoṣa, no less an authority on Mahāyāna than the Bodhisattva Asaṅga, who wrote a commentary on it. The *Sūtrālaṅkāra* text, as we know, had been translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva in 405 A.D. in 15 fasc. But its ṭīkā which was equally important waited for an able pen to be rendered into a flowery language. These books were translated by Prabhākaramitra, a monk of Central India, Kṣatriya by caste. He arrived in 627 A.D. in China, and translated these works. He died at the 69th year in 633 A. D. which shows that he left his Indian home at an advanced age.

Prabhākaramitra.

The greatest scholar of Chinese Buddhism was Hiuen Tsang,[1] who came to India in the seventh century. This illustrious pilgrim was born in the year 603 A.D. at Ch'in Liu in the province of Honan, close to the provincial city. At an early age he was taken by his second elder brother to the eastern capital Loyang. He was made a śrāmaṇera at his thirteenth year. On account of the troubles which occurred at the end of of the Sui dynasty, Hiuen Tsang in company with his brother sought refuge in the city of Shing-tu ordained as a bhikṣu. After some time he began to travel through the provinces in search of the best instructor he could get, and so came at length to Chang-an. It was here, stirred up by the recollection of Fa-hsien and Chi-yen, that he made up his mind to go to the western regions to question the sages on points that troubled his mind. When Hiuen Tsang, at his twenty-sixth year, "expressed his desire to visit India, there seem to have been some willing to accompany him in his journey, but when he came near to the desert he had only two companions, of whom one was sent back to China as he was thought unfit for the hardships of the journey, while the other started in advance to Tun-hwang and was heard of no more. Finally, when he took leave of his patron, the king of Turfan, four novices were alloted to him as his attendants. The king helped him with brotherly care and introduced

Hiuen Tsang : His life.

1 Seven different ways of spelling the name have been discussed by Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, 629-645, 2 vols, London, 1904-1905, I, p. 17.

him to many of the Central Asian chieftains ; consequently he was welcomed everywhere and travelled with great facility. In India too, he was patronized by king Harṣa of Kanauj and had opportunities of meeting many worthies and savants of his time. At Nālandā, the then centre of the Mahāyāna learning, he found an able teacher in Śīlabhadra, the president of this University, and there he spent several years learning Sanskrit and chiefly Buddhist Idealism. The interest of the Buddhists of his time seems to have centred in the Mahāyāna, though the Hīnayāniic schools too were followed in all India."[1]

He set out for India in 629 A.D., and returned after sixteen years in 645 A. D. He brought back with him :

Treasures and books from India.

1. Five hundred grains of relics belonging to the body of Tathāgata.
2. A golden statue of Buddha 3ft. 3 inches in height on a transparent pedestal.
3. A statue of Buddha 3 ft. 5 inches carved out of a sandal-wood on a transparent pedestal.
4. Another statue like above.
5. A silver statue on a transparent pedestal.
6. A golden statue do.
7. Another sandal-wood figure of Buddha.
8. 124 works (sūtras) of the Mahāyāna.
9. Other works amounting in the whole to 520 fasc., (657 fasc., Edkins, p. 119) carried by 22 horses. (Beal, Introduction to Si-Yu-ki).

He was not satisfied with Mahāyāna books only but took great pains to collect books of various schools on Vinaya and Abhidharma :

| | |
|---|---|
| Sarvāstivāda School | 15 works. |
| Sāṃmitīya School | 15 ,, |
| Mahiśāsaka School | 22 ,, |
| Kāśyapīya School | 17 ,, |
| Dharmagupta School | 42 ,, |
| Mūla-sarvāstivāda School | 67 ,, |

When Hiuen-Tsang returned from India, he was received by the emperor with great honour, and a title was conferred on him. The emperor took keen interest in the pilgrim and commanded him to write a description of the Western countries he had visited and the immortal work called *Ta-t'ang-hsi-yu-ki* (Nanjio, 1503) was the result.

1 Takakusu, E.R.E., v. 12, 842.

The emperor wrote a laudatory preface to this book. The record of the great traveller is handed down to us in three forms.

The first is of course his own work, *Hsi-yü-chi* (Nanjio, 1503) (Record of the Western Region), in 20 fasciculi, compiled by Pien-chi, his pupil, 646 A.D., The travels cover 138 countries in all, of which he himself visited 110 and he gathered news about the rest from his informants, as we are told in an introduction by Ching-po. The characters and usages of the people and the state of Buddhist learning and practices are minutely described. The book is unique and indispensable for the study of Indian history and geography of the Buddhist period. In 1857 Stanislas Julien published the French translation with the title *Memoires sur les contries occidentales traduits du Sanscrit en chinois, en l'an 648 par Hiouen thsang et du chinois en francais.* An English translation by Samuel Beal followed in 1884 with the title of *Si-yu-ki,* Buddhist Records of the Western World, translated from the Chinese of Hiuen-Tsang, 2 vols. (London).

His books on India.

The second work is a résumé of Hiuen Tsang's Travels in the *Record of the Region of the Sākya* in 8 books by Tao-hsüan (Nanjio, 1470). It is interesting to note that the author was Hiuen Tsang's pupil and one of his assistant translators, and that the work was compiled during Hiuen Tsang's life-time, i.e. A.D. 650.

There seems to have been another work in 10 books entitled *Hsi-yü-chïan,* (Record of the Western Region), by Yen-ts'ung, another pupil of the traveller. This record, it is said, treated more of the Indian life than the religion itself, whereas the traveller's *Memoires* paid more attention to the religion than the life. Tao-hsü-an says in his preface that both of these were too minute and copious for general information and that this very fact led him to a fresh compilation of his own work. No European translation of it has as yet appeared.

The third is a curtailed form of the *Memoires* given in the life of Hiuen Tsang in 10 books compiled by Hui-li and annotated by Yen-ts'ung, A. D. 665. Julien published it at the same time as the *Memoires* in an abstract form under the title *Histoire de la vie de Hiouen Thsang et ses voyages dans l' Inde,* 629-645, (Paris, 1853), and Beal has also given an English translation.

His life.

So far as Hiuen Tsang's routes and geographical names are concerned, Thomas Watters, a great Chinese scholar, did a great deal, and the result of his studies was published in 1904-05 by T. W. Rhys Davids and S. W. Bushell with the title *On Yuan Chwang's Travels*

*in India, 629-645*, by Thomas Watters. His researches are accurate as usual, and, if he could have made more use of the results of the Indian and Central Asian excavations and several old mss. of the record discovered in Japan, nothing would remain to be desired.

Hiuen Tsang's record can be divided roughly into five parts: (1) a general introduction to Jambudvīpa and a description of Central Asian countries along the northern route; (2) a detailed introduction to India (name, geography, calendar, life, language, customs, religion, castes, products, etc.) and a description of countries in the Panjab and to the north of the Gaṅgā as far down as the valley of the Gaṇḍakī; (3) a detailed description of Magadha including Nālandā; (4) the lower region of the Gaṅgā, countries on the South sea-coast, in the Dekkan and on the lower Indus; (5) Central Asian states along the southern route. A résumé of the contents can be obtained best from Watters' work which gives the travels in their shortest possible form. Further a lengthy note on the itinerary was added by Vincent. A. Smith at the end of the work.[1]

Hsi-yu-chi.

The influence of this book on the Chinese mind must have been immense; such a detailed and first-hand knowledge of In-to (India) had never reached them before.

Hiuen Tsang went to Chang-an to translate the treasure he had brought from India and he was helped by twelve monks to carry out his object in practice. A board of nine monks was appointed to revise the composition. Some who learned Sanskrit joined him in the work. On presenting a series of translations to the emperor, he wrote a preface to them; and at the request of Hiuen Tsang he issued an edict to the effect that five new monks should be received in every monastery in the empire. The convents then amounted to 3716. For nineteen years the Chinese savant worked incessantly with his group of helpers and at the close of his life he found that he had translated 75 works in 1335 fasciculi. Hiuen Tsang died at the 65th year in 664 A.D., honoured by all and mourned by all.

The most stupendous work that took him four years to translate was the *Mahā-prajñā-pāramitā-sūtra* (Nanjio, 1, Tok. Ed. ii, iii, iv), which had partly been translated and abridged by Kumārajīva two centuries and a half before him. It consisted of 600 fasciculi, 2,00,000 ślokas or an equivalent number of syllables in prose. This is a collection of sixteen sūtras, short and

Prajñāpāramitā.

1 Takakusu, E.R.E., vol. 12, pp. 841-842.

long. To each of them a preface is added by a Chinese priest, Hiuen Tson, a contemporary of the pilgrim. The *Prajñā-pāramitā* treats of six perfections (pāramitās) of a Bodhisattva, and particularly of the *prajñā* or wisdom of the supreme excellence. The meaningless custom of embodying constant repetitions, which we find so annoying in the Pāli suttas, becomes in the voluminous *Prajñāpāramitā* so limitless and excessive that it would be quite possible to strike out more than half of this colossal work. Kumārajīva very intelligently omitted these repetitions and superfluities. But Hiuen Tsang most faithfully followed the Sanskrit text and translated one hundred and twenty volumes entire, in all their wearisome re-iteration of metaphysical paradoxes.[1]

Hiuen Tsang translated the Abhidharma books of different schools ; and the Sarvāstivāda literature has been almost entirely preserved by him in translation ; and before we deal with his other works we shall treat a little in detail about this school. This school of thought is one of the oldest among the eighteen schools which are described in Vasumitra's *Aṣṭādaśa-nikāya-śāstra* also called '*Samayabhedaparacanacakra*' (No. 1284), or the Śāstrā on the differences of the views of (18 or 20 Hīnayāna) schools translated by Paramārtha and Hiuen Tsang. This school probably separated from the Theravāda before the Buddhist Council held during king Aśoka's reign. The principal seat of the Sarvāstivādins was Kashmir, where their doctrine developed into an elaborate system known as the Vaibhāṣika. Fa-hsien (399-414) says that this school was followed in Pāṭaliputra as well as in China at his time. Vasubandhu criticised the Kashmir Vaibhāṣikas where they became powerful (499-569). Hiuen Tsang found them in Kashgar, N. W. India and the Northern India. I-tsing (671-695) gives a fairly minute description of this school, and the places of its popularity enumerated by him are the following :—Magadha, Gujrat, Sindhu, East India, South India with a few followers, Sumatra, Java where it largely prevailed, Campa, Cochin-China, parts of China, and Central Asia. From this short account we can see that this school spread throughout the Buddhist world. I-tsing says that this school had a separate Tripiṭaka amounting to 300,000 ślokas (Records : Introduction). The vast literature which has come down to us in Chinese shows quite clearly that this school had a separate Vinaya translated by I-tsing and a separate

The Sarvāstivāda School.

1 Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism.*

Abhidharma partly rendered into Chinese by Paramārtha and largely by the great Hiuen Tsang.

In Chinese, Sarvāstivāda is known as Sa-pa-to. They had seven Abhidharma books. The principal works of the school is Kātyāyaṇīputra's *Jñānaprasthāna.*

Kātyāyaṇīputra was named after his mother Kātyāyaṇī. He must have been an inhabitant of the plains of India, whence he went to Kipin or Kashmir. He wanted to edit an Encyclopaedia of Abhidharma and proclaimed to all, far and near, "If there be any who formerly heard the Abhidharma propounded by the Buddha, let him communicate what he knows whether it be much or little." Several contributions extensive and short came ; about 500 Arhats or men of superior powers and 500 Bodhisattvas or neophytes helped Kātyāyaṇīputra in collecting these sayings scattered throughout Northern India. He, as the chief editor, made a selection from the principles thus collected. When the principles did not contradict the Sūtra and Vinaya, they asserted and registered them, and rejected all those which conflicted with these authorities. The compilation thus made were grouped together according to their principles ; those illustrating *Prajñā* were collected in the Prajñā-grantha, those expounding the principle of meditation in the Book of Meditation or Dhyāna-grantha, and so with the remaining six groups. The eight books amounted to 50,000 ślokas.[1] To this original book, there were six supplements called 'Pāda,' the latter standing to the former in some such relation as that of six Vedāṅgas to the Veda.[2]

Kātyāyaṇīputra's Encyclopaedia of Abhidharma.

The seven Abhidharma-books are the following: 1. Kātyāyaṇīputra's *Jñānaprasthāna* (Nanjio, 1275, 20 fasc., 8 khaṇḍas, 44 chapters), said to have been composed 300 years after the death of Buddha. It is considered as the principal work of this school and was first rendered into Chinese by Gautama Saṅghadeva and others in A.D. 383. It must have been well spread in China before the end of that century as Fa-hsien knows of the existance of the Sarvāstivādins in China. This book had two names : *Aṣṭa-grantha* used by Saṅgha-

Jñānaprasthāna.

1 The Life of Vasubandhu by Paramārtha, translated by J. Takakusu, *T'oung Pao*, 1904, pp. 269-296.

2 The following account of the Sarvāstivāda literature is abridged from an article by J. Takakusu in the Journal of the Pāli Text Society, 1904-1905, pp. 64-146.

deva, and *Jñānaprasthāna* by Hiuen Tsang. These two are translations from one and the same text; though the originals seem to have had variant readings here and there, the translations do not present any material differences in general scope. The original Sanskrit text, which is lost to us, consisted of 15,072 ślokas and in Chinese translation there are 195,250 words in 8 divisions and 44 chapters. Hiuen Tsang states that Kātyāyaṇīputra lived in the monastery of Tamasāvana in Chīnapati (N. India), three hundred years after the Buddha's nirvāṇa. The editor of the *Chi-yuen-lu* Catalogue (13th cent.) writes, "the Abhidharma-piṭaka is not one and the same in all schools. Now according to the method of the Sarvāstivāda school we place the original work 'body' (kāya) first, and the supplementary works, 'feet' (pāda) next. The branches thereof, the Vibhāṣā, and the title are placed last. Those of the other schools come next in order."

1. Sangīti-paryāya.

The *Sangīti-paryāya* (Nanjio, 1276, 20 fasc., 12 chap. (*Chi-i-men-tsu-lun*) is the first of the six (pāda) supplements to the above work translated into Chinese by Hiuen Tsang. It was composed by Mahā-kauṣṭhila. Both Sāriputra and Mahā-kauṣṭhila were immediate disciples of the Buddha, and it is doubtful if either of them was the author of this. The legendary portion of this work says that Sāriputra, advised and inspired by the Buddha himself, collected the more important Dharmas taught by the Master, convened his friends and rehearsed (saṅgīta) the laws. This, he thought, would prevent any dissension in the future when there was no Buddha. Takakusu observes that the work was probably compiled by a Mahā-kauṣṭhila at a time after the council of Vaiśālī, which was held chiefly for suppresing the ten theses of the Vajjian bhikṣus, and later on it might have come to be ascribed to Sāriputra, because he is the hero of the narrative throughout the work. The Chinese version *Chi-i-men-tsu-lun* translated by Hiuen Tsang is in 20 fasciculi, 12 vargas or chapters.

2. Prakaraṇa-pāda.

The *Prakaraṇa-pāda* (Nanjio, 1277, 18 fasc., 8 sections) is the second of the six pāda works of the Sarvāstivādins according to the Chinese authorities. There exist in Chinese two translations of it which seem to have been made from one and the same recension of the text. The first of these translators was Guṇabhadra who did it with the help of Bodhiyaśas in 435-443 A.D. The second one was by Hiuen Tsang, who tells us that this work was composed by Vasumitra in a monastery at Puṣkalāvatī.

The third of the six pāda treatises of this school is *Vijñāna-kāya-pāda* (Nanjio, 1281, 16 facs. 6 books) of Devaśarman who, according to its translator Hiuen Tsang, was a native of Viśoka near Śrāvastī and is alleged to have attained nirvāṇa 100 years after Buddha. It was done into Chinese in 649 A.D.

3. Vijñāna-kāyapāda.

Of this series Vasumitra's *Dhātu-kāya* (Nanjio, 1282, 2 fasciculi, 2 chapters) was the fourth of the six pāda works of the Sarvāstivādins. It was also rendered into Chinese by Hiuen Tsang in A.D. 663. According to Yaśomitra, the author of the Sanskrit original was Purṇa. The original Sanskrit text seems to have existed in two or three versions. The larger text was of 6000 ślokas, whereas the other, middle and smaller ones, were of 900 ślokas respectively. The text which was translated by Hiuen Tsang was of 830 ślokas and was apparently the middle one. It treats of all mental faculties which this school assumes as separate elements called 'Dhātu.' We get the particulars about the Chinese translation from K'uei-chi, a pupil of Hiuen Tsang.

4. Dhātu-kāya.

The *Dharma-skandha* (Nanjio, 1296, 12 fasc., 21 chap.) is the fifth of the six pādas of the Sarvāstivāda school. According to the Chinese authorities Maudgalyāyana is the author of the book; but Yasomitra says that Sāriputra was its composer. Whoever might be its writer, the book, though placed among the supplementary pādas, is not inferior in its matter and form to *Jñānaprasthāna*, the principal work of this school. Perhaps it does not go so much into details of metaphysical questions as the latter does, but it treats of all important points of the fundamental principles of this school, and the importance of this work seems to have been recognised by the writers of the other pādas. In a colophon to this work Ching-mai wrote in 664 A.D. that *Dharma-skandha* is the most important of the Abhidharma books, and the fountain-head of the Sarvāstivāda system. Hiuen Tsang translated it (659 A.D.) in Chang-an; Shi-kuang took notes and Ching-mai put it into literary form, and Chin-tung made a final revision.

5. Dharma-skandha.

The Sarvāstivāda owes a great deal to Hiuen Tsang for its propagation in China' and India owes as much to that great monk for his faithful translation, as the original texts of all these books are lost to us. The last or sixth of the six pādas, *Prajñāpti-śāstra*, was not translated by Hiuen Tsang still I think I should better put it here. The authorship of this book is as doubtful as most other ancient books. But Mahā-

6. Prajñapti-pāda-śāstra.

Maudgalyāyana is accepted as the writer of this book. This work is of doubtful character, as it was not translated before the eleventh century (1001-1058) by Fa-lu (Dharma-rakṣa) and its author's name is lost.

(*To be continued*)

PROBHAT KUMAR MUKHERJEE

## Two Coins from Cāchār

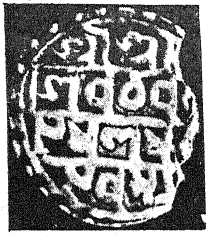
Two round-sized debased silver coins were found in the month of May, 1925 at the village of Topkhānā, two miles away from the Hāilakandi Railway-station in the Cāchār district of the province of Assam. A villager, named Nimāirām De picked up the coins from 4 ft. below the earth, while he was digging a pond. On the previous day, he found another coin of the same size of our present-day eight-anna piece, but his little daughter unfortunately lost it. These two coins, however, he handed over to his co-villager Babu Trailokyamohan Mohanta. From him my highly esteemed teacher, Prof. Vanamali Vedantatirtha, obtained them for me.

### 1. *Coin of Naranārāyaṇa*

One of these two coins is comparatively small in size and refers to the reign of the great Koch king Naranārāyaṇa. The portion containing the lower halves of the figures indicating the date is broken and lost. Still the broken coin is sufficient to give us the date as Śaka year 1477 (=1555 A.D.). This reading has also been confirmed by his other coins of the same year preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

From the legend contained in the coin we learn that he was a worshipper of the god Śiva. He is most famous in the history of Bengal for his heroism and public works. His capital was in modern Koch-Behār and he extended his territories on all sides at the expense of the neighbouring princes. He won several victories over the Ahoms, subdued the Kāchāris, took tribute from the king of Manipur and defeated the kings of Jaintia, Sylhet and Tippera. This king was a contemporary of the great Moghul emperor, Akbar, but Abul Fazl does not mention him in his Ain-i-Akbari, while the Akbarnāmā says that he acknowledged the suzerainty of Akbar, whom he is said to have helped, in his conquest of Bengal and thereby got some portion of the booty. His brother Śukladhvaja popularly known as Śilarāi was

## COIN OF NARANĀRĀYAṆA



OBVERSE

REVERSE

## COIN OF YAŚONĀRĀYAṆA

OBVERSE

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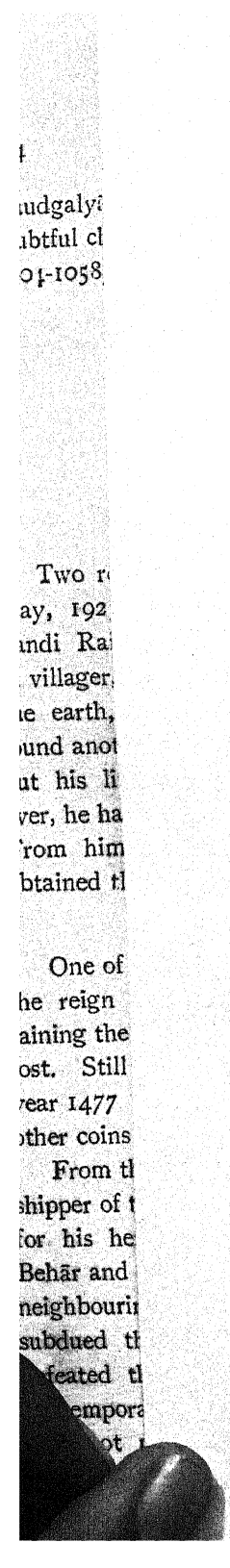

a successful general. The reign of Naranārāyaṇa was noted for the fact that during it the Koch power reached its zenith.

The coins of this king issued in the Śaka year 1455 are found of various sizes, types and legends. Let us see how far our coin agrees with and differs from others.

In the JASB., 1856, page 457, a coin of Naranārāyaṇa was published by late Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra. Our coin agrees with that in size, date and legend on the obverse, but differs in legend on the reverse. That coin contains "Naranārāyaṇa bhupālasya sāke" while the one in our possession contains "Naranārāyaṇasya sāke" only ; secondly, a similar coin was published in the same Journal for the year 1875, page 306 by Blochmann, that coin agrees in date and legends on both sides but differs in being much bigger in size. Further it contains slightly different shape of letters. Although there are other slight differences in the shape of some letters, yet the most strikingly peculiar letter of our coin is K (ক). Its shape wholly differs from that in all other coins. I looked for such shape in many coins of the Koch kings in the Indian Museum (Calcutta), but could discover none.

Language of the coin is Sanskrit.

Probable weight of the original coin is 11·95 grains approximately.

Diameter of the original coin is 2·9120 c.m.

Legend on the obverse : Śrī śrī Śivacaraṇakamala madhukarasya.

Legend on the reverse : Śrī śrī Naranārāyaṇasya śāke 1477.

"(The coin) of the bee of the lotus of the feet of the twice illustrious Śiva—of the twice illustrious Naranārāyaṇa in the Śaka 1477(=1555 A.D.)"

N.B. Mr. Gait in his "History of Assam" (p. 52) supplies us with the information that Vīryavanta, the chief of Khairam, seeing the fate of the surrounding Rājās, is said to have voluntarily made his submission to Naranārāyaṇa. ... ... ... ... It was also stipulated that he should in future put the name of Naranārāyaṇa on his coins, the sign of a mace being added to distinguish them from those of the Koch king's own mint. No specimens of these coins are now forthcoming."

### 2. *Coin of Yaśonārāyaṇa*

This coin is well preserved and refers to the reign of a king named Yaśonārāyaṇa of the Hāceṅgaśā gotra of the Kāchāri tribe. It was issued in the Śaka year 1507 (A. D. 1585). Two other coins (one dated and the other dateless) of this king were found by Mr. Nandalal Burman, the facsimiles of which have been reproduced by Mm. Padmanāth Vidyābinod in the introduction to the "Hedamba Rājver Danda-

vidhi' edited by him. Both of them differ from our coin regarding legend, size, script and date (in the case of one which bears date). The one is much bigger and the other much smaller than this newly discovered coin. The former contains legend on the obverse "Hara-Gaurī caraṇa parāyaṇa Hāceṅgaśā Vaṃśaja" and on the reverse—"Śrī śrī Yaśonārāyaṇa deva bhupālasya śāke 155." The date śāke 1505 for 155 of the coin was rightly suggested by Mm. Padmanāth Vidyābinod. That has been confirmed by this recently found coin which was minted two years after.

A few years back two stone inscriptions of king Meghanārāyaṇa of the Hāceṅgaśā line were discovered at Maibong in Cāchār. They supply us with the information that king Meghanārāyaṇa caused a gateway to be constructed on the 26th Āṣāḍha of the Śaka year 1498 (July, 1576) at Maibong, his capital. From this inscriptional evidence and other materials at our disposal we can with all probability assume that king Yaśonārāyaṇa, whose coins began to be issued from or before the Śaka year 1505, was an immediate successor of Méghavarman.

The history of Cāchār and the Kāchāri tribe, which played an important part in Assam, has not yet been properly built up for want of sufficient materials. Even an important king like Yaśonārāyaṇa did not so long find any mention in the history of Cāchār. But now it is hoped that this newly found coin together with the two coins discovered before will certainly place him in his true chronological position.

The language of the coin is Sanskrit.

Its weight is 9·0051 grains and diameter 3·11 cm.

Legend on the obverse : Hara-Gaurī caraṇa para(rā)yaṇa Hāceṅgaśā Vaṃśa.

Legend on the reverse : ja śrī Yāśonārayaṇa deva bhupālasya sāke 1507.

"(The coin) of the king, the illustrious Yaśonārāyaṇadeva, born of the Hāceṅgaśā line and devoted to the feet of Hara and Gaurī and in Śaka 1507"

Hāceṅgaśā appears to be one of the gotras (or family) of the Kāchāris. The kings of Heḍamba belonged to this line (Heḍamba Rājyer Daṇḍavidhi, Intro., page 13 fn).

KUNJA GOVINDA GOSWAMI

# MISCELLANY

## Cranganore

The capital of the Perumāls and the first sea-port in all Kerala, 'where came ships from all the four corners of world,' Cranganore is a place with which is associated many an ancient tradition. It was here that the Perumāls, the Imperial suzerains of all Kerala wielded their sceptre and received the willing homage of all Malayalis, of their chiefs, of their representatives, and of their spiritual leaders. Here were built the spacious palaces for their Emperors, the mansions for their ministers, the shrines for their gods and the halls and theatres for the discussion of matters of State. The venerable personages skilled in the arts of peace and war, who crowded this ancient arena of activity and guided the 'ship of State' are now but shadowy figures, and not a trace of anything historical about them is now available. The hand of time was unscrupulous and has completely destroyed everything of the past. The sole sites surviving from that ancient antiquity are the few temples, such, for instance, as Tiruvancikuḷam, Cranganore, Kīttoḷḷi, Cingapuram, Trikulaśekharapuram, and a mosque, and the site of the Perumāl's palace. The vestiges of none other are now available. Even the sites of the specially important historical areas, such, for instance, as the Chinese, the Grecian, the Roman, the Buddhistic, the Jewish and the Christian colonies[1] are lost in obscurity and have yet to be identified. Muziris, Anjuvanam, Maṇigrāmam, Mahodayapaṭṭaṇam—whether these are the names of the whole town, or of the different suburbs of the capital is yet only a matter of guess work. So, again, it is as regards the site of the Christian church, the College and the Fort built by the Portuguese. Thus it will be seen that the ancient and mediæval history and geography of this ancient capital of Kerala are practically unknown and the only possibility of throwing any light on this tangled web of mystery, obscurity, ignorance and confusion rests wholly and entirely upon what may yield after an excavation in that centre. That excavation may yield some valuable clues and materials to solve the mystery

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1 It is subsequently learnt that the Portuguese built this church and fort on the site of the old Christian colony.

enshrouding the city and to reconstruct something of its history, that the bosom of the town holds forth some secrets yet for us, may be anticipated, if any credence may be attached to reports now and then received of finds in the shape of coins and gold, of ancient pottery, of the remains of ancient construction, of well-paved wells etc.,—reports which are as a matter of course always and only second hand.

Even in the period of modern history the town often fell a prey to the sack of ruthless soldiery. At one time it was the conquering hordes of Zamorin of Calicut, and at another the combined armies of the Maharaja of Cochin and the Dutch repulsing the insolent Portuguese and the aggressive Zamorin. Towards the close of the eighteenth century came the invading hordes of the ruthless iconoclast, the Tiger of Mysore, who sacked and destroyed every noble structure, religious or secular. Hence there is not even a single structure which can claim any high antiquity.

Thus the historical arena of Cranganore is as vast as it is unknown, and it will be presumptuous in the present imperfect state of our knowledge, to enter into any sort of details about the town. Hence I shall content myself with a few remarks on the places of worship visited.

### 1. *Tiruvancikulam Temple*

One of the most important of the temples in the locality, it dates back to the period of Perumāls. Tradition will have it that this temple was founded by one of the early Perumāls. Since the deity enshrined is supposed to represent Cidambareśa, it is possible that the Perumāl who founded this temple is a prince from Coḷamaṇḍala. Tradition hath it that there were two Coḷa Perumals. From this point of view it is reasonable to hold that the temple must have been founded earlier than the 3rd century A. D.

This tradition of the eastern origin of the temple is also to some extent borne out by the structural peculiarities of the temple. The most noteworthy feature is the presence of more than one Gopuram. As regards the Śrikoil, it deserves to be pointed out that it has a porch in front—a feature not commonly found in other temples. These two structural peculiarties are, however, found in the neighbouring Kittoḷḷi Temple, where also the same influence may be traced. Further, the presence of Dāsīs in attendance, the daily function of taking the God in procession to the bed-room, and the presence of a number of shrines also may be adduced in support of the same origin. This latter, namely, presence of more than one shrine set up around in

the precincts of the temple appears significant. In old temples the presence of many shrines is in itself a rare thing, but so far as we know in no temple are found so many shrines set up in honour of the same deity. When it is remembered that on an individual's death his own favourite deity is sometimes enshrined within the precincts of the family temple if there be one ; when it is remembered that Swāmiyārs generally have their own gods deposited in the place, generally a temple, where they happen to spend their last moments, one may incline to the opinion that these are shrines set up by different lords of the place to locate their favourite gods. If this view is plausible, here is one indication of the number of Perumāls who held their court at Tiruvancikuḷam. The number of Śaiva Perumāls may thus be fixed with some sort of certainty. Following this line of argument one may presume that there was at least one Vaiṣṇavite Perumāl from the presence of the Trikulaśekharapuram Viṣṇu Temple. And this leads one to suppose that somewhere in the neighbourhood there might be existing the ruins of the ancient Buddhistic pagoda, which is reported to have been built of gold ; for, some of the Perumāls were decidedly Buddhistic in their faith.

Since the foundation of the temple, Vanculeśa appears to have been the patron deity of the Perumāls. It is here that the statues of Bhāskara Ravi Varma Ceramān Perumāl and his spiritual preceptor Sundaramūrty Swāmiyār are set up and worshipped. After the dismemberment of the Perumāls' empire the temple passed into the hands of the Perumpaṭappu Swarūpam *i. e.* the Cochin Royal Family, and H. H. the Maharaja of Cochin derives his sovereign power from being the custodian and guardian of Vanculeśa, as is evidently clear from the Royal title "Gaṅgādhara Trikoil Adiharikal Vīra Kerala etc." still affixed to the Maharaja's name. This amply bears out the supposition that in ancient days the Maharaja of Cochin must have held their court at this historical centre.

The Śiva shrine set up at the western entrance has an interesting tradition connected with it. It is said that when one of the Perumāls accepted Buddhism, he wanted to set it up in the family place of worship. In this family shrine was originally set up a Śiva idol. The Perumāl, therefore, had it removed to the precincts of the Tiruvancikuḷam Temple and enshrined it in this structure. It is now familiarly known as Naṭakkal-Tevar.

In the Matilakam is found a pair of Konna trees (Cassius Fistula). Though this tree flowers generally only in March-April-May, the pair

in the temple flowers at all times in the year, one or the other yielding flowers every day. The faithful see in this a manifestation of Vanculeśa.

### 2. *Kīttoḷḷi Temple*

This is another temple dedicated to Śiva, which tradition puts back to the period of the Perumāls. This temple which literally means Kīḻ-Taḷi represents Airāṇikuḷam Kaḷakam. From the size of the Matilakam, which could more or less be inferred from vestiges yet available it must have been quite an important temple in early days. But nothing of its old glory is now to be found, the last stage in its downward course being marked by the sack and destruction at the hands of Tippu's soldiery. The area is now marked by the presence of many broken images of gods and goddesses, which in many a case reveal a high degree of excellence. The image in the main structure, the biggest of the kind yet examined, probably represents the sole relic of its former greatness. In its general structure the central shrine has much in common with the Tiruvancikulam temple, though it is now in ruins.

The discovery of an inscribed slab of stone in the vicinity of this temple about 4 feet below the level of the ground makes one inclined to think that an excavation in this area may yield some interesting finds.

### 3. *The Mosque*

On the banks (at the south-east corner) of the Arākuḷam, lit. Aramanakuḷam, the Princesses' tank, is situated a small mosque. This is reported to have been the first mosque founded in the whole of India. It does not face Mecca but faces due east and this is, therefore, a peculiarity which distinguishes it from every other mosque here, for invariably all of them face Mecca. Secondly, its position is such that the Ārāṭṭu procession of the Tiruvancikuḷam temple circumambulates this mosque also. These are quite significant facts and may suggest some close relation between this mosque and the rulers of the land.

The story of its origin runs thus : The Perumāl who went to Mecca married a neice of the Holy Prophet. After that he returned homewards accompanied by his wife and his brother-in-law, Malik Din Hajiyar with eighteen stones to found eighteen mosques. On the way, however, the Royal consort died. But before his death he had given a Royal writ to his successor at Tiruvancikuḷam to permit his brother-in-law to found a mosque over his once favourite temple. In deference to

the wishes of his predecessor, the then Perumāl allowed him to build the mosque at the present site, which more or less agreed with the description given in the letter. The first of the stones was deposited here and over it was raised the first mosque. Here Malik Din Hajiyar lived and died, preaching the gospel of the Holy Prophet.

The origin, as sketched here, appears to be exceedingly doubtful, because the Perumāl's Apostacy is now discredited. It may be that the mosque is founded not on the site of the Hindu temple, but on that of the Buddhistic shrine. My later enquiries also show that there is a tradition which corroborates this view. If this is tenable, then we have the site of the Buddha shrine discovered.

### 4. *Trikulaśekharapuram Temple*

This is the only important Vaiṣṇavite temple in the whole locality. This temple must have been founded by a Kulaśekhara Perumāl, probably the same who wrote the two dramas, Dhanañjaya and Tapatī-saṃvaraṇa. Because he was a Vaiṣṇavite, he probably did not accept Vanculeśa as his patron deity and so set up his own favourite god and established a new town which henceforth came to be called Trikulaśekhara-puram, the city of Kulaśekhara. Few might have been the emperors who espoused this cult and hence probably it never rose to be the most important temple. In its structural peculiarities it has much in common with the temples at Tiruvanci-kuḷam and Kīttoḷḷi.

### 5. *The Bhagavatī Temple*

The temple is dedicated to Bhadra-Kālī, whose wrath is supposed to be the cause of all epidemic diseases in Kerala. To gain her good will a big annual festival is held towards the close of February or the beginning of March, when thousands and thousands of people stream into the place from far and wide. The temple was founded between the years 115 and 125 A. D. by Chenguṭṭuva Perumāl, the Imperial sovereign of all Kerala, who reigned from 69 A. D. to 125 A. D., to commemorate the tragic end of a faithful woman.

"Kannaki was the fair and virtuous bride of Kovalan, a rich merchant, who lived in Coḷa during the reign of Elanchel-Chenni. He was reduced to poverty because of his loose way of livings and migrated to the Pāṇḍya kingdom, accompanied by his devoted wife. There the unfortunate man was charged with stealing one of a pair of anklets intended for the queen and was hanged. The indignant wife proved the innocence of her husband at the court of the king and charged

the king with unrighteousness. Cutting off one of her breasts[1], she threw it into the midst of the council-chamber and invoked eternal curses upon the king. She then rushed out of the court and ran to the hills, where she died.

One of the mountain chiefs, who was on his way to the court of the Perumāl to pay his annual subsidy, happened to witness her death, and reported it at the court of his overlord. To this information Cāttanār, the court poet of the Pāṇḍya king, at that moment a distinguished guest of the Perumāl, then added the preceding details. The Perumāl was struck with pity on hearing the woeful story and asked his younger brother, Prince Ellankov Aḍigal, to commemorate it by writing a book. The queen was so overcome with sympathy for her unfortunate sister, that she requested her lord to build a temple in honour of the devoted and faithful wife. Thus, thanks to the royal sorrow, an excellent work, "Chillappatikaram," was written, and a temple was built, one of the most adored in all Kerala, to preserve the memory of the tragic fate of a noble woman."

Thus this is the most ancient temple in all Kerala. It is also a very queer type of temple. For all practical purposes the goddess predominates everywhere; but judging from the structural point of view it appears that Śiva, enshrined in the centre of the sacred precincts, is the most important. For, the shrine of the goddess is identical with the Beli-Kallu, the sacrificial stone established in Agni corner and as is the case in other temples, it heads the Sapta Matṛkals. Here, then, have we an instance of a sacrificial stone superseding the main deity in the temple. It may not also be uninteresting to point out here that the gold masked Pīḍha, symbolic of the goddess, bears no little resemblance to a miniature Buddhistic Stūpa. To the east of this is a closed up shrine, reported to be the original seat of the goddess, the contents of which nobody knows. This temple, therefore, offers an interesting field for work. Here is also hung a bell which carries an inscription in old Portuguese : 'Praised be the most Holy Name of Jesus,' evidently bespeaking its Portuguese origin.

K. R. PISHAROTI

1 During the Bharaṇi festival the goddess is even now referred to as Oṭṭa-Mulaccī, a lady with one breast only, thus attesting to the traditional story of the cutting off one of the breasts.

## Multiplication of Jātakas

The Barhut Jātaka-scenes are important as indicating the existence of a collection of Birth-stories. One of the Pāli canonical books, namely, the Culla-Niddesa, refers to a collection of 500 stories (*pañca jātaka-satāni*).[1] The reference is apparently to the canonical Jātaka book included in the Sutta-Piṭaka. The stories presupposed by the carvings differ in details from those in the Sutta-Piṭaka collection, and approach those in the Jātaka-Commentary, compiled in the 5th century A. D., if not later. When this was compiled, the traditional total number of the Birth-stories was 550. Buddhaghoṣa himself knew this to be the total number. But when Fa Hian visited Ceylon in the early part of the 5th century A.D., he saw representations of 500 Birth-stories round the Abhayagiri monastery. This number tallies with the total given in the Culla-Niddesa. The Commentary edited by Fausböll is the Jātakatthavaṇṇanā which refers to an earlier Sinhalese Commentary, the Jātakaṭṭhakathā, with which Buddhaghoṣa was acquainted. In Fausböll's edition the Commentary-collection contains 547 Jātakas, falling short of the later traditional total by just three stories. The following are the processes whereby the number increased from 500 to 550 :—

(*a*) *Repetition of the same story under the same or different titles*, e. g., Kapota (42), Lola (274), Kapota (375) and Kāka (395); Indasamānagotta (161) and Mittâmitta (197); Bhojâjānīya (23) and Ājañña (24); Ārāmadūsaka (46) and Ārāmadūsa (268); Losaka (41), Mittavinda (82), Mittavinda (104), Mittavinda (369) and Catudvāra (439); Phala (54) and Kimpakka (85); Nandi-Visāla (28) and Sārambha (88); Parosahassa (99), Parosata (101), Jhānasodhana (134) and Candābha (135); Sāketa (68) and Sāketa (237); Mahāpanāda (268) and Suruci (489); Ekarāja (303) and Maṇikuṇḍala (351); Kākāti (327) and Sussondi (360); Akataññu (90) and Hiri (363); Makkaṭa (173) and Kapi (250).

(*b*) *Repetition of the same story conveying slightly different morals*, e. g., Kharādīya (15) and Tipallattha (16); Vānarinda (57) and Kumbhīla (224).

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1 Culla-Niddesa, p. 80.

(*c*) *Repetition of the same story with changes in the personnel*, e. g., Rucira (275) and Kapota (42) ; Ghata (355) and Ekarāja (303) ; Veluka (43) and Indasamānagotta (f. 161) ; Migapotaka (372) and Somadatta (410).

(*d*) *Manipulation of different stories to impress the same moral*, e. g., Sujāta (352), Matarodana (317), Ananusocanīya (328) and Maṭṭakuṇḍali (449).

(*e*) *Development of different stories with the same plot*, e. g., Kuru dhamma (276) and Vessantara (547).

(*f*) *Multiplication of the stories with the same hero*, e. g., Alambusā (523) and Nalinikā (526) ; Vidhūra-Paṇḍita (545), Dhūmakāri (413) and Dasabrāhmaṇa (495).

(*g*) *Separation of parts from a whole*, e. g., Kakaṇṭaka (170), Sirikālakaṇṇi (192), Devatāpañha (360), Khajjopanaka (364), Bhūripañha (452), Meṇḍaka (471), Sirimaṇḍa (500) and Pañcapaṇḍita (508) from Mahāummagga (546) ; Kaṇḍari (351), Culla-Kuṇāla (464) from Kuṇāla (536) ; Catuposathika (441) from Puṇṇaka or Vidhūra-Paṇḍita (545).[1]

So far as these processes are concerned, the Barhut Jātaka-scenes yield the following testimonies. In the scene bearing the label Isisiṃgiya-Jātaka, just the Bodhisatta's birth from a doe is fully represented.[2] This is a minor point in the story of Ṛṣyaśṛṅga. The really important point as to how the Bodhisatta was tempted in vain by a heavenly courtezan and an earthly princess is entirely left out. The label indicates that there was only one Buddhist version of the story, then known to the Barhut artists, with the title corresponding to that of the story of Ṛṣyaśṛṅga in the Sanskrit Epics. In the later Buddhist works, such as the Jātaka-Commentary, the Mahāvastu and the Avadānakalpalatā, one finds two stories, named after the two temptresses as the Alambuṣā and the Nalinikā, with Ṛṣyaśṛṅga as the hero and the Barhut episode as common to both. In the second scene the artists have represented a royal personage as giving away a state-elephant as a gift to a Brahman ascetic. The scene bears no label whatsoever to indicate that it belonged to any particular Birth-story. The Commentary-collection contains two distinct Jātakas, viz., the Kurudhamma and the Vessantara, developed with the Barhut episode as a common plot,

1 The numbers refer to Fausböll's edition.

2 Cunningham's Stūpa of Bharhut, Pl. xxv. 7.

the latter as a Buddhist substitute for the Rāmāyaṇic story of Rāma-Sītā.[1]

In the Jātaka-Commentary, the story of Kaṇḍari-Kinnarā is treated as a separate Jātaka as well as an interlude in the Kuṇāla. The Barhut scene with the label *Kaḍari-ki*[2] leaves one in the dark as to the actual position of the story in the Jātaka collection, then known. Similarly the story of Janaka and Arrow-maker is just one of the many episodes in the Mahājanaka-Jātaka. Neither from the Barhut scene[3] nor from its label it is decisive if this was then treated as a Jātaka by itself or an interlude of another Jātaka. But consider the scene in which a pair of Kinnaras stand in the presence of a king.[4] It bears a label which distinctly characterises the underlying story as a Jātaka, called Kinnara. This story occurs in the Commentary-collection as one of the episodes in the Takkāriya-Jātaka. Here the evidence of the Barhut scene may be taken to prove either that the stories originally treated as separate Jātakas were later on interwoven into the narrative of a larger Birth-story of novelette class, or that the interludes of a novellette Jātaka came to be treated as independent Birth-stories. The following example will however show how the earlier form of a story supplied the peg upon which was engrafted another story. Mahauṣadha's feats of wisdom and ready wit at Yavamadhyaka form one of the many episodes in the Mahāummagga-Jātaka. The Barhut carving illustrates just these feats under the label *Yavamajhakiya-Jātaka*. The label clearly indicates that the Jātaka in its earlier form was concerned only with these feats.[5]

B. M. BARUA

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1 Fausböll's Jātaka, vol. VI, p. 557 : the wife of the Bodhisatta says that she followed her husband in his exile just as Sītā followed Rāma (*Rāmaṃ Sītā va*).

2 Stūpa of Bharhut, Pl. XIV (Side).

3 Ibid., Pl. XLIV. 2.

4 Ibid., Pl. XXVII. 12.

5 Ibid., Pl. XXV. 3.

## The Sādhanamālā and its Tibetan Version

Scholars know that an edition of the *Sādhanamālā* was first undertaken over eleven years back in the *Bibliotheca Buddhica Series*, but there is hardly any hope of its coming out, the series itself having been discontinued owing to the great war and the political situation in Russia. Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharya has, however, now brought out an edition of the same work in the *Gaekwad's Oriental Series* of which he is the General Editor. The book will be complete in two volumes, of which only the first has so far been published. The editor deserves our thanks for his learned work which, though not free from criticism, is a valuable contribution to the subject.

The edition is based on eight different MSS. In seven of them the work is called *Sādhanamālā*, while in only one MS., viz., Nb, one finds the name *Sādhanasamuccaya* which is supported also by the blank obverse side of the MS. Ab. Now, in the Tibetan Tanjur, *Rgyud hgrel* (*Tantravṛtti*), Du, LXXI (Cordier, Vol. iii, p. 20) there is a large collection of 246 (95-340) *sādhanas* (*sgrub thabs*) under the name *Sādhanasamuccaya* (*sgrub thabs kun las btus pa*), which is divided into three sections. With a few exceptions almost all the *sādhanas* found in the *Sādhanamālā*, as it is presented to us in the first volume by Dr. Bhattacharya, are identical with those in the Tibetan work, and both of them begin with the *Trisamayarāja-sādhana*. The words, *sādhanamālā* and *sādhanasamuccaya*, though different are identical in meaning, and are, therefore, two different names for the same work.

As bearing upon the later phase of Buddhism, the *Sādhanamālā* is a work very important in various respects. But I am here concerned only with the Sanskrit text as presented in the volume of GOS. It has already been noticed that for the preparation of the present edition not less than eight MSS have been used, yet it is desirable to examine how far the readings in the text edited by Dr. Bhattacharya are correct and reliable. With this object in view I take up here only two *sādhanas* at random, nos. 2 and 3, and comparing the Sanskrit text with the Tibetan version place the result before my readers. I hope to show that it is Tibetan and not Sanskrit that has preserved the true and actual readings in many cases, and that the former helps us in understanding many obscure points in those Sanskrit works that are extant.

## I TRISAMAYARĀJASĀDHANA

Sanskrit Text, *Sādhanamalā*, No. 2, pp. 15-17. Tibetan Text, *Dam tshig gsum gyi rgyal poḥi sgrub thabs*[1], Tanjur, Rgyud ḥgrel, Du, LXXI ; Cordier, III, p. 20.

Page 15, Verse 1.

In *a*[2] in the word *samatasāradharmiṇaḥ* for *samata-* which has hardly any sense we have in T (=Tibetan) *samati-* (*śin tu yaṅ dag*).

Similarly in *c* for *asamanta°* T has *asamāna°* (*mñan med*) which is undoubtedly better.

In *d* for *sama-* in *samavarā°* T reads *asama-* (*mtshuṅs med*) and consequently owing to the metre it should be compounded with the preceding word, *amalācalāsama°*.

It may also be noted that in *b* for *jagati* T reads *jagatāṃ* (*ḥgro ba rnams kyi*), but the metre does not allow it. It is, however, immaterial.

Verse 2.

In *a* as the metre, *Mañjubhāṣiṇī*,[3] demands the third syllable in *gaganasamo°* must be *guru*, but in fact it is not so. Moreover, the compound word does not give any clear sense. The line in T runs here thus : *gagansamās tadupamā na vidyate* (*nam mkhaḥ daṅ mtshuṅs de rnams dpe med*). But this reading, too, in Sanskrit cannot be accepted for the same reason. Therefore, for the sake of metre, the actual reading seems to have been : *gaganopamās tadupamā na vidyate*. But if we accept here a defective metre as the case is often found in such Buddhist writings, the actual reading might have been as suggested first.

T fully supports *b*, but there is nothing, as cannot be expected, in favour of the reading *asīmike* for *asīmake*.

In *c*, *sadasattvadhātu°* does not give any sense. For this T has *sada* (for *sadā*) *sattvadhātu°* (*rtag tu sems can khams*). The word *sadā* is made here *sada* ending in short *a* owing to the metre. This kind of shortening long vowels is often found in Buddhist Sanskrit. See below, verse 3, *a*, *karuṇavega°* for *karuṇāvega*.

In the same line for *°vara°* T reads *°kara°* (*byed*).

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1 The full text is edited at the end of this paper.

2 The four successive *pādas* of a *śloka* is indicated here by *a*, *b*, *c*, and *d* respectively.

3 The scheme is as follows :

In *d* for *asamanta*° *T* appears to read *samanta*° (*ma lus pa* = *nikhila* = *samanta*, lit. *amūrta*). Now, the compound word being in this case *samantasiddhiṣu*, between this word and the preceding one, *vigatopameṣu*, a short syllable is wanting in the metre and for this the insertion of *ca* may be suggested.

Verse 3.

In *b* for *avirodha-* T has *anirodha-* (*ḥgog pa med*) which is wrongly written in the MS., A, as *anibodha-*. In *c* T reads °*parāpy anantinī* (*gzhan yaṅ mthaḥ med pa*) for °*parāsamantinī*. But if we ignore the Tib. word *yaṅ*, as Tib. translators often put it, though its Skt. equivalent, *api*, may not be employed in the original, and sometimes also omit it even when it is actually found therein, the reading as printed may be regarded as right. The word *para* in *arthasādana-parā* is undoubtedly used in the sense of 'totally devoted to', but the Tib. translator has wrongly taken it to mean *anya* 'other' (*gzhan*). It may be pointed out here that the hyphen at the end of *c* is not wanted at all.

Verse 4.

In *a* for *na nirodhatāṃ* T gives *anirodhanā* reading simply *ḥgag med* which is generally translated by *anirodha*. In the same line the reading *acalā* as found in the MS. A for *ākulā* in *karuṇacārikākulā* is supported by T which has *gyo ba med*.

In *b*, *triloki* is compounded with *vara*°, but according to T it is evidently used as locative, *triloke*, *e* in classical Skt. being changed to *i* in Buddhist Skt. ; for in T the word is followed by the verb : *ḥjig rten gsum bsgroṅ* ( *bsgren* ?) and not by *vara*° (*mchog*).

In *c* T has literally *meya-* (*gzhal bya*) for *-mita-* in *amitā*°.

In *d*, *gatiṃ gateṣvapi* is a doubtful reading, as it is not allowed by the metre, nor is supported by T according to which we may read here in prose *aho tatra dharmatā sugatir avagatā* (*kye ma chos ñid der ḥjug legs par khoṅ du tshuṅ*). As the T shows, *su-* (*legs par*) cannot be construed with *dharmatā* as *sudharmatā*. It seems that the Tibetan translator could not understand the line clearly, nor is the Skt. line free from defect.

Verse 5.

In *a*, *varadā* must be joined in compound to the preceding word *agrasiddhi-*, the word being *agrasiddhi-varadā* (*ḥ*) as shows the Tib. version : *mchog dños grub mchog sbyin*

In *b* for *varadānatā* read *varadāna te* separately, here *varadāna* being for *varadānāni* in classical Skt. as suggested by T: *sbyin pahi mchog de dag*[1] *la*. The next words in T are *rtag tu legs par gsol*, which can be rendered into Skt. by *sadā suvṛtāḥ* (=*suprārthitāḥ*). Accordingly one is to read *suvṛtatāṃ gatāḥ* for the adopted reading *agragatitāṃ gatāḥ*. But, in all probablity, the actual reading in T for *gsal* might have been *soṅ*; thus with *legs par* (as *legs par soṅ*) it means *sugata* in Skt., and the Tib. phrase is well-known in that sense. Consequently the only reading which can be suggested here is *sugatāṃ gatāḥ* for *agragatitāṃ gataḥ* as printed. The latter may, however, somehow or other be defended in the sense of the former.

Page 16.

In *c* according to T the word *triloki* is to be taken separately for its classical form *triloke* as in the preceding verse. The reading in T is: *ḥjig rten gsum kun*, Skt. *triloki* (*-e*) *sakalāḥ*, or *sakala triloke*.

After this the prose line, *iti trisamayarājakalpoktā vajradharasaṅgītā stutiḥ* is put in T in verse completing it with the following line of the next verse: *idam tad° vistaram*.

In accordance with T there is no *iti* before *trisamayarāja°*, nor *saṃ* in *saṃgītā* in *vajradharasaṃgītā*, but it adds *kṛtā* (*byas*) after *stutiḥ*. For *idaṃ tat* T has *atra tat* (*de ḥdir*).

Verse 8.

The whole line *darśayanti° vigraham* is omitted here in T.

Verse 9.

In *a* T has *siddha* (*grub ba*) for *śuddha*. It is to be noted that in *b* the metre is defective owing to nine syllables instead of eight. Accordingly one should read in *a* and *b*, *siddhāmogharājaṃ* for *śuddham amogharājam* as printed. *Amoghasiddharāja* (*don yod grub pa rgyal po*) is the actual word, but only owing to the metre the word *siddha* is put here before.

In *d* for *pravadanti* T has *dadanti* (=*dadati*) reading *ster bar mdzad pa ste* without the prefix *pra-* (*rab tu*).

Verse 10.

In *d* for *manasepsitāḥ* T seems to read *manasepsitām* (*yid kyi ḥdod pa*) to be taken with *sarvā° pūrīm*. In the same line T adds *pari-* (*yoṅs su*) before *dadanti* (*ster*).

1 In the xylograph *bdag*.

In *e* for *balaṃ vegam* T reads *stabs kyi śugs* which is in Skt. *balasya vegaṃ*, (=*balavegaṃ*).
*daṅ* for *kyi*.

In the following two prose lines for *eva* after *etad* T has *evam* (*de bzhin du*, lit. *tathā*); for *vajramaṇḍala*,° °*pañjara*° (*gur*);[1] and for *mahāyogatantre'pi*° *paṭhitam*, *yogamahātantrānusaraṇād vācyam* (*ḥbyor rgyud chen poḥi rjes su ḥbraṅs nas brjod par byaḥo*).

Verse 11.

In *b* for *buddhaputrāṃś ca bhāvataḥ* T reads *buddhaputrasya bhāvataḥ* (*saṅs rgyas sras kyi raṅ bzhin daṅ*).

Verse 13.

For *gurau vidheyā nāvajñā* in *a* T has *nātikramyā guror ājñā* (*bla maḥi bkaḥ las ḥdaḥ mi bya*).

In *c* and *d* after *mantramudrāś ca* T adds *vyartha* (*don med*), and the whole line seems to have been read: *na svayaṃ mantramudrāś ca vyarthā nāśy āś ca naiva tāḥ* / as suggested by T: *raṅ gi sṅags daṅ phyag rgya yaṅ* / *don med pa daṅ ñams mi bya*.

Verse 14.

In *d* T has *bhojanīyāḥ* (*bzaḥ bar bya*) for *bhañjanīyāḥ*. See *Sādhanamālā*. p. 14, ll. 14-15: "*na vajrākīrā bhakṣaṇīyā na*°."

Verse 15.

In *b* for *mudrādiṣu gauravam* which is evidently wrong T has *mudrāyām* or *mudrāṣv agauravam* (*phyag rgya mi gus*). Literally *b* in T may be translated thus: *heyaṃ mudrāṣv agauravam* (*phag rgya mi gus spaṅ bar bya*).

Verse 16.

In *b* for *suśīlānaparādhayoḥ* T has *suśīle nāparādhayet* (*tshul khrims ldan la smad mi bya*). In *c* for *na kāryaṃ* read *nākāryaṃ* T reading the sentence *bya min bya ba mi bya zhiṅ*.

Verse 17.

In *a*, *saṃkṣepāt* is omitted in T which in *a* and *b* literally reads: *parātmapratikūlāni* / *kāryāṇi khalu varjayet* / (*bdag gzhan rjes su mi mthun paḥi* / *bya ba rnams ni spaṅ bar bya* /). In *c* for *mahākalpe* T reads °*kalpaḥ* (*rtog pa chen paḥi dam*)°.

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1 See *Sādhanamālā*. p. 6. l. 3. where the word *vajrapañjara* is used

Verse 18.

For *kaukṛtyam ājīvamalam* in *a* T reads *kaukṛtyasahitājīvo na kāryaḥ* (*htsho ba ḥgyod bcas mi bya zhiṅ*). Accordingly the Skt. reading seems to have been *kaukṛtyenājīvam alaṃ*, the last word, *alaṃ*, being taken in the sense of 'enough of,' *vāraṇa*, 'negation.' In that case, the second case-ending instead of third one as demanded by grammar in the word *ājīva* (as well as *rati* which follows) may be due to Buddhist Skt.

In *b* for *ratiṃ saṃgaṇikāsu ca* T has *ratiṃ gaṇakathāsu ca* (*tshogs smra dgaḥ ba*). The reading of the last portion of *b* in Tib. appears to be defective. See the text edited. In accordance with the reading as suggested by me *b* would literally mean '*gaṇakathā* (or the talk about multitude of people) cannot be allowed.' But *gaṇakathā* of Tib. may be tantamount to *saṃgaṇikā* of our text (see *Mahāvastu*, II, 355 ; *Divyāvadāna*, p. 464) meaning 'association' or 'conversation with a multitude or company.'

In *c* for *bhūriḥ* which has no sense T gives *bhāvaḥ* (*gyur*, lit. *bhūta*) to be connected with the preceding word, *vicikitsakatābhāvaḥ*.

The remaining portion after the verse 19 is put in prose in T.

Verse 20.

In *c* for *śrāddhaḥ* T reads *śreṣṭhaḥ* (*daṅ po*, lit. *prathamaḥ*).

Verse 21.

In *a* T reads °*hitodyuktavāṅmanaḥ*°, strictly °*hitayuktavāṅmanaḥ*° (*phan pa daṅ ldan paḥi lus daṅ*°) for °*hitodyuktaḥ* (which should have been °*hitodyukto*) *vāṅmanaḥ*°.

In *d* for *vidhinā* T has *sādhanena* (*sgrub thabs*). Accordingly the actual reading owing to the metre seems to be *sādhanepsitam* for *vidhine*°.

## II VAJRĀSANASĀDHANA

Sanskrit Text, *Sādhanamālā*, No 3, pp. 18-22. Tibetan Text, *Rdo rje gdan gyi sgrub thabs*, Tanjur, Rgyud ḥgrel, Du, LXXI ; Cordier III, p. 21.

P. 18, L. 1

For *namaḥ*° *tathāgatāya* T has *namaḥ śrīvajrāsanāya*, thus supporting the reading found in the MS. A, excepting *śrī-* which is omitted in the latter.

Ll. 2-5

As regards the beginning stanza, there are some divergent readings in T, but as it is not quite clear to me on some points it is better not to discuss them here.

L. 6

For *tataḥ* T reads *tatra* (*de la*) which is better ; and for *bhagavantaṃ* it has *bhagavan-mūrttim* (°*sku*)

L. 7

T omits °*buddhaṃ sarvatathāgatādisamanvitam.*

L. 11

For *hrī̃* after °*mitābhāya* T has *hrīḥ.*

L. 12

T omits *svāhā* after *hū̃*, and reads *aḥ* for *khaṃ̃*.

P. 19, l. 4

Before *guru*° T adds *uttara*° (*bla bla ma*°).

L. 5

For *snānapūjā*° T has *snānapuṣpādi*° (*khrus daṅ me tog la sogs pa*°).

L. 6

T rightly adds *kuśala-* or *puṇya-* (*dge*) before *pariṇāmanā, triśaraṇa gamanam* is left out in T.

P. 20, l. 4

Before *dvibhujam* T adds *ekamukhaṃ* (*zhal gcig*).

Ll. 5-6

For *savyakaraṃ* and *apasavyam* (in every case printed *ava*°) T has *apasavyaṃ* (=*dakṣiṇaṃ*) and *savyam* (*gyas* and *gyon pa*) respectively. And for *utsaṅga*° T reads *uttāna*° (*gan khal du*). That as regards the *bhūmisparśamudrā* the Tib. readings are quite right is evident from different figures of the Buddha. For instance, see the figures in the *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon* by Vincent A. Smith, p. 189 ; *Indische Plastik* von William Cohn, 1921, pp. 26, 27. The case is the same with ll. 9, 10. See below.

L. 6

For *raktavastrācchāditagātraṃ* T has *raktavastragātraṃ* (*na bzaḥ dmar sku*). After this T adds *bsnams*, Skt. lit. *gṛhītam* ; it may, however, be explained in the sense of *gṛhītvā* (*bsnams nas*).

L. 9

For *savya-* T has *apasavyahaste* (=*dakṣiṇa*°), as it reads *phyag gyas pa na*. *Cāmara* is taken in the right hand and not in the left.

L. 10

For *apasavyena* T has *savye* (=*vāme*). For °*puṣpacchaṭā* T reads °*sapuṣpapallava*° (*yal ga me tog daṅ bcas pa*).

L. 11

T omits *śukla-* in *śuklavarṇaṃ* reading lit. *gātravarṇavantaṃ* (*sku mdag can pa*).

Ll. 18-19.

T supports the reading *stanamadhye* (*nu ma dbus su*) found in the MSS. N C for *stanadvaye*.

L. 19

For *śuklavarṇam* T has *rakta*° (*dmar po*).

P. 21, l. 1

For *vibhāvya* T *vibhāvayet* (*bsgom par byaḥo*).

L. 2

For *huṁkāraṃ* T *huṁkāraḥ* (*huṃ yig go*). Here ends the sentence.

L. 3

For *samayasattvavat* T has *vīravat* or *tapasvivat* (*dpaḥ bzhin du*).

L. 4

In T *tataḥ* is omitted. For °*maṇḍalaṃ tasyopari* T reads °*maṇḍalasyopari*. For *u̍ kāra*° T, which is here a little indistinct in the xylograph, seems to read *a̍ kāra*°.

L. 5

T omits *ca* before *iti*.

L. 8

For *ūrdhvam* T has *madhye* (*dbus su*).

L. 13

For *sthāpayet* T reads *bhāvayet* (*dgoṅ bar byaḥo*).

Ll. 13-14

For *arghya*°*prokṣaṇaṃ* T reads *pādyācamanadhūpakṣepaṇāni* [*zhabs bsil daṅ | zhal bsil daṅ | bsaṅ* (*bsaṅs* ?) *gtor rnams*].

L. 14

For *kṣīrādi* T has *pāyasādi* (*ḥo thug la sogs*). It may, however, be observed here as evident from the Tib. the word *kṣīra* does not mean here 'milk', but 'rice and milk cooked together' as porridge. This is called *pāyasa* or *paramānna* in some parts of the country, while in others the very word, *kṣīra*, is used in the same sense.

L. 15

In T *vihitaḥ* is omitted.

L. 17

In T *samayas tvam* is once and *samayam aham* is omitted.

L. 18

Before *oṃ āḥ hūṃ* T seems to add *oṃ* (or *aṃ*) *hūṃ*. For *paścād* T has *tataḥ* (*de nas*).

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## TRISAMAYARĀJASĀDHANA

OF

RATNĀKARAGUPTAPADA

Tibetan Version

## DAM TSHIG GSUM GYI RGYAL POḤI SGRUB THABS

Tanjur, Rgyud ḥgrel, Du, LXXI ; Cordier, III, p, 20.[1]

rgya gar skad du | tri sa ma ya rā ja sā dha nam | bod skad du | dam tshig gasum gyi rgyal poḥi sgrub thabs ||

Saṅs rgyas daṅ | byaṅ chub sems dpaḥ thams cad la phyag tshal lo ||

1

mi mñam ma gyo śin tu yaṅ dag chos kyi sñiṅ |
sñiṅ rjeḥi bdag ñid ḥgro ba rnams kyi sdug bsṅal ḥjoms |
mñam med yon tan kun daṅ dṅos grub ster mdzad pa |
dri med mi gyo mtshuṅs med rab mchog chos rnams ni ||

2

nam mkhaḥ daṅ mtshuṅs de rnams dpe med yon tan gyi |
cha śas rdul phran gzegs nas kyaṅ ni mtshams med pa |
rtag tu sems can khams byed dṅos grub sbyin pa po |
dpe daṅ bral zhiṅ ma lus pa yi dṅos grub rnams ||

3

rtag tu dri med sñiṅ rjehi śugs kyis lṅas nas ni |
smon lam grub ciṅ ḥgog pa med paḥi chos ñid do |
ḥgro baḥi don du sgrub thabs gzhan yaṅ mthaḥ med pa |
brtse ba chen poḥi bdag ñid rtag tu rnam par mdzes ||

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1 The xylograph used here is of the Narthang edition and belongs

4

ḥgag med sñiṅ rjeḥi spyod pa gyo ba med pa yis |
ḥjig rten gsum bsgroṅ[1] mchog gi dṅos grub sbyin paḥo |
gzhal bya ḥjal byed daṅ ḥbral legs par yoṅs rdzogs śiṅ |
kye ma chos ñid der ḥjug legs par khoṅ du tshud ||

5

dam tshig gsum mchog dṅos grub mchog sbyin ster mdzod pa |
sbyin paḥi mchog de bdag la rtag tu legs par gsol[2] |
ḥjig rten gsum kun mchog sbyin mchog gi sgrub pa po |
mgon po dus gsum gśegs rnams kun nas sgrib med pa ||

6

dam tshig gsum rgyal rtog par gsuṅs |
rdor ḥdzin glu daṅ bstod pa byas |[3]
de ḥdir saṅs rgyas thams chad kyi |
yon tan rgya chen phul du byuṅ ||

7

lhan cig tsam du brjod pas kyaṅ |
sṅags rnams thams cad ṅes par ḥgrub |
bstod paḥi rgyal po ḥdi yis ni |
de bzhin gśegs rnams ṅes par mñes |

8

dṅos grub rgya chen ster par byed |
rtog pa la gnas rtog las gsuṅs |
mgon po rnam par snaṅ mdzad che |[4]
mi bskyod[5] rin chen ḥbyuṅ ldan daṅ ||

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1 It is not intelligible to me. Is it *bsgreṅ*? That the reading here is defective is evident from the fact that instead of eleven syllables in this line we have only ten.

2 According to Sanskrit *soṅ* seems to have been the actual reading.

3 It appears that one should read the line thus: *rdo rje ḥdzin glu bstod pa byas.*

4 The word *che* should have been put, according to Sanskrit, after *mgon po*, as *mgon po che*, meaning *mahānātha.* In accordance with the reading as we have here the meaning is *nātha mahāvairocana.*

5 For *abhabhva* we have *ma bskyod.*

9

rgyal ba dag[1] la ḥod dpag med ।
don yod grub pa rgyal po kun ।
ro daṅ ro bcuṅ de ñid daṅ ।
mchog tu ster bar mdzad pa ste ॥

10

ma lus dṅos grub dag daṅ ni ।
dgaḥ ba rgya chen phun tshogs gnas ।
bsam pa thams cad yoṅs su gaṅ ।
yid kyi ḥdod pa yoṅs su ster ॥
ye śes tshe daṅ stobs kyi śugs ।
dge baḥi mchog rnams ster ba po ॥

zhes so । de bzhin du bstod pa ḥdi rdo rjeḥi gur gyi brgyan pa rnal ḥbyor rgyud chen poḥi rjes su ḥbraṅs nas brjod par byaḥo । zhes so ॥

saṅs rgyas kun la phyag ḥtshal lo ।

11

saṅs rgyas sras kyi raṅ bzhin daṅ ।
dus gsum saṅs rgyas phyag ḥtshal nas ।
ḥchad ḥgyur dam tshig cuṅ zad rnams ।
dpal ldan dam tshing gsum las gsuṅs ॥

12

dam chos smad par mi bya zhiṅ ।
gaṅ du ḥaṅ spaṅ bar mi byaḥo ।
rdzogs saṅs rgyas daṅ byaṅ chub sems ।
de rnams mi gus spaṅ bar bya ॥

13

bla maḥi bkaḥ las ḥdaḥ mi bya ।
lus ṗan rnams ni bsad mi bya ।
raṇ gi sṅags daṅ phyag rgya yaṅ ।
don med pa daṅ ñams mi bya ॥

14

ser sna chaṅ gi btuṅ ba ni ।
thams cad du yaṅ bya ba min ।
rdo rjeḥi rnam pa mi ḥgoṅ zhiṅ ।
bzaḥ bar bya baḥaṇ ma yin no ॥

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1. Read dag (?)

15

khri yi steṅ du mi ñal zhiṅ |
phyag rgya mi gus spaṅ bar bya |
bla ma daṅ ni lha rnams daṅ |
byis paḥi chos ñid mi bya ḥo ||

16

mṅon spyod bya ba ma yin zhiṅ |
tshul khrims ldan la smad mi bya |
bya min bya ba mi bya zhiṅ |
sdig la rjes su yi raṅ min ||

17

bdag gzhan rjes su mi mthun paḥi |
bya ba rnams ni spaṅ bar bya |
rtog pa chen poḥi dam tshig ḥdi |
dpal ldan dam tshig gsum las śes ||

18

ḥtsho ba ḥgyod bcas mi bya zhiṅ |
tshogs smra dgaḥ bas chog par bya |[1]
the tshom ñid du gyur pa daṅ |
yo byad yoṅs su ḥdzin pa daṅ ||

19

le lo daṅ ni zhum paḥi sems |
de bzhin bdag la bstod pa sogs |
bar du gcod paḥi chos rnams su |
rtog paḥi rgyal po ñid las gsuṅs ||

ñes pa ḥdi rnams las ṅes par grol zhiṅ | sṅon du gsuṅs paḥi dam tshig la gnas nas | chags pa thams cad spaṃs te | daṅ po daṅ brtan paḥi yaṅ dag paḥi byaṅ chub kyi sems kyis ḥgro ba gsum po la phan pa daṅ ldan paḥi lus daṇ tshig[2] daṅ yid rnams kyi byed pa daṅ | dam tshig gsum las gsuṅs paḥi sgrub thabs kyis chags ḥdod paḥi dṅos grub du ḥgyur ro ||

rin chen ḥbyuṅ gnas sbas paḥi zhabs kyis mdzad pa |
dam tshig gsum gyi rgyal poḥi sgrub thabs rdzogs so ||

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

1 As the sense requires read *dgaḥ ba mi chog bya* for *dgaḥ bas chog par bya.*

## The Janapada and the Paura

II

I shall now examine the evid ences bearing on the political functions of the supposed *Jānapada* and *Paura* bodies.

As to having gold coins minted by the *Sauvarṇika* for the *Jānapada* association, it has already been shown (*IHQ.*, II, pp. 406 f.) that the inference is highly doubtful. The inference as to the joint session of the *Paura* and the *Jānapada* bodies for the discussion of matters of importance, and the existence of the office of the *Jānapada* body at the capital rests wholly on imaginary grounds.

Mr. J. (p. 79) cites as an example of the joint session of the members of the *Paura* and *Jānapada* bodies the assemblage of the *Pauras* and the *Jānapadas* at the court of king Daśaratha on the occasion of the declaration of Rāma as *Yuvarāja*. The gathering included however not merely the *Pauras* and *Jānapadas* i.e. the people of the capital and the country (and not members of the *Paura* and the *Jānapada* bodies as Mr. J. supposes) but also the rulers of various kingdoms (*R.* II, 1, 45—medinyāḥ pradhānān pṛthivīpatīn) and the subjects of various territories (pṛthag jānapadān api—*R.*, *loc. cit.*) The gathering was extremely motley and the *pauras* and the *jānapadas* are by no means given a very prominent place in the śloka in the *Rāmāyaṇa* in which the presence of the different classes of people is mentioned (*R.*, II, 2, 19—brāhmaṇā janamukhyāś ca paurajānapadaiḥ saha). They met in response to an invitation sent by king Daśaratha (*R.*, II, 1, 45) and not in answer to a notice formally issued by a convener associated with either of or both the supposed *Paura* and *Jānapada* bodies. Certain passages also corroborate the inference that the princes and the Brāhmaṇas present there were given more prominence than the *pauras* and the *jānapadas* i.e. people of the *pura* and the *janapada* (*R.*, II, 2, 3—uvāca nṛpatir *nṛpān* ; *ibid.*, II, 2, 17—pratyanandan *nṛpā* nṛpam ; *ibid.*, II, 2, 24—*rājānaḥ* saṃśayo'yaṃ me). Moreover, it is evident from *R.* II, I, 41 (*niścitya sacivaiḥ sārdhaṃ yuvarājam amanyata*) that in consultation with ministers Daśaratha had already decided upon making Rāma his heir-apparent. The object of calling the people at large to his court was to make an announcement of his decision

Nomination of the Crown Prince.

not come out from these facts that there existed the *Paura* and *Jānapada* bodies with constitutional power to nominate an heir-apparent. I do not mean to say that in extreme cases of oppression, or on the failure of an heir to the throne, the people could not or did not actually make their opinion or will operative by dethroning a tyrannical ruler or by choosing the successor to the throne. What I intend to state is that the inference cannot be drawn that the selection of the heir-apparent was made by the supposed *Paura* and *Jānapada* bodies at their joint session at the metropolis.

It may be mentioned in passing that Mr. J. (p. 81) is wrong in supposing that Daśaratha was somewhat surprised at their ready approval of the appointment of Rāma to the exclusion of his own self. As a matter of fact the king, by his query as to why the people assembled at his court were wanting to see his son appointed an heir-apparent, intended to have an express indication from them that they really liked Rāma and were not agreeing to the nomination only because the king desired it.

From the remarks already made (*IHQ.*, II, p. 401) it will be apparent that the term *vṛddhas* referred to at p. 82 of the Hindu Polity does not necessarily mean the aldermen of a corporate body.

The *Mṛcchakaṭika* contains no evidence by which the existence of the *Paura* and the *Jānapada* bodies or their constitutional power to depose a king can be proved. The king Pālaka is murdered by Āryaka, a milkman, with the help of his friend Śarvilaka in fulfilment of a prophesy. In the commission of this murder either Āryaka or his friend does not enter into conspiracy with others, not to speak of what Mr. J. calls the *Paura* and the *Jānapada* bodies. There is nothing to show in the drama that the king was oppressive though no doubt his brother-in-law Saṃsthānaka acted in a high-handed manner. The arrest of Cārudatta was brought about by this relation of the king out of personal grudge because the former proved to be an obstacle in the way of the latter in his attempt to secure the love of Vasantasenā. The judge who tried Cārudatta was led to believe that he was guilty partly by the force of circumstances and partly by the false evidences adduced at the court. All these show clearly that Cārudatta was not a victim of the king's maladministration. However, the king was murdered only because he incurred the displeasure of Śarvilaka by putting in jail his friend Āryaka, who according to the prophesy was to have been the successor to the throne. The supposed *Paura* and *Jānapada* bodies had nothing to do

The Mṛcchakaṭika misinterpreted.

with the murder of the king, and they cannot be credited with any constitutional power.

Three wrong statements in this connection require correction :

(1) Cārudatta has been called the president of the commercial union by Mr. J. Cārudatta was a Brahmin merchant (śreṣṭhin), but there is nothing in the drama to show that he was a president of the union of merchants.

(2) It is not a fact that 'the brother of the deposed king who established confidence among the *Pauras* obtained sovereignty.' It was Āryaka, a milkman, who obtained sovereignty and evidently he had no relationship with the king, and the man who consoled the *pauras* was Śarvilaka, the friend of the person who obtained sovereignty.

(3) *Jānapadasamavāya* refers, in the *Mṛcchakaṭika*, to the crowd that assembled on the occasion of the intended execution of Cārudatta, and not to the corporate association of the *Jānapada* as has been supposed. It has been stated by Mr. J. that this *samavāya* was shortly after addressed as the *Pauras*. This however is not a fact. The text on which he relies has been put as *Paurā vābādedha, kiṃnimittaṃ pādakī jīvāviadi* (Pauras, Kill him, why should the wretch be allowed to live) while the text should be *Paurāḥ—Vābādedha, kiṃnimittaṃ pādakī jīvaviadi* (Voices of citizens : kill him .....). This text is found in both the Nirnay Sagar and Jībānanda Vidyāsāgar's editions, and the former has been followed in the English translation of the *Mṛcchakaṭika* in the Harvard Oriental Series. Moreover for reasons already stated, the 'Pauras' cannot mean 'members of the Paura body.'

As regards the evidence of the *Mahāvaṃśa* (IV, 1-6) that after four kings had successively usurped the throne by slaying their fathers the citizens (nāgarāḥ) banished the reigning parricide installing in his place his minister Śiśunāga. There is nothing in it to show that the *nāgaras* constituted a corporate body. Though the word *paura* has not been mentioned in the passage in the *Mahāvaṃśa*, Mr. J. says, "there again the *Pauras* stand for the *Pauras* and the *Jānapadas*."

The significance of the passage in the *Daśakumāracarita* (ch. III—*Anujāḥ punar atibhavaḥ tair api ghaṭante paurajānapadāḥ*) n has been missed by Mr. J. There is a story in the *Daśakumāracarita* (ch. III) that Vikaṭavarman, a nephew of Prahāravarman, the king of Mithilā rose in rebellion against the king while the latter was away from his kingdom. The throne was usurped and Prahāravarman was put in jail. In course of time his son Upahāravarman whose identity was, by an

accident, known neither to himself nor to the people came to know that the dethroned king was his father and resolved to take revenge. He slew the usurper and regained the throne for his father. While devising means for the murder of Vikaṭavarman, he remarked that it would be easy to approach and kill the usurper as he has many brothers who mix with the people (Śakyaś ca mayā asau Vikaṭavarmā yathākathañcid upaślisya vyāpādayitum, anujāḥ punar atibahavaḥ tair api ghaṭante paurajānpadāḥ). On the basis of this remark Mr. J. infers that (p. 83) "in the *Daśakumāracarita* (ch. III) the *Pauras* and the *Jānapadas* are said to be friendly to the brothers of the king ; it is therefore feared by the speaker that they are bound to succeed the king if the latter dies." But there is nothing in the text expressing the 'fear' of the 'speaker' that owing to the friendship of the king's brothers with the *Pauras* and *Jānapadas*, the brothers were 'bound to succeed the king.' Further, had there been in the passage in the *Daśakumāracarita* any indication of the great power of the supposed *Paura* and *Jānapada* bodies, it would have been wielded either on the occasion of the dethronement of Prahāravarman or the murder of the usurper. Such powerful bodies could not have remained indifferent on such important occasions.

Political discussions in the Paura-Jānapada.

Mr. J. (p. 84) has quoted from the Arthaśāstra (I, XIII) some passages, characterising them as 'samples of discussion in the assemblies of the Paura and the Jānapada'. He finds in the expression *tīrtha-sabhā-śālā-pūga-janasamavāyeṣu* a reference to (1) the *tīrthā-sabhā-śālāsamavāya* or the sectional sub-assembly of the *Paura* in charge of the sacred places and public buildings, (2) the *Pūgasamavāya* or the sub-assembly in charge of trade and manufacture, and (3) the *janasamavāya* or the popular assembly. But such an interpretation cannot be put on the passage in view of apparent grammatical difficulty. Moreover as Kauṭilya mentions (II, 35) *tīrthāyatana* as a place to which spies may conveniently be sent for getting information, *tīrtha* should be taken as a separate entity and each of the terms *sabhā*, *śālā*, *pūga* and *janasamavāya* should be taken separately. There are other difficulties in accepting Mr. J's interpretation. The term *pūga* by itself means guild and need not be tagged on to *samavāya*. Again if the *tīrthasamvāya* etc. were corporate bodies, it would not have been possible for the secret agents of the government, outsiders as they were, to take part in the discussions held by those bodies.

While discussing the qualifications of men who should be consulted

by the king, the *Mahābhārata* (śānti, 83, 45) says that one in whom the *paura* and the *jānapada* repose confidence for his righteous conduct deserves to be consulted (tasmai mantraḥ prayoktavyaḥ). This does not certainly prove that the supposed Paura and Jānapada bodies had a hand in the appointment of the chief Mantrin.

Paura-Jānapada and the appointment of the chief minister.

The words *rāṣṭra* and *rāṣṭrīya* mentioned in the *Mbh.* (śānti, 85, 12) have been taken by Mr. J. (p. 85) as the *Jānapada* body and its President respectively. In the verse referred to above, Mr. J. finds a reference to the important procedure of submitting the cabinet resolutions on state policy to the supposed *Jānapada* body. But a few lines further on, the word *rāṣṭra* has been used in the *Mbh.* in the sense of a 'kingdom' (*vidravec caiva rāṣṭram te śyenāt pakṣigaṇā iva i. e.* thy kingdom will vanish as birds flee away before a hawk.—Śānti, 85, 14). The term *rāṣṭrīya* should be rendered by the word governor. In the inscription of Rudradāman (*E. I.*, Lüder's list, 965), Puṣyagupta, the provincial governor of Candragupta has been called *rāṣṭrīya*. Thus the meaning of the verse mentioned above would be: The result of the deliberations of the king and his ministers should be reported to to the governor (rāṣṭrīyāya ca darśayet) and made known to the people in the kingdom (sampreṣayed rāṣṭre).

Mr. J. says (p. 85) that "the tenure of ministers depended to a considerable extent on the good will and the confidence of the Paura-Jānapada". But it cannot be shown from the text of the inscription (Fleet, *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, p. 60) mentioned in this connection that the *pauras* and the *jānapadas* were other than the citizens of the town and the country. It is very natural that the king while appointing a minister should carefully consider the qualifications of the candidate. It is also recorded in the inscription that the king while selecting Prāṇadatta as his minister found among his other qualifications that he was devoted to the welfare of mankind (sarvasya lokasya hite niyuktaḥ—p. 60, l. 6). Prāṇadatta again finding his son Cakrapālita most qualified and 'beloved of the people' (priyo janasya—p. 61, l. 11) appointed him as the governor of a province. No doubt there is in the inscription a reference to the minister coaxing the citizens (lālayāmāsa ca pauravargān) but this does not prove that he did so because the pauras as members of the supposed paura body had any hand in the appointment of ministers. Mr. J. (p. 86) has misunderstood the meaning of the following passage of the inscription—*nagaram api ca bhūyāt v̇ddhimatpaura-*

Paura-Jānapada and tenure of offices of ministers.

*juṣṭam*—and has translated it thus: "May the Capital prosper and be *loyal to the Paura*." The correct translation would be either 'may the city prosper and be full of inhabitants' (Fleet) 'or may the city be inhabited by prosperous citizens.'

As to the evidence of the *Divyāvadāna*, it has already been shown (*I. H. Q.*, II, p. 398) that the existence of a *Paura* body in a presidency capital cannot be established on the strength of the passage.

A wrong interpretation of the following sentence in the Kaliṅga Separate Edict of Asoka has led Mr. J. to think that it refers to the 'sudden excitement of the *pauras*.' *Etāye aṭhāye iyaṃ lipi likhita hida ena nagalaviyohālakā sasvataṃ yujevū ti nagalajanasa akasmā palibodhe va akasmā palikilese va no siā ti.* ("For this purpose has this scripture been here inscribed in order that the administrators of the town may strive without ceasing *that the restraint or torture of the townsmen may not take place without due cause*"). Here '*nagalajanasa*' means the 'townsmen' and not the *paura* body, while the portion of the sentence following the word signifies 'the restraint or torture of the townsmen without cause,' as evidently the edict was inscribed to remind the officials of their responsibilities to the people and to guide them by instructions conveyed through it.

According to the *Arthaśāstra* (V, 2), the king, in times of financial trouble, should approach his subjects with a demand of money (*paura-jānapadān bhikṣeta*). Mr. J. (p. 88) infers from the use of the word *paura-jānapada* that the proposals for taxation were first submitted to the supposed *Paura-Jānapada* body and the king had to beg of that body the taxes.

But from the nature of the recommendation as to the different methods of approaching different individuals or groups of individuals *e. g.* cultivators, merchants, herdsmen, and from the prescribed activities of the king's agents in connection with the realisation of money, it is evident that the king had not to encounter any check from the supposed *Paura-Jānapada* body on his authority for imposing taxes on the people. Spies in disguise, for instance, were employed to revile those who paid small amounts (*Arthaśāstra*, V, 2—*Kapaṭikāś cainān alpam prayacchataḥ kutsayeyuḥ*). By causing a false panic that an evil spirit demanding the sacrifice of human beings had arrived on a certain tree, the king's agents under the guise of ascetics were to collect money from the people (Paura-Jānapada) on the pretext of propitiating the evil spirit (Arthaśāstra, V, 2). These are certainly not the methods

which can be considered approximations to the supposed procedure of submitting proposals for taxation to the imagined *Paura-Jānapada* bodies. The word *jānapada* in passages like *janapadam mahāntam alpa-pramāṇaṃ vā devamātṛkaṃ yāceta* (*Artha.*, V, 2) surely refers to the country *i. e.* the people of the country and not to any corporate body. The word *yāceta* and *bhikṣeta* are only polite terms signifying demanding money from the subjects and does not necessarily imply subordination of the king's position to the *paura-jānapada.*

Mr. J. remarks (p. 89 f. n.) that in the passage in the *Arthaśāstra* (xii, 2—bahulībhūte tikṣṇāḥ paurān niśāsvāhārayeyuḥ) *bahulībhūte* should be compared with the pāli word *saṃbahula* denoting the holding of a meeting to decide a matter by the vote of the majority. But *bahulībhūta* in Sanskrit means 'spread' and it has been so explained in the commentary on the *Arthaśāstra*,—the *Nayacandrikā* (p. 218—*athāsmin pravāde prathite*). Instead of comparing it with a similar pāli word we should try to find out its meaning from the uses of the identical Sanskrit word in different contexts e. g. in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* 24, 211 ; Raghuvaṃśa, 14, 38 where it means 'spread' in reference to news or rumour.

On the basis of the Rudradāman inscription, Mr. J. states (p. 89) that when the cabinet of ministers refused to grant money for the repair of the Sudarśana lake in view of its enormous size, he did it from *svakośa* i. e. his private purse ; and the statement in the inscription that the king supplied the money without oppressing the *paura-jānapada jana* has been taken to imply that if a fresh tax had been imposed on the people for the purpose, he would have had to obtain the sanction of the *Paura-Jānapada* body.

The whole position has, I think, been misunderstood. The ministers did not advise the undertaking of the repair of the lake because they were frightened by the enormity of the work, while the king was more optimistic and therefore he undertook the work inspite of reluctance of the ministers to do so. The king spent the money from the treasury which could well be called his *svakośa.* This view has been taken by Pandit Bhagavanlal Indraji and Dr. Bühler in their translation of the passage : "he the Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman for the sake of a thousand years, for the sake of.....cows and Brahmans, and for the increase of his merit and fame, has rebuilt the embankment three times stronger in breadth and length, in a not very long time, expending a great amount of money from his *own treasury*, without oppressing the people of the town and the province by (exacting) taxes....."

The inference that the king could have had the money by having the proposal for the imposition of a fresh tax sanctioned at the joint session of the *Paura* and the *Jānapada* bodies has no grounds to support it.

Royal speech to the Paura-Jānapada.

Mr. J. (p. 90) has quoted passages from the Mbh. (śānti, 87) in which, in his opinion, 'the method of securing a majority in the assembly of the *Jānapada* (for obtaining a grant) is given, proving the legal power and authority of the *Paura-Jānapada*.' In reality, in the chapter, Bhīṣma while describing how a kingdom may be consolidated, refers to the considerations that should weigh with the king and the methods that might be adopted by him in the realisation of taxes from his subjects. There is no reference in these passages to the existence of any assembly. In the following ślokas the king has been advised to show compassion to poor subjects (*paura-jānapadān*) whether they depend upon him immediately (saṃśrita) or mediately (upāśrita) and to see that those who live in the outskirts of his kingdom (bāhya jana) are kept in check while those who live within the country are given advantages (bhoktavyo madhyamaḥ sukham).

Paurājānapadān sarvānsaṃśritopāśritāṃs tathā,
yathāśaktyanukaṃpeta sarvān svalpadhanān api,
bāhyaṃ janaṃ bhedayitvā bhoktavyo madhyamaḥ sukham,
evaṃ nāsya prakupyanti janāḥ sukhitaduḥkhitāḥ.

The expression *paura-jānapada* has been as usual taken by Mr. J. to mean the members of the supposed *paura-jānapada* body. He translates the passage thus (p. 90): "All the *Paura-Jānapada* (i. e. all the members), those in session (saṃśrita), as well as those taking ease (upāśrita), i. e. every one of them should be shown (royal) sympathy, even those who are not rich. Dissension should be created in the Outer (bāhya) body of theirs, and then the Middle body to be well (or comfortably) won over ('bribed,' 'entertained'). The king thus acting, the people will not be excited and disappointed whether they feel (the burden) easy or heavy." This rendering is extremelymisleading. *Saṃśrita* and *upāśrita* have been translated arbitrarily as 'members in session' and 'members taking ease': Nīlakaṇṭha explains them thus: *saṃśritāḥ sākṣād āśritāḥ* (dependent directly), *upāśritāḥ vyavahitāḥ* (dependent mediately). As to the words *bāhya* and *madhyama* (*ābhyantara*) we have already pointed out (*IHQ.*, II, p. 400) that they cannot be taken as the Outer Body and the Inner Body of the supposed *Paura* assembly. The śloka which in the opinion of Mr. J. refers to

ıe address from the throne begging extra taxes from the *Paura-napada* is this :

Prag eva tu dhanādānam anubhāṣya tataḥ punaḥ,
sannipatya svaviṣaye bhayam rāṣṭre pradarśayet. (Śānti, 87, 26).

Mr. J. translates it thus : "Then before money demand is made, the king going to them, and addressing by a speech should point out to the *rāṣṭra* (*jānapada*) the danger to his country." I do not see the reason why the word *rāṣṭra* which has been translated by the term 'realm' in the same context (*H. P.*, p. 92, line 9) should be taken here as the *jānapada* (assembly). Moreover, there is nothing in the text corresponding to the words 'to them' after the word 'going' in the translation. The whole piece of translation (*H. P.*, pp. 90-92) of the Mbh. passage made by Mr. J. is full of inaccuracies. The ślokas really mean that the king should first of all make a proclamation of his desire for levying taxes (prāg eva tu dhanādānam anubhāṣya) and should point out to the people in his realm the danger (threatening) his kingdom (bhayam rāṣṭre pradarśayet). It is the king's agents (raśmi) who are to be sent to the various parts of the kingdom with this message to be communicated to the subjects and this message has been mistaken as the king's speech to an assembly. In connection with the passages in which privileges (*anugraha*) have been conferred on or demanded by the people (*paura-jānapada*) Mr. J. has always interpreted the expression *paura-jānapada* as the *paura* and the *jānapada* bodies while for the reasons already stated, the citizens of the town and the country should be the real signification.

The Paura-jānapada and anugrahas.

As already pointed out (*IHQ.*, II, p. 388) the terms *poram* and *jānapadaṃ* in the Khāravela Inscription can well signify simply 'the people of the town' and 'the people of the country.' *Paura-jānapada* mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra* (II, 1) in a similar way bears the same meaning. If there existed the *Paura-jānapada* bodies with extensive constitutional powers, they would not have been so helpless as to express their readiness to migrate to a different country if their prayers were not granted by by the king (niranugrahāḥ paratra gacchāmaḥ—*Arthaśāstra* xiii, 1). Mr. J. (93) wants this passage to be read in the light of śloka 36 of Bk. II of Yājñavalkya "enjoining that the king must pay to the Jānapada (in the singular) compensation for loss caused by thieves." The significance of Mr. J's remark is not apparent. The injunction that the property lost by theft should be made good from the king's treasury has nothing to do with the *Jānapada* body because *jānapada* in the

singular refers here to the individual who has sustained loss caused by thieves. The rule of Gautama is explicit on this point: "Having recovered property stolen by thieves, he shall return it to owner, or (if stolen property is not recovered) he shall pay (its value) out of his treasury."

The reference to the *jānapada jana* in Aśoka Pillar Edict IV and in Rudradāman Inscription has also been taken as meaning the *jānapada* body without any ground.

The permission of the paura-jānapada to undertake a sacrifice.

The *Dīgha Nikāya* (Kūṭadanta Sutta, 12) has been cited by Mr. J. to prove that there existed "the constitutional practice of the king's approaching the Jānapada and the Naigama or Paura for a fresh tax when he intended to undertake a big sacrifice." The text, however, does not in fact support the statement. King Dighadanta expresses to his Purohita the desire of performing a great sacrifice and asks for his instruction in the matter (Icchām' aham brāhmaṇa mahāyaññaṃ yajituṃ, anusāsatu maṃ bhavaṃ—Kūṭadanta Sutta,10). The Purohita anticipating that it will involve the expenditure of money to be realised from the people replied that as the kingdom was in disorder it will be wrong to levy taxes from the people (sakaṇṭake janapade saupapīḷe balim uddhareyya, akiccakārī assa tena bhavaṃ rājā. Ibid., 11). Thereupon the king gives food and corn to those who devote themselves to keeping cattle and farm ; capital to those who devote themselves to trade ; wages and food to those who devote themselves to government service ; and thus when the disorder is at an end, and the king's revenue goes up (mahā ca raññō rāsiko ahosi) he invites Kṣatriyas and ministers and Brāhmaṇas and householders either in the country or in the towns' (negamā c' eva jānapadā ca), and making known to them his intention of offering a sacrifice asks their opinion on the matter. The four classes of people mentioned above viz. the Kṣatriyas, ministers, Brāhmaṇas and householders of the town and the country (1. khattiyā anunyuttā negamā c' eva jānapadā ca, 2. amccā pārisajjā negamā c' eva jānapadā ca, 3. brāhmaṇā mahāsālā negamā c' eva jānapadā ca, 4. gahapatinecayikā negamā c' eva jānapadā ca) replied "Let his majesty the king celebrate the sacrifice." The king does not here ask for a fresh tax nor does he approach the imagined *Paura* or the *Jānapada* body. He invites only the influential citizens from the town (negama) and the country (janapada) and asks their consent in the matter of celebrating a great sacrifice. This too does not prove it to be a constitutional practice. Had it been so, the king himself independ

nt of the instruction of his Purohita could have followed it. The erms *negama* and *jānapada* quoted above have been paraphrased in he *Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī* (P.T.S., vol. I, p. 297) as *nigamavāsino* and *anapadavāsino* respectively.

The *Arthaśāstra* marks out a period in the king's daily routine of work for the disposal of business relating to the *paura-jānapada* (*H. P.*, p. 95). From this Mr. J's inference is that there existed the *Paura-Jānapda* bodies. But the expression 'Paura-Jānapada' simply means the people of the town and the people of the country. It is not at all extraordinary that the king has been directed in the *Arthaśāstra* to devote a period of the day exclusively to disposal of business pertaining to his subjects. The reason for the making of such an arrangement is thus given by Kauṭilya. "For when a king makes himself inaccessible to his people and entrusts his work to his immediate officers, he is sure to engender confusion in business and to cause thereby public disaffection (*prakṛtikopa*), and makes himself a prey to his enemies. He should therefore personally attend to the business of the gods, of heretics, of Brāhmaṇas learned in the Vedas, of cattle, of sacred places, of minors, the aged, the afflicted and the helpless, and of women." Cf. Aśoka's Rock Edict, VI (Girnār) : "So by me the arrangement has been made that at the times when I am eating, or in the ladies' apartment, or in my private room, or in the mews, or in my conveyance, or in the pleasure-gardens, everywhere the persons appointed to give information should keep me informed of the affairs of the people" (athe me janasa paṭivedetha iti).

Daily business of the Paura-Jānapada with the king.

Mr. J. (p. 96) remarks that Aśoka sought countenance from the Jānapada body for the propagation of his Dharma. The text in the inscription (Rock Edict, VIII, Girnār) on which he relies is *jānapadas ca janasa dasanaṃ dhaṃmānusasṭī ca dhamaparipuchā ca.* Here *jānapadasa janasa* has been, as previously, taken as a corporate body to which there is the same objection as what has been repeated several times before.

The Jānapada in the Aśoka inscription.

The word *Jānapadāḥ* in the Vāmadevagītā in the *Mbh.*, Śānti (91, 24) has been taken to mean the Jānapada body but without any good ground. In the preceding chapter viz. the Utathyagīta (ch. 91, 23), there is a reference to the chance of the Jānapadas being reduced to poverty and taking to the collection of alms as the means of livelihood. This does not fit in with Mr. J.'s statement (p. 99) that "the members of

the Jānapada as well as of the Paura were generally rich people. And those who were not rich were not poor either."

As to the Pauras administering relief to the poor and the helpless in the capital (*H. P.*, p. 98), I have already pointed out (*IHQ.*, II, p. 491) that such works had no connection with the supposed Paura body.

Compensation bills of Jānapada to the crown.

The statement that the method "by which the Paura-Janapada made the government of a misbehaving king difficult was that the offended Paura and Jānapada would make out a bill and present it to the king to make good all the losses sustained in the kingdom by thefts, dacoities, and the like lawlessness" rests wholly on imaginary grounds. From the fact that losses caused by thefts had to be made good from the king's treasury, it cannot be established that the supposed Paura-Jānapada bodies had anything to do with the matter. It has already been shown on the strength of a sūtra from Gautama Dharmaśāstra (X, 46) that the stolen property if not recovered had to be made good out of the king's treasury by payment of its value to the owner and not to any corporate body.

Composition of the Jānapada.

In ascertaining the nature of the composition of the Jānapada body Mr. J. (p. 100) has relied on the Daśakumāracarita (ch. III) and the Digha Nikāya (Kūṭadanta Sutta, 12). It has been shown already (*IHQ.*, II, p. 395) that the passage in the Daśakumāracarita contains no reference to the supposed Jānapada body, while the word jānapadā in the Digha Nikāya (Kūṭ., 12) refers to the people living in the country.

Composition of the Paura.

Writing on the composition of the imagined paura body, Mr. J. (pp. 102f.) has brought together the conclusions at which he has arrived as the result of his reasonings in the previous portions of the two chapters under review. I have examined each of the conclusions and have found that none of them are sound considering the data upon which they stand. Mr. J. has however made in this connection one or two remarks which require examination: (1) The statement that the word *mukhya* or *śreṣṭha* means 'chief' or 'president' of a board is not correct. Any important individual may well be signified by the term. (2) Mr. J. looks upon Candanadāsa the friend of Nanda's minister in the *Mudrārākṣasa* as 'president of the Jewellers' Association' because he has been called *maṇikāraśreṣṭhin*. The word *śreṣṭhin* is applicable to an ordinary merchant and so it is not proper to regard him as the president of an

Association. The conversation that took place between Cāṇakya and Candanadāsa does not show that the latter was speaking for the whole country in his representative capacity. Questioned by Cāṇakya as to whether the subjects were satisfied with the new régime Candanadāsa replied in the affirmative. On hearing this, Cāṇakya remarked that for the good administration, the kings expect something from the subjects in return. At this Candanadāsa asked how much he will have to pay personally (*imādo janādo*). Here there is nothing that can be interpreted as spoken by Candanadāsa as the representative of the whole country. (3) It is remarked by Mr. J. (p. 103) that "in the *Daśakumāracarita* (ch. iii), out of the two *Pauramukhyas* one is the president of merchants dealing with the foreign trade only." As a matter of fact mention has been made of two *pauravṛddhas*, one of whom was a merchant (sārthavāha). From his promise to procure for the king a precious stone from a Yavana at a nominal price, Mr. J. jumps to the conclusion that he was the "president of merchants dealing with the foreign trade only."

Mr. J. has tried towards the end of the chapter to have confirmation of his conclusions from the legends of the seals discovered at Basarh. They may have connection with trade guilds but certainly not with what he has described as the Paura and the Jānapada bodies.

I have now finished the examination of the evidences collected in the two chapters XXVII and XXVIII, the former dealing with the direct evidences as to the existence of the Paura-Jānapada bodies and the latter with the indirect. In both the chapters there is not a single piece of evidence that can stand scrutiny.

NARENDRA NATH LAW

## Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar and the "New Machiavelli"

Mr. Sarkar is nothing if he is not a cosmopolitan. In fact he has made cosmoplitanism quite a fashionable thing in our Indian journalism. In his latest journalistic excursion,[1] in course of which Mr. Sarkar surveys the works of a few Indian "antiquarians" like Dr. Ghosal and my humble self, he seems to be quite scandalised to find that

1 Hindu Politics in Italian. Indian Historical Quarterly, March 1926.

though pretending to write on the "Political" or the "Diplomatic" theories of ancient India we do not see eye to eye with him by accepting Kauṭilya as the half-brother (May the great Brahmin politician pardon me for using the expression) of Machiavelli—Mr. Sarkar's latest. Dr. Ghosal has replied in length and with a certain amount of warmth. But as I was more amused than annoyed at the inevitable sermonising of Mr. Sarkar, I shall be very brief in my reply to his charges which I consider as *"pleasantries academiques" a la française.*

I had the misfortune to use the name of Machiavelli only once in my thesis (p. 112) and that condemned me to see my humble antiquarian book in the analytical laboratory of Mr. Sarkar a champion-specialist of neo-Machiavellism. "You say your Kauṭilya is pretty far removed from Machiavelli? Well what is there in Kauṭilya that you don't find in my Machiavelli?" So Mr. Sarkar seems to challenge me and quotes approvingly Mr. Winternitz (Calcutta Review, April 1924) who considers that the designation of Kauṭilya as the "Indian Machiavelli" is perfectly justified because (as Dr. Winternitz had opined while reviewing my thesis in the Viśvabhārati Quarterly, Oct. 1923) "both of them teach political methods from an *amoralistic point of view.*"

With due courtesies to Dr. Winternitz and Mr. Sarkar I beg to differ. The importation of the new-fangled concept of 'amoralism' and ascribing the same to Kauṭilya might have raised the Hindu politician in the estimation of Mr. Sarkar and other champions of modernism in politics but it had blinded them to the fact that *Dharma* (both in its abstract sense of *morality* and in its concrete sense of *ethico-legal code*) is one of the very postulates of the political philosophy of ancient India and one of the categorical imperatives of Hindu scholastic consciousness. The history of this organic interaction of the *sacred* and the *secular* elements in Hindu politics, of this intimate relation between the school of Dharma and the school of Artha, which is the differentia of Hindu political evolution, had been sketched by me in the first half of my book which Mr. Sarkar disposes of summarily as "literary history" "altogether archeological and antiquarian in character."

If Mr. Sarkar could cry halt for a while to his 'historico-comparative' imagination and cared to notice the references deposited by me in between the lines, he might have discovered that I tried to place, if not the elusive personality of Kauṭilya, at least the Arthaśāstra attributed to him, in its historical and academic background. I have shown how it is impossible to understand and appreciate fully many

things of the Arthaśāstra if we stop referring it constantly to the enormous mass of ethico-legal literature represented by the Mahābhārata, the Dharmasūtras and the Dharmaśāstras. I am glad to notice since my return from Europe that the superficial theory of 'amoralism' ascribed to Kauṭilya by Winternitz had been ably combatted by the learned criticism of Dr. Narendra Nath Law (vide Calcutta Review, Sep. 1924). I draw the attention of Mr. Sarkar to another able rejoinder to the *amoral* theory from the pen of Mr. V. R. Dikshitar M.A., (*vide* "Is Arthaśāstra Secular ?"—Proceedings of the Third Oriental Conference, Madras, 1924). Mr. Dikshitar has shown conclusively that far from being anticlerical, Kauṭilya assigns a high place to the Purohita as one of the chief ministers of the sovereign, who should follow the Purohita "as a disciple his teacher, a son his father, and a servant his master." No doubt Kauṭilya like Manu (viii 335) prescribes punishment of the Purohita whenever he transgresses his svadharma and is found guilty of treason. But that is because Kauṭilya is the champion of justice and State-ethics (Dharmanyāya). In Arthaśāstra III (p. 147-151) we read :

"If the sacred text is in conflict with Sacred Equity or State-Ethics (Dharmanyāya) then the latter would prevail and the citation of texts would be valuless."

Mr. Sarkar would immediately turn round and say, as he had said, that his contention about Kauṭilya as the champion of the "secularisation of the state" like Machiavelli is proved. But we would simply ask what about the process and the character of secularisation ?—Are they of the same order in the case of Kauṭilya and that of Machiavelli. To assert perfect identity and parallelism would mean ignoring the differences between the political evolution of ancient India and of Mediæval Italy. Mr. Sarkar is ever speaking about the "cultural" and the "sociological" perspective. But what about the "*historical*" perspective ? Mr. Sarkar's marvellous cosmopolitanism scorns the uncomfortable limitations of time and space. In his eagerness to prove Kauṭilya as a champion of up-to-date *Realpolitiker* he does not hesitate to rob the Brahmin politician of his specific Indian character and to identify his attitude with that of the Italian politician separated from him by over a millennium ! I have no prejudice against Machiavelli. I consider him to be a great figure in the history of European politics. But I maintained, as I maintain now, that the pronouncement of the magic formula: "Kauṭilya the Indian Machiavelli" does not mean much historically and that the comparison is superficial.

Mr. Sarkar is upset by another great heresy in my book: I ventured to suggest that there is some psychological explanation of the neglect of the Arthaśāstra by the successors of Kauṭilya. It seems to me (I am open to correction) that there is a tendency in Hindu mind to avoid the real and to indulge in the sublimation of the *real* into the *ideal*. This tendency to moralise, to idealise is at least as much a part of Hindu psychology as the so-called "realistic" spirit discovered by Mr. Sarkar. Whether it is convenient or agreeable for modern up-to-date politicians like Mr. Sarkar to admit it is a different question. But the whole world of scholars had admitted it. Mr. Sarkar may go on shouting at the top of his voice that the Hindus were very great in "exact sciences", that their achievements in politics were phenomenal as we find in the Maurya-Gupta-Chola experiments—yet very few, except the blind admirers of Mr. Sarkar, would assert that, as *representative* achievements of the Hindus in human history, their politics was superior to their philosophy or that their Kauṭilya profounder than their Kapila, or their Samudra Gupta superior to their Aśoka.

Leaving Mr. Sarkar free to advertise India as the most up-to-date nation with its galaxy of "Indian Machiavelli", "Indian Bismark" and "Indian Napoleon" (it is a pity to remark *en passant* that in these brilliant christening affairs Mr. Sarkar is not original; he has been anticipated by Prof. Hermann Jacobi, Dr. Vincent Smith and others)—I beg to affirm that the fatal confusion between the problem of the *personality* of the Kauṭilya Chanakya and that of the *evolution* of the Arthaśāstra has produced deplorable results in the field of dispassionate historical studies. We are so furiously eager to prove the extant treatise "Arthaśāstra" as a Maurya "Imperial Gazetteer" that we have practically forgotten to read the book as a whole and to analyse its positive contents. Mr. Sarkar disputes that the *Arthaśāstra* was neglected, that its theoretical and academic development continued unimpaired during the succeeding centuries, that the progressive *denudation* of the positive parts of the śāstra as I have attempted to demonstrate was not a fact, so I have the right to ask Mr. Sarkar to produce the developed, amplified and improved editions of the Arthaśāstra from the *Imprimeries Imperiales* of Samudragupta, Rajendra Chola and other champion-representatives of Indian culture recently discovered by Mr. Sarkar.

Coining a catch phrase is unfortunately not synonymous with the finding of facts. The comparision between Kauṭilya and Kālidāsa on

the one hand and Livy and Virgil, Cromwell and Milton on the other, may elicit gaping wonder from the American audience, but to sober historians it is nothing but a journalistic flourish. We know that the age of specialisation represented by our *sūtra-śāstra* strata was followed by an age of "vulgarisation" (in the French sense) during which we get only metrical summaries of learned treatises. Who would venture to assert in the face of the facts relating to textual study of Hindu scholasticism that Pāṇini, Patañjali and Kauṭilya were not improved upon by their successors ? Law is probably the only important faculty which went on progressing and I have shown how in the conflict between the Dharmaśāstra and the Arthaśāstra the former triumphed and finished by assimilating and even misappropriating a great part of the Arthaśāstra. That is why we are now obliged to reconstruct the science of Artha by placing together the different items of the Arthaśāstra dispersed in the body of legal or literary commentaries. That is also the reason why in spite of the marvellous realistic spirit of the Hindus, the book Arthaśāstra was almost lost to us and Mr. Sarkar had to postpone his sermon on the Hindu *Realpolitiker* till the recovery of the book by Pandit Sham Sastri.

I fully appreciate Mr. Sarkar's enthusiasm for the Arthaśāstra and other positive sciences of the Ancient Hindus testifying to their *realistic* sense ; I only beg to request him not to lose the sense of proportion. "We were as great in exact sciences as the Europeans"—sort of attitude is tolerable in school boys but it appears *un peu drole* in the field of scholarship. Mr. Sarkar may be the incarnation of the *zeit geit* (time spirit) obliged to interpret *consistently* the *ānākarathavartmanām* of Kālidāsa as testifying to the existence of Gupta aerial fleet, or the works of Samudragupta and Kauṭilya as the works of Indian Napoleon and Indian Machiavelli, but he should not forget that humble "antiquarians" like us have also the right to be 'inconsistent' and to point out occasionally the lapses and weaknesses of the Hindu people and not simply the *consistent* history of their uninterrupted progress.

Lastly, under the inspiration of Mr. Sarkar I feel tempted to dogmatise a little and say that however much we may boast of our Indian Machiavellis and Indian Napoleons, Humanity, I am afraid, would not evalulate Indian civilisation according to the *achievements* of Kauṭilya or Samudragupta, but with reference to the *ideals* of Buddha and Aśoka, Saṅkarācārya and Rāmānuja.

KALIDAS NAG

## Rohitāgiri of the Rāmpāl Copper-plate

In the June issue of the *Indian Historical Quarterly* (pp. 313-342) Mr. Haridas Mitra has published an article on the unfinished Kedārpur copper-plate of Śrīcandradeva, for a critical edition of which, scholars are already indebted to Mr. N. K. Bhattasali of the Dacca Museum. Mr. Bhattasali first published a tentative reading of the text in the Bengali Journal *Pratibhā* (1326 B. S.) and later on (October, 1923) edited it in the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XVII, pp. 188-92.[1] It is most amusing to notice that Mr. Mitra has taken great pains to criticise the tentative readings given in Mr. Bhattasali's Bengali article and suggested textual emendations some of which are exactly those proposed by Mr. Bhattasali himself in the *Epigraphica* (as for instance, verse 3 : नाम्नी विश्रुतौ etc.).

Mr. Mitra's article contains statements unsupported by facts. One of these relates to the Rāmpāl copper-plate of Śrīcandra. Verse 2 of this copper-plate says that the Candras belonged to a family which originally ruled over 'Rohitāgiri.' The last letter of the word does not, however, occur in the original but is supplied by Prof. R. G. Basak (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XII, p. 138). Mr. Mitra finds himself unable to accept this reading and doubts whether Rohitāgiri could represent the actual form of the place name (*op. cit.*, p. 317 and p. 318). He observes that the metre of the verse being Śārdūlavikrīḍita the 3rd letter *tā* of the word, which is the 8th letter of the *pāda*, had perforce to be made 'long' and the 9th and 10th letters to be made 'short'. "It is not therefore certain," says he, "if the restoration should be रोहितागिरि." Probably Mr. Mitra is not aware of the fact that *Rohitāgiri* occurs in at least three inscriptions, which come from Orissa. The plates of Gayāḍatuṅga (*JASB.*, 1909, p. 347 and 1916, p. 291) mention his grand-father, king Jagattuṅga as having immigrated from Rohitāgiri (*Rohitāgirinirgata*). As this occurs in a prose passage, the correctness of the form 'Rohitāgiri' is beyond all dispute. Again in a copper-plate of Vinītatuṅga II of evidently the same dynasty (H. P. Shastri, *JBORS.*, vol. vi, p. 238) it is mentioned, in a verse, that his grand-

1 An article on this copper-plate will also be found in my forthcoming book entitled *Inscripiions of Bengal*, vol. III (pp. 10-13), which is being published by the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi.

father Vinītatuṅga I came from a place which in MM. Sastri's transcript appears as *Rohitāśivi*. What actually occurs in the original is evidently *Rohitāgiri* the letter *ga* being easily mistaken for *śa* and the letter *ra* for *va*. That both the Candras of Eastern Bengal and the Tuṅgas of Orissa came from Rohitāgiri is a fact worthy of notice, although its real significance cannot be perceived at present. To prove that Rohitāgiri is the same as Rohtasgaḍh, we are, of course, not yet in possession of any definite data, but this identification may be provisionally adopted until a more suitable one is forthcoming. However it will be evident that there is absolutely no reason to doubt that 'Rohitāgiri' is the proper restoration of the word in verse 2 of the Rāmpāl copper-plate.

N. G. MAJUMDAR

## A Passage of the Abhidharmakośavyākhyā

Under this very title Prof. Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya has published in the *IHQ.*, (ii, 2, June, 1926, p. 418) quite interesting remarks on the etymology of the word *loka*, and corrected the mistakes of the Bibliotheca Buddhica edition. But I cannot agree with him on the point that I have overlooked these mistakes in my translation of the Koṣa. It is true that I have quoted the text as printed by my friends in the Bibliotheca Buddhica, but I have given reference to the Pāli (Aṅguttara, ii, 48 ; Saṃyutta, iv, 52) and Sanskrit sources (Mahāvyutpatti, 154, 16 ; Aṣṭasāhasrikā, 236), as well as to Wogihara's note (*pralugna*, Śikṣāsamuccaya, 56, *lujyate = lujjati*). I have quoted the etymology *lujir na lokiḥ*. Therefore I am not to be blamed.

LOUIS DE LA VALÉE POUSSIN

## On the 'Buddhacarita' of Aśvaghoṣa

The 'Buddhacarita,' as edited by E. B. Cowell (in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia* series), is a very interesting work, forming the earliest extant specimen of artificial epic poetry (*kāvya*) in Sanskrit. In this brief note I shall discuss the language of the published text, which far from being complete and is overstrewn with early interpolations and scribal errors as well as emendations. I must add here that I have not here considered the last four spurious cantos. The eleven *ślokas* in Canto 9 which do not occur in Cowell's text but which were recovered by Mm. Haraprasad Sastri (JASB., 1909) have not been utilised in this paper, although they are genuine.

There are only three notable Prakritisms: *khela* (√*krīḍ*), 2. 31 and 7. 36; *ābhāsura* (< *ābhāsvara*), 12.53; and *vaṅka* (< *vakra*), 11. 46.

Two wrong *sandhis* occur: *ubhe 'pi* (for *ubhe api*), 9. 21; and *saujasvi* (for *sa ojasvi*), 8. 3. There is also a shortening of quantity of the long vowel *ā* for metrical purpose: *gato 'ryaputraḥ* (for *gata āryaputraḥ*), 8. 34.

Anomalous nominal forms are very few: *loka* has once been used as neuter, e. g. *lokāni hi trīṇi*, 'the three worlds,' 10. 81; *añjanā* for *añjana* 'collyrium,' 8. 21; *sahīyā* for *sahīyasī*? 10. 26; *vasthānam* for *avasthānam*, 4. 55; *dharman* for *dharma*, 5. 77, 11. 20. Once the verb in plural has been construed with the nominative in singular (this is no doubt scribe's blunder): *nṛpo'pi ca prāpur imaṃ giriṃ vrajan* 'the king too, walking, reached the hill,' 11. 73.

A remarkable feature is the abundant use of the cognate accusative, especially with verbs meaning 'to speak'. Thus, *puṣpadrumāḥ svaṃ kusumam puphulluḥ* 'the flowering trees put on their blossoms,' 1. 44; *tapāṃsy atapta* 'practised penances,' 2, 49; *vacāṃsy uvāca* 'spoke words,' 1. 59; *vākyam abravīt* 'spoke the word,' 4. 3; *vacanaṃ cedam uvāca* 'spoke this speech', 5. 29; *brūvan vākyam idaṃ tasthau* 'stood speaking this speech', 6. 13; *giram ity uvāca* 'this speech he uttered', 7. 37, etc.; *abravīd vacaḥ*, 9. 62; *vaco babhāṣe*, 13. 3; *nanāda siṃhanādam* 'roared the lion's roar', 5. 84.

The preposition *prati*, in various senses, governs the accusative; 1. 73 (twice); 1. 81; 2. 57; 4. 24; 6. 43; 7. 12, 45; 8. 54; 9. 14, 67; 11. 50, 62; 13. 16. The accusative [illegible]

desiderative adjectives, but the genitive occurs with *didṛkṣā*, e. g. *didṛkṣayā śākyakuladhvajasya* 'for the desire of seeing the banner of the race of the Sākyas', 1. 63 ; etc. In the compound *vanabhūmididṛkṣayā* 'for the desire of seeing the forest tract', 5. 2, however, it governs the accusative. The accusative has also been used with the compound *vibhī* : *sukhaṃ vibhīr mām apahāya* 'afraid of pleasure, (and) leaving me', 8. 64. Peculiar is the accusative in : *dharmanadīṃ pāsyati jīvalokaḥ* 'living beings would drink of the river of *dharma*', 1. 76. The instrumental with the compound *vinākṛta* 'separated' occurs frequently : 8. 21, 37, 78, etc. ; also the instrumental is construed with the conjunctives and derivatives of *vi-yuj* ; e. g. *viyujyamāne' pi tarau puṣpair api phalair api* 'in the tree, also, when divorced from flowers and from fruits', 4. 61. In the following instance the instrumental has been used absolutely : *śarīra-cittavyasanā-tapais tair evaṃvidhais taiś ca nipātyamānaiḥ / naivāsanāc chākya-muniś cacāla svāṃ niścayaṃ bandhum ivopaguhya* 'inspite of those penances of body and mind, and heat, and inspite of these thus assailing him, the Śākya sage did not move from his seat, hugging his own resolve, as it were a friend', 13. 43.

The dative is regularly construed with verbs meaning 'to tell, to send, to show' etc., but in a few instances the dative has been replaced by the genitive ; e. g. *tato' bravīt sārathir asya* 'then the charioteer spoke to him', 3. 42 ; *babhramur darśayantyo'sya śroṇīḥ* 'they rambled showing their hips to him', 4. 34 ; *tad bravīmi suhṛd bhūtvā taruṇasya vapuṣmata idaṃ na pratirūpaṃ te* 'so being a friend I say to you who are young and well-shaped, this is not fitting for you', 4. 66. See also verse 2. 44, *infra*. The following instance of ablative of comparision is noteworthy : *dharmasya tasyāśravaṇād ahaṃ hi manye vipattiṃ tridive' pi vāsaḥ* 'living in heaven I consider to be an evil worse than not listening to that *dharma*', 1. 82. In the following instance the genitive absolute implies no sense of *anādara* : *iti paśyata eva rājasūnor idam uktvā sa nabhaḥ samutpapāta* 'while the king's son was thus looking on, he, saying this, flew up in the sky' 2. 20.

The 'Buddhacarita' agrees with the epics in having the locative used in the various case relations. Thus : *d śyatāṃ strīṣu māhātmyam* 'let the excellence of women be noted', 4. 50 ; *yadi tvāṃ samupekṣyeyaṃ na bhaven mitratā mayi* 'if I spurn you I would not have any friendship (for you)', 4. 65 ; *prayatasvātmahite jagaddhite ca* 'strive for your own and for world's welfare', 5. 78 ; *api nairguṇyam asmākaṃ vācyaṃ narapatau tvayā* 'you should also speak to the king about

my worthlessness', 6. 24 ; *bodhiprāptau samartho' bhūt* 'he was successful in winning perfect knowledge', 12. 109.

One compound formation should be noted : *suhṛdbrūva* 'one who speaks himself as a friend', 8. 35.

The author appears to have been very fond of desideratives,—nouns, adjectives and verbs, These are : *didṛkṣā* 'desire of seeing', 1. 63, etc. ; *jijīviṣā* 'desiring of living', 8. 12 ; *cikīrṣā* 'desire of doing', 10.39 ; *jighāṃsā*, 'desire of killing', 13. 66 ; *vivakṣā* 'desire of speaking' 10. 22 ; *vivatsā* 'desire of dwelling', 7. 42 ; *niścikramiṣā* 'desire of going out', 5. 66 ; *niścikramiṣu* 'desirous of going out', 5. 37 ; *vijighāṃsu*, 'desirous of slaying', 5. 43 ; *mumukṣu* 'desirous of emancipation', 9. 61, etc. ; *amumukṣu* 'not desirous of emancipation', 8. 77 ; *nirmumukṣu* 'desirous of emancipation', 5. 39 ; *yiyāsu* 'desirous of going' 5. 79, etc. ; *vijijñāsu* 'desirous of knowing', 7. 11, etc. ; *bubhukṣu* 'desirous of food, hungry', 8. 63 ; *pipāṣu* 'desirous of drink,' 8. 80 ; *tirīrṣu* 'desirous of fording or crossing over water', 9. 5, etc. ; *didṛkṣu* 'desirous of seeing', 9. 9, etc. ; *jihīrṣu* 'desirous of taking', 11. 15 ; *śuśrūṣu* 'desirous of hearing', 12. 82 ; *prepsu* 'desirous of getting', 12. 86, etc. ; *jigīṣu* 'desirous winning', 13. 4 ; *jighṛkṣu* 'desirous of taking' 13.27 ; *jighāṃsu* 'desirous of slaying', 13. 4 ; *didhakṣu* 'desirous of burning', 13. 50 ; *rirakṣiṣant* 'desiring to protect', 2. 55 ; *ārurukṣant* 'desiring to climb, 2. 48 ; *yiyāsanti* 'they wish to go', 7. 53 ; *parīpsanti* 'they wish to attain', 7. 53 etc ; *jigīṣanti* 'they wish to win', 11. 12 ; *cikīrṣant* 'desiring to do', 13. 18 ; *jighṛkṣati* 'he wishes to catch', 8. 64 ; *na cājihīrṣīd balim aprav'ttam na cācikīrṣīt paravastv abhidhyām/ na cāvivakṣīd dviṣatām adharmaṃ na cādidhakṣīd hṛdayena manyum* 'he did not desire to take contributions not forthcoming ; he did not desire the contemplation of (appropriating) other's property ; he did not desire to teach the wrong to the enemies (even) ; nor did he desire to entertain anger at heart' : 2. 44. This beats even the 'Bhaṭṭikāvya.'

Only one adnominal verbal formation occurs : *karuṇāyamānaḥ* 'feeling pity', 3. 45 and 13. 61.

Simple perfect has been used with about 145 roots and about 645 times. Periphrastic perfects have been formed from about 22 roots,—with *as* 20 occurrences, with *kṛ* 7, and with *bhū* 5. The following three instances, where the cognate accusative parts have been separated from the main verbal form by the intrusion of other words, are noteworthy : *mātṛṣvasā mātṛsamaprabhāvā saṃvardhayām ātmajavad babhūva* the mother's sister, with a mother's authority nursed (him) like her own son', 2. 19 ; *divyair viśeṣair mahayāṃ ca cakruḥ* '(the gods)

honoured (him) with divine preparations', 6. 58 ; *pratyarcayāṃ dharmabhṛto babhūva* '(he) worshipped the pious ones in return', 7. 9. A similar construction occurs twice in the 'Raghuvaṃśa' : *taṃ pātayām 'prathamam āsa papāta paścāt,* '(it) first felled him and then fell itself', 9. 61 ; *prabhraṃśayām yo nahuṣaṃ cakāra* 'who caused Nahuṣa to fall', 13. 36.

Simple aorist occurs with 11 roots and about 25 times : these roots are : *adhi-i, kṛ, gam, car, tap, bhū, yaj, vac, śak, śī* and *hā*. The reduplicated aorist occurs with *kṛ, chid, jval, bhid,* and *han,* and only once with each. The aorist with desiderative stems occurs only 4 times ; see verse 2. 44, *supra.* The ratio between the perfect and the aorist is about 20 : 1. This in the main agrees with Kālidāsa. The number of imperfect forms is less than that of the aorist. The present form with *sma* has been used as equivalent to the perfect not infrequently. Constructions with the passive participle in *-ta* is anything but rare, while that with *-ta-vant* is very scarce ; e. g. *na yaṃ vaśiṣṭhaḥ kṛtavān aśaktiḥ* 'what Vaśiṣṭha, lacking power, did not do', 1. 47.

There are only two occurrences of the periphrastic future : *kim eṣa doṣo bhavitā mamāpi* 'is it that this evil would happen to me even ?', 3. 32 ; *na punar ahaṃ kapilāhvayaṃ praviṣṭā* 'but I shall not again enter the (city) named Kapila', 5. 84. Note the absence of *asmi* in the last instance. The conditional mood occurs in one verse only : *yadi hy aheṣiṣyata bodhayañ janaṃ khuraiḥ kṣitau vāpy akariṣyata dhvanim| hanusvanaṃ vā 'janayiṣyad uttamaṃ na cābhaviṣyan mama duḥkham īdṛśam* 'had (the horse) neighed, waking the people, had it raised noise with its hoofs (beating) on the ground, had it made good noise with its jaws, such misery would not have accrued to me', 8. 4. The precative occurs once only, in 1. 53.

Peculiar as well as interesting is the following instance where the finite verbal form *asmi* 'I am' has been used for the regular pronoun *aham* : *mū bhūn matis te nṛpa kācid anyā niḥsaṃśayaṃ tad yad avocam asmi* 'may you have no other apprehension, O king : certain is what I have said', 1. 72. Mallinātha under 'Kirātārjunīya' 3. 6. says, on the authority of the 'Gaṇavyākhyāna', that *asmi* is also an indeclinable in the sense of *aham,* and quotes the parallel : *dāse kṛtāgasi bhavaty ucitaḥ prabhūṇāṃ pādaprahāra iti sundari nāsmi dūye* 'a kick to the slave who has committed an offence, is proper for masters, hence, O beautiful one, I do not grudge.' This is probobly not an interpolation as the author uses *asmi* very frequently with past participles in *-ta.* To this can be compared the periphrasic future forms such as *dātāsmi* and *dātāham* (the latter frequently occurs in the 'Mahābhārata') ; cf.

also, *na punar ahaṃ kapilāhvayam praviṣṭā*, supra. The Prakrit future forms like *dāhaṃ=dāsyāmi* are based on periphrastic forms like *dātāham* and not on the *-sya-* future : cf. S. K. Chatterji, 'Origin and Development of the Bengali Language,' 1926, p. 549.

A few anomalous verbal forms occur : *supet* (√*svap*), 4. 59 ; *sisiñcire* for *sisiñcuḥ* 8. 26 ; *niṣīdatuḥ* for *niṣedatuḥ*, 9. 11 ; 12.3 ; *samupekṣeyam* for *samupekṣeya*, 4. 65 ; *vijigāya* for *vijigye*, 1. 28 ff.; the right from has been used in 2. 34 ; *upatasthuḥ* for *upatasthire*, 5. 45 (the right form has been used in 10.19) ; *vivarjayitvā*, *paripālayitvā* for *vivarjya*, *paripālya*, 11. 29.

The following perfect participles occur : *ūcivāṃs* 3.43 ; 5.36 ; *upeyivaṃs* 3.8 ; *sameyivāṃs* 5.20 ; *upajagmivāṃs* 12.2 ; *tasthuṣī* 4.36 ; *lelihāna* 13.13.

A chain of conjunctives occurs in one verse : *niḥśvasya dīrghaṃ sa śiraḥ prakampya tasmiṃś ca jīrṇe viniveśya cakṣuḥ/ tāṃ caiva dṛṣṭvā janatām saharṣāṃ vākyaṃ sa saṃvignam idaṃ jagāda* 'heaving a long (sigh), shaking the head, rivetting (his) eyes on the old (man), and looking at the rejoicing crowd, he uttered this sorrowful speech', 3. 35. In quite a number of instances the conjunctives have been used incorrectly : *tam prekṣya kasmāt tava dhīra bāṣpaḥ* 'why, O calm one, your tears on seeing him ?' 1.68 ; *ato me dhyānāni labdhvāpy akṛtārthataiva* 'hence, through finding meditations, my lucklessness', 1. 82 ; *puruṣasya vayaḥsukhāni bhuktvā ramaṇīyo hi tapovanapraveśaḥ* 'of man, after enjoying youthful pleasures, entering the forest is really befitting', 5. 53 ; *evaṃ ca te niścayam etu buddhir dṛṣṭvā vicitraṃ vividhapracāram* 'having seen various ways let your mind come to determination,' 9. 34 ; *devena vṛṣṭe'pi hiraṇyavarṣe dvīpān samudrāṃś caturo' pi jitvā/ śakrasya cārdhāsanam apy avāpya māndhātur āsīd viṣayaeṣv atṛptiḥ* 'notwithstanding the God raining gold, notwithstanding (his) conquering the continents and the four oceans, and inspite of (his) occupying half of Śakra's throne, Māndhātṛ had insatiety in enjoyment,' 11. 13 ; *kratoḥ phalaṃ yady api śāśvataṃ bhavet tathāpi kṛtvā kim upakṣayātmakam* 'even if the result of sacrifice be permanent, what is the good of suffering ?' 11. 65.

The infinitive has been used incorrectly in : *jīrṇaṃ naraṃ nirmamire prayātum* they fashioned a decrepit man to go', 3.26 ; *tad vijñātum imaṃ dharmaṃ paramam bhājanam bhavān* 'so you are the best person for knowing this *dharma*', 12.9.

When reading the 'Buddhacarita' one cannot help noting that the author was unusually fond of finite verbs. I quote here some passages

which can easily pass for extracts from the grammatical epic, the 'Bhaṭṭikāvya' : *cacāra harṣaḥ praṇanāśa pāpmā jajvāla dharmaḥ kaluṣaḥ śaśāma* 'joy prevailed, sin died out, *dharma* blazed forth, evil abated', 2. 16 ; *śame 'bhireme virarāma pāpād bheje damaṃ saṃvibabhāja sādhūn* 'he rejoiced in peace, desisted from evil, practised abstinance, and honoured the pious', 2.33 ; *nādhyaiṣṭā duḥkhāya parasya vidyāṃ jñānaṃ śivaṃ yat tu tam adhyagīṣṭa* 'he did not learn other's knowledge (which comes) for sorrow, but acquired the knowledge which is good', 2. 35 ; *ekaṃ vininye sa jugopa sapta saptaiva tatyāja rarakṣa pañca| prāpa trivargaṃ bubudhe trivargaṃ yajñe dvivargaṃ prajahau dvivargaṃ* 'he subordinated the one, he nurtured the seven ; he gave up the seven, he kept the five ; he acquired the triad, he perceived the triad ; he knew the couple, and he rejected the couple', 2.41.

Aśvaghoṣa apparently wrote in quite good Sanskrit, although his standard is not that of Pāṇini. It is nevertheless an authoritative form of Sanskrit which is also found in the epics and the 'Purāṇas', and is based largely on the spoken usage of the centuries immediately preceding the birth of Christ.

SUKUMAR SEN

# REVIEWS

BARHUT INSCRIPTIONS. Edited and translated by Beni Madhab Barua, M. A., D. LITT., and Kumar Ganganda Sinha, M.A. Published by the University of Calcutta, 1926.

As the name indicates, the volume before us is a new edition of the numerous short inscriptions on the Railing and Gateways of the Buddhist Stūpa at Barhut. Since the days when Cunningham removed the remains of the Stūpa to the Indian Museum at Calcutta and published his well-known work *The Stūpa of Barhut*, nearly half a century ago (1879), this unique piece of architecture has formed a serious study to all students of Indian antiquity. It has enriched our knowledge of art, religion, iconography and palaeography to an extent that can hardly be exaggerated. A scholarly edition of all the inscriptions occurring on this monument was therefore a great desideratum, and Messrs. Barua and Sinha are to be congratulated on their attempt to remove this long-felt want.

The editors appear to have utilised all that has been written upon the subject by Cunningham, Hoernle, Hultzsch and others ; but they have made distinct improvements upon the work of their predecessors both in regard to the arrangement as well as the interpretation of the inscriptions. Future research will probably correct or supplement some of their conclusions, but there is no doubt that their work constitutes a landmark in the study of the subject. They have classified the records under two broad headings, viz., 'Votive Labels' and 'Jātaka Labels' "grouping the former as they occur on the Gateway-pillars, the Rail-pillars, the Rail-bars, the Coping-stones, and the isolated fragments, and grouping the latter as they are attached to different scenes in accordance with the accepted Jātaka outlines of the Buddha's life." By this new arrangement of the records, the editors have fully justified their claim "to unveil the system that underlies them and thereby make them truly significant." The editors have also brought their extensive knowledge of Pāli literature to bear upon their texts, as one can judge from their identification of the labels as well as from their useful and learned notes on the texts ; but it must be said that they seem to err very often, in their somewhat elaborate notes, on the side of prolixity and discursiveness.

The volume concludes with elaborate notes on the palaeography and language of the inscriptions as well as on the persons, epithets and localities mentioned in them.

While we have nothing but praise for the general arrangement of the book, we regret to have to point out some drawbacks. In the first place, the volume is seriously disfigured by misprints. The same word appears with different accents (in transliteration) in the text and in the translation, and the general reader is sometimes frankly puzzled as to which form he should accept as the correct one intended by the editors. On p. 7, l. 25, Cunningham reads *gajaṭira*, and not *gajatira*. On p. 15, l. 12, *smṛaityupasthāna* is not intelligible. When one has to deal with short records in Prākṛt, a misprint is often a source of confusion to the reader ; and such misprints do not reflect much credit upon a University Press like that of Calcutta in a volume which is otherwise very well got up.

It must also be pointed out that the editors have freely suggested readings different from those adopted by Cunningham ; but very seldom these emendations are supported by any argument or facsimile-plates. Indeed, the portion dealing with the readings of records cannot be properly utilised until it is accompanied by a good facsimile reproduction of the inscriptions themselves. We hope the editors will complete their work by bringing out a companion volume to remedy this defect.

In the second section, the names of all the *yakṣas* and *yakṣiṇīs* have been included under the 'Jātaka Labels.' In some cases the editors have justified such inclusion by adding an explanatory note, interpreting the picture as the scene of the Buddha's interview with the particular *yakṣa* or *yakṣiṇī* under discussion, though how it follows from the record or the picture itself it is difficult to see. In some cases, however, no such relation with the Buddha has been suggested at all, and the inclusion of the particular *yakṣa* or *yakṣiṇī* requires an explanation.

In the third section, the notes on palaeography are very general or vague, e.g., "It stands near to Aśokan forms," "its development can be traced from the Aśokan form," or that "it compares favourably" with this and that form of letter. In addition we have "Coping forms," "Gateway forms," "Coping 1st form," "Coping 3rd form" and so forth. These remarks or generalisations do not carry us very far in our estimate of the chronology of the Barhut inscriptions. The editors have stated and criticised at some length the views of

Mr. R. P. Chanda as expressed in *Memoirs, Archæological Survey of India*, No. 1, but they have not referred to the comprehensive review of Mr. Chanda's views in *JASB.*, 1922, pp. 225f, and Mr. Chanda's rejoinder thereto in *JBORS.*, vol. XI, pp. 71f, where he has re-stated his views with some important modifications.

The translation affords many difficulties, but it has been done fairly accurately, although one finds here and there a passing over of difficulties. On p. 14, no. 33, the word *bhānakasa* has not been translated; while on p. 7, l. 1-2, it is doubtful whether our editor's translation is an improvement upon Cunningham's suggestion.

S. K. DE

INLAND TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATION IN MEDIÆVAL INDIA. By Bejoy Kumar Sarkar, A. B. (Harvard). Royal 8vo. 91 pages. Calcutta University Press, 1925.

Economic history is an important and fascinating branch of investigation in the economic sciences. In recent times the subject has been attracting a very great deal of attention in British and other foreign economic circles. Although we in India have hardly as yet done justice to the importance of the subject, it is a matter of gratification to see that our scholars are not absolutely avoiding it.

The book before us seeks to study the methods of inland transport and communication in mediæval India, roughly speaking, from the 11th to the 18th century. The volume should therefore be studied in the light of economic life that has prevailed in Europe previous to the industrial revolution. Mr. Bejoy Kumar Sarkar has made use of the chronicles of Muhammadan historians and the accounts of foreign travellers bearing on the periods under investigation. He has avoided, as a rule, all comparison with the corresponding periods in Western economic history. But the reports on Indian economic life such as are furnished by European travellers, as far down as Carey, furnish us with loop-holes through which the readers can, to a certain extent, although indirectly, visualise the condition of things in Europe.

The author has not attempted to make a propaganda for the glories of our forefathers. To those readers who have a grasp of the conditions prevailing in mediæval Europe the book will appear no less scientific than instructive. Mr. Sarkar invites our attention to the evidence of foreign writers on India's wealth and foreign trade and we are reminded also that they used to look upon the "wealth of India

as an object of wonder." As long as the author tries to keep within the limits set for instance by Tavernier we do not have to be too sceptical about such phrases as "adequate facilities for communication", "continuous stream of goods", "flourishing state", "immense wealth" etc. which we come across in the book. The evidences are given from the foreign writers, and the author happens to be on the safe side because he does not try to belittle the economic conditions of modern India and the rest of the world.

His judgment at page 71 is as follows :—"Having regard to the almost self-sufficing character of the different parts of the country, the small development of territorial division of labour and the little inter-dependence between one part and another and the comparative absence of traffic in such bulky articles as coal and iron, hide and jute, etc., the means of communication and the facilities for transport in mediaeval India will thus be considered to have been fully adequate to meet the needs of the times". On page 34 he makes it a point to tell us that "the high-ways as well as the city streets were in the main *kuchcha*."

Statements like these indicate that the author's investigations are not vitiated by excessive patriotism which, although not an undesirable quality in itself, is certainly a hindrance to science. The author's claims for the mediaeval achievements of the Hindus and Musalmans are quite modest and reasonable.

We wish the author had furnished us with pictures of the actual conditions of mediaeval transport and communication in England, France, Germany or Italy as the background on which to interpret his realistic data on (I) water transport, (II) land transport and (III) the posts in mediæval India.

The subject dealt with in the book is vast and will continue to attract scientific investigators in economic history like the present author for comparative as well as intensive research. The author has put together much information from different sides and is to be congratulated on having produced a useful work.

SELECTIONS FROM SANSKRIT INSCRIPTIONS, Part I. By D. B. Diskalkar, M. A., with a preface by Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, M.A.

The consensus of opinion among Indian epigraphists is that the Sanskrit inscriptions, the earliest of which is dated in the Śaka year 72 (=A. D. 150), have an important bearing upon the development of

Indian literature, of the Kāvyas in particular, apart from their being indelible records, dated and undated, on rocks, stones, iron and stone-pillars, and copper-plates, throwing a flood of light upon political events and religious changes that took place in the different parts of the country, in east, south, west and north. The selected texts are precisely those that possess literary merit and are calculated to evolve a wider interest in the study of Sanskrit epigraphs among all students of Sanskrit. This is certainly a move in the right direction. The claim that the right of study of the inscriptions is reserved for *bona fide* students of epigraphy implies a sop to vanity that should not be tolerated. The dreaded barrier between Sanskrit inscription and Sanskrit literature is not a wall of China but only that of crystal, unobstructing a view from outside. The selections in Part I comprise the texts without notes and translations that are reserved for a supplement which is yet to follow. The texts, e. g., Girnar Rock Inscription of Rudradāman, Meharauli Posthumous Iron Pillar Inscription of Candra, and the rest, are arranged in their chronological order, and cover a pretty long period of Indian history from the 2nd to the 8th century A.D. The texts are cramped and appear naked without a word-index. We hope that the promised supplement will come out soon.

B. M. BARUA

FURTHER DIALOGUES OF THE BUDDHA (translated from the Pāli of the Majjhima Nikāya). By Lord Chalmers, vol. I. Humphrey Milford, London, Oxford University Press. [Sacred Books of the Buddhists, vol. v]. pp. xxiv+371

We welcome with pleasure the English translation of the first volume of the Majjhima Nikāya, the great storehouse of Buddhistic lore. The task of a translator of works like this is not at all easy. This can be realised by those who have attempted to translate into a European language a treatise in an ancient Indian tongue. We are glad to find that inspite of the difficulty of the task, Lord Chalmers has performed it creditably. With due deference to the late Dr. Rhys Davids who has translated into English so many Pāli works and has thereby left us a legacy of English synonyms of a good many Pāli technical terms, we must admit that while there are many synonyms which express adequately the sense intended to be conveyed through them, there are, however, others which have failed to serve that purpose though they have acquired currency by use in a large number of

Chalmers for subjecting these current words to a scrutiny and using those which in his opinion express the intended sense more accurately. In the recently published Pāli-English Dictionary of the Pāli Text Society (1925) edited by Rhys Davids and Stede, a similar attempt has been made to substitute better English synonyms of Pāli words. As an example of the improvement that has been made by the present translator upon the renderings of Pāli passages by Dr. Rhys Davids I may mention the translation of the text that relates to the four jhānas (cf. D. N. tr. pt ii, pp. 218-19 with M. N. tr. pt i, pp. 217-18). In some cases, however, the departure has not produced a better result, e. g. the use of the word 'Almsman' for 'bhikkhu", 'Pilgrimage' for 'pabbajjā', 'Truth-finder' for 'Tathāgata', 'bovine' for 'go-vatika', 'canine' for 'kukura-vatika'. For the first two words I would prefer 'monk', and 'retirement from household life' respectively ; while in regard to words like 'Tathāgata' which cannot be translated by a single expression I would suggest the retention of the original word in the translation. The use of the words 'bovine' and 'canine' to signify the ascetics who took the vow of not using hands while eating and drinking has not at all been happy. In a few places the translator could have easily given himself more freedom, for without that, the rendering has been cumbrous or obscure, *e. g.* (i) 'siriṃsapa-samphassanam' has been rendered into 'contact with creeping things' (p. 6) ; (ii) 'Piṇḍapātam paṭisevate' into 'he exercises the use of alms received' ; (iii) 'Kim uttariyaṃ karaṇiyaṃ' into 'what is ahead' (p. 192) ; (iv) 'Cārikaṃ caramāno' into 'alms-pilgrimage' (p. 202). I think the meanings would have been expressed more clearly if they had been rendered as follows : (i) bitten by a reptile, (ii) eating food collected by begging, (iii) what else is to be done, (iv) wandering about.

Inspite of these few defects we commend this book, as a clear and faithful translation, to those readers who want to have an idea of the Pāli canonical texts through English. A glance at the translation of the Saccaka Sutta and the Mahāvedalla Sutta, containing many philosophical and technical terms, will convince them that the writer is eminently fit to undertake an English rendering of a recondite work like the Majjihma Nikāya. It will also be of great help to those who wish to understand the text, as the translation has made clear many passages from which it is difficult to elicit the meaning with the help of the commentary.

KACCĀYANA

## Select Contents of Oriental Journals

### Indian Antiquary, August, 1926

V. S. BAKHLE.—The Capital of Nahapāna. Disagreeing with Prof. D. R. Bhandarkār and others, who relying on the Periplus of the Erythræan Sea and the Geography of Ptolemy hold that the capital of the kingdom of Nahapāna, the Kṣaharāta ruler of Northern Mahārāṣṭra and Gujarat was Daśapura or the modern Mandasor, the writer of this note follows Sir R. G. Bhandarkar in his attempt to establish that the said capital was situated at Junner and identifies the place with the Minnagar of the Periplus and Omenogara of Ptolemy.

SYLVAIN LÉVI.—Pihuṃda, Pithuḍa, Pitundra (translated from the French by S. M. Edwardes). This is an attempt to determine the identity of an ancient city mentioned as Pihuṃda in the Uttarādhyāyana Sūtra, Pithuḍa in the Inscription of Khāravela and Pitundra in the Geography of Ptolemy. In this connection Prof. Lévi does not accept Mr. Jayaswal's interpretation of a passage in the said inscription and also his reading of the name of the city as Pithudagadabha.

### Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, June, 1926

STEN KONOW.—The Inscription on the So-called Bodh-Gaya Plaque. The letters inscribed on the Plaque have been read for the first time as *Kothumasa Saṃghadasasa kiti* (the work of Saṃghadāsa, the Kauthuma).

MANOMOHAN GANGULI.—Indian Architecture from the Vedic Period. By quoting passages from the Vedic literature the writer has attempted to get up the architectural history of India [of the Vedic period].

A. BANERJI-SASTRI.—Asura Expansion in India. The courses along which the expansion of the Asura settlements took place in India and the process of Aryanisation of the tribe became complete have been shown chiefly from the Saṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇas.

## Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol ii, No. 1

M. WINTERNITZ.—The Serpent Sacrifice mentioned in the Mahābhārata (translated from the original German by N. B. UTGIKAR). While presenting the story of the serpent sacrifice of king Janamejaya and the legends connected therewith, Prof. Winternitz has pointed out the striking parallels found in the similar myths of other countries, and so not agreeing with Jacobi, Ludwig and others, who hold the legend of serpent sacrifice to be a reminiscence of an historical event of India, has come to the conclusion that the idea of drawing the serpents into the flame may have its source in a myth that goes back to the Indo-Germanic pre-historic times or it may have spontaneously arisen from the same psychological motive, viz. the extirpation of serpents.

## Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, July, 1926

W. H. MORELAND.—Sher Shah's Revenue System.

PADMA NATH BHATTACARYYA.—Note on the Bhūmicchidranyāya. The expression *bhūmi-cchidra-nyāya* found in many copper-plate grants indicates that just as a land unfit for cultivation is not assessable, so the lands covered by those grants are not to be assessed.

# Obituary Notice

## The Late Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis

Rao Bahadur Dattatreya Balwant Parasnis, the well-known Maratha scholar of Satara, was ruthlessly snatched away from our midst by the hand of Death on the 31st of March last. He was born on the 27th November, 1870 and was educated at Satara in the Satara High School. His school-life was conspicuous not only by his proficiency in studies, but also by his regular and persistent study of the lives of eminent historical personages, thereby getting acquainted with the past history of the Mahrattas. While at school, he started on his own initative a monthly magazine, the utility of which was recognised by people outside Mahārāṣṭra, evoking the admiration of the distinguished statesman and scholar the late Raja Sir T. Madhav Rao.

After school career, he threw himself wholly into the pursuit of historical researches, and his untiring energy in that direction found an outlet through the *Mahārāṣṭra Kokil* a magazine started and conducted by him for some years. In 1894, he published the life of the Rani of Jhansi which met with much appreciation and was translated into various vernaculars of India. Shortly after he wrote another book entitled "Exploits of the Marathas in Bundelkhand," which was followed in 1898 by the "Bhārat Varṣa" another magazine started by him and devoted exclusively to history.

From 1898 to 1902 he published a number of books such as "the Nawabs of Oudh," "Brahmendra Swami of Dhavadshi," "Life of Baija Bai Shinde of Gwalior," and "Delhi," and then left for England with H. H. the late Maharaja of Kolhapur. After visiting the British Museum and similar other institutions, he was inspired with the idea of founding an historical museum for collecting old records. After his return, he set himself to work and within a short time, his ideal about the museum became a reality and soon attracted the notice of Lord Sydenham the then Governor of Bombay, who paid it a visit in 1909. In the meanwhile, his literary pursuits were being steadily continued. In 1908, he started his third magazine "Itihās Saṅgraha" which during its short life of seven years published much valuable historical material throwing light upon many an obscure point in the history of the Mahrattas.

In 1913, in recognition of his services to Maratha history and literature, he was made a 'Rao Bahadur' an honour which was then rarely bestowed on persons engaged in such pursuits. Shortly after that event the idea of erecting a magnificent building for the museum was conceived and encouraged by the then Governor of Bombay, Lord Willingdon, but the great War broke out shortly afterwards stopping the work of building the museum which after many vicissitudes came to be completed in 1924, i.e., after a period of eleven years. The opening ceremony was performed by the Governor of Bombay, Sir Leslie Wilson, on the 3rd November 1925, a day which, as the Rao Bahadur put it, "was the proudest and happiest day of his life."

In this museum, he has deposited the old and valuable documents (Marathi, English and Persian), rare maps and plans, autograph letters and his own magnificent collections of books for use by the public facilitating thereby the research work of scholars. Very attractive is his collection of valuable old Indian paintings, both of Rajput and Moghul schools, as also the previous collection of old coins.

Besides the "History of the Maratha People" written by him and Mr. Kincaid, he has also written several other historical works, important among them being "Mahabaleswar" (1916), "The Sangli State" (1917), "Poona in Bygone Days" (1921), and "Panhala" (1923).

He leaves behind him his old and infirm parents, wife, several children and countless friends both European and Indian to mourn his loss. He spent his whole life and fortune in collecting and preserving the historical documents in a thoroughly selfless spirit for the benefit of the public, and it is now for them to appreciate the magnitude of his great sacrifice in money, time, and labour.

Printed and published by Sj. Raghunath Seal, B.A. at the Calcutta Oriental Press, 107, Mechuabazar Street, Calcutta.

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Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī
Edited by Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt, M.A., B.L., P.R.S., PH. D.

THE
# Indian Historical Quarterly

Vol. II DECEMBER, 1926 No. 4

## Outlines of the History of Buddhism in Indo-China

To many people, especially those who have access only to English books[1], the expression "Indo-Chinese Buddhism" means the religion actually professed by the two countries, Siam and Burma, which, together with Ceylon, form the geographical area of the Southern Buddhism. This view is deficient on two points: first it neglects all the eastern part of the Peninsula; secondly, it does not make any allowance for the long period during which a great part of Indo-China knew no other form of Buddhism than the Mahāyāna. Therefore, it will not be useless to trace, with more precision, the main lines of the history of Buddhism in these far-off countries. This history has grown in two different regions independent of each other and of unequal importance: the eastern coast (Annam) and the western part of the country (British Malaya, Siam, Cambodia, Laos, Burma).

The most ancient Hindu settlement on the eastern coast of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula seems to lie in the south of modern Annam between Cochin-China and the mountain range which terminates with Cape Varella near the modern town of Nhatrang. There is a temple of Bhagavatī, which, though

1 The exact and well-informed work of Sir Charles Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, London, 1921, ought to be set apart

does not date back to a very remote epoch (the existing buildings are of the 9th century A.D.), occupies the seat of a much more ancient sanctuary. According to a tradition preserved in an inscription of the 8th century, a Mukhaliṅga had been erected there by a king, Vicitrasagara by name, in the year of 5911 of the Dvāpara[1] age. This fabulous date proves, at least, that the Sanctuary of Nhatrang was considered in the 8th century as being of an immemorial antiquity.

Not far from this place was found a Sanskrit inscription of great historical importance. It does not contain any date but its writing points, with a quasi-certitude, to the third or the second century of our era.[2] It owes its origin to a king who claims to be a descendant of Śrī Mārarāja. The wear and tear of the stone does not permit of any precise conclusion as to the religion which the author of that work professed, but some expressions such as "*prajānāṅ karuṇā*..., "compassion for creatures" "*lokasyāsya gatāgati*" "coming and going of this world," [*prajā*]*nāṃ priyahite sarvaṃ visṛṣṭaṃ mayā*, "all is given up by me for the satisfaction and good of creatures", might give out a Buddhistic inspiration.

It is possible that this Hindu colony was the nucleus of the kingdom of Champa which, according to the Chinese historians, was founded in the year 192 A.D. by an adventurer, in revolt against the imperial authorities of the province of Je-nan and extended rapidly towards the north up to the

1 Pañca-sahasra-nava-śataikādaśe vigata-kalikālaṅka-dvāparavarṣe Srī-Vicitrasagara-saṃsthāpitaḥ Śrī-Mukhaliṅga-devaḥ. *Inscriptions sanscrites de Champā et du Cambodge, publiées par* A. Barth et A. Bergaigne. Paris, 1885—1893, p. 294. [This collection will be referred to henceforth under the form *ISCC* ].

2 Inscription of Vo-canh, published in *ISCC*, p. 191, and re-edited in the *Bulletin de l' Ecole Française d'extrême-Orient*, XV, 2, p. 3. [This Bulletin will be referred to hereafter under the form *BEFEO*].

frontier of Tongking.[1] It might also stand for the kingdom of Pāṇḍuraṅga, which later on became a vassal principality of Champa.

The epigraphy of Champa (leaving aside the inscription of Vo-canh) is, at first, clearly Śaiva. It is in the 9th century only that Buddhism makes its appearance there. In the second quarter of that century, a Buddhist of Pāṇḍuraṅga, Samanta by name, dedicates two monasteries (Vihāra) and two temples to the Jina and Śiva (Jinaśaṅkarayos), the *praśasti* being written by his son, Sthavira Buddha-nirvāṇa.[2] From that time is noticed the close association of Buddhism with Śaivism which will remain up to the end is one of the salient features of religion in Champa, as in the other Hindu states of Indo-China.

Some twenty years later, the growing importance of Buddhism is affirmed by the foundation of the great monastery of Lakṣmīndra Lokeśvara,[3] a pious work of king Indravarman II who had assumed before his coronation the name of Lakṣmīndra Bhūmiśvara Grāmasvāmī[4] and after his death that of Paramabuddhaloka. In the foundation charter, the king glorifies simultaneously Lokeśvara and the Liṅga Bhadreśvara.

It is peculiar that in this monument dedicated to Lokeśvara not a single image of this Bodhisattva has been discovered but only some big statues of the Buddha represented

1 L. Aurousseau in *BEFEO*, XIV, g, p. 26.

2 *ISCC*, p. 237, no. XXV.

3 The ruins of this monastery are situated near the village of Dong-düong in the province of Quang-nam (Annam). They have been described by H. Parmentier in : *Inventaire descriptif des monuments chams de l' Annam*, vol. I, p. 439 ff. The inscriptions have been published in *BEFO*, IV 84 ff.

4 It was a custom in religious foundations to place the name of the founder before that of the devatā Lakṣmīndra Lokeśvara =Lokeśvara founded by Lakṣmīndra ; Mahīndra-Lokeśvara=Lokeśvara founded by Mahīndrādhipati, etc.

as sitting in the European fashion with hands resting on his knees.[1]

In 902 A.D. in the same province Sthavira Nāgapuṣpa sets up a Lokanātha in the monastery of Pramudita-Lokeśvara which he held as a royal gift.[2] On that occasion he was pleased to give a resumé of the Mahāyānist theogony under the rather peculiar form it had taken in his own time.

*Vajradhātur asau pūrvvaṃ Śrī-Śākyamuniśāsanāt*
*Śūnyo pi Vajradhṛddhetuḥ buddhānām ālayo bhavat //*
*Padmadhātur ato Lokeśvarahetur jinālayaḥ*
*Amitābhavacoyuktyā mahāśūnyo babhūva ha //*
*Cakradhātur asau śūnyātīto Vairocanājñayā*
*Vajrasattvasya hetuḥ syāt tṛtīyo bhūj jinālayaḥ //*

"In the beginning Vajradhātu (who, though void, is the cause of Vajradhara) became, by the order of Śākyamuni, the receptacle of the Buddhas. Then Padmadhātu, the great void, cause of Lokeśvara, in compliance with the word of Amitābha—became the [second] receptacle of the Buddhas. Cakradhātu, the ultra void cause of Vajrasattva became, by the order of Vairocana, the third receptacle of the Buddhas."

As is seen, we are completely here in Mahāyānism though the name has not been yet pronounced. This gap is going to be filled up. At the end of the twelfth century a petty king, reigning in Pāṇḍuraṅga, boasts of practising the dharma of Mahāyāna and in testimony of his faith, erects a Buddha Lokeśvara in the district of Buddhaloka.[3]

Afterwards we have no more document. Nevertheless, a fragment which seems to date from the second half of the thirteenth century begins with the invocation *Oṃ namo*

1 Is it to be surmised that these images represent Lokeśvara under the aspect of Buddha, a form which is met with in China. (A. FOUCHER, *Iconographie bouddhique*, p. 195, no. 31 : Mahācīne Buddharūpaka—Lokanāthaḥ) ? *Cf.* infra the erection of a Buddha-Lokeśvara.

2 *BEFEO*, XI, 277.

3 *BEFEO*, IV, 971,927.

*buddhāya*, which at least proves that Buddhism was not yet extinct in that time.[1]

Iconography confirms the data of epigraphy: the soil of Champa has given in abundance bronze and stone statues of Buddha, Lokeśvara and Prajñāpāramitā. A number of clay medallions bearing images of Buddha and Lokeśvara were picked up in the caves of northern Annam[2].

The conclusion of this review of our documentation both written and iconographic is that from the 9th century A.D. up to at least the 13th century the two great religions of Champa were, in the first place, Śaivism with the preponderance of the cult of the Liṅga and in the second place, Mahāyāna under the form of the cult of Lokeśvara and that these two cults, far from being mutually incompatible, were more or less intimately associated.

The next question arises: has the predominance of Mahāyāna been preceded by a Hīnayāna period? This is what would seem to come out from a passage of the Chinese pilgrim, I-tsing (*Record*, p. 12): "In this country (Champa), Buddhists generally belong to the Ārya-sammiti-nikāya and there are also a few followers of the Sarvāstivāda-nikāya." Nevertheless this assertion seems open to doubt. The information of I-tsing about Champa is secondhand and the apparent precision with which are characterised the two sects of the Hīnayāna that were supposed to be found there must rather put us on guard than to inspire confidence. In any case absolutely nothing in the documents, known up to the present, corroborates the assertion of the Chinese pilgrim.

Towards the end of the 15th century, Champa ceased to exist as an independent state. The Annamites of Tong-

1 A. BERGAIGNE, *L'ancien royaume de Champa*, p. 70.

2 Mainly L. FINOT, *La religion des chams d' apres les monuments*, *BEFEO*, I, p. 12-33; H. PARMENTIER, *Inventaire descriptif des monuments chams*, Paris, 1909-1918, 2 vols.; Id. *Les sculptures chames au musée de Tourane*, Paris, 1922. (Ars Asiatica, IV).

king, formerly subjects of the Chinese empire having regained their autonomy in the 10th century had gradually extended their possessions towards the south at the expense of Champa. In their last raid (1471 A.D.), they seized and burnt down the capital and took possession of the whole kingdom where they introduced this mixture of Mahāyānism, Taoism and Confucianism which, together with the cult of the ancestors and of the genii, constitutes the Chinese religion. As to the pitiable remnants of Cham people, reduced to a few districts of Southern Annam, some of them practise Islamism, others a debased form of Hinduism wherein no trace of Buddhism is found.

## II

In its palmy days, Champa had as neighbour in the West a state which is known to us only through the Chinese historians and which consequently passes by the name they give to it, viz., Funan.[1]

It was a great empire which had the centre of its power in the territory of modern Cambodia and extended its suzerainty from the Lower Cochin-china to the Gulf of Bengal and from Upper Laos down to the Malay peninsula. It counted among its vassals, the Mons of Dvāravatī (Siam)[2] and the Khmers, then established on the Mekong in the region of Bassak (by 15° lat. north). Its history occupies the first five centuries of our era.

1 Funan probably corresponds to the Khmer word *vnam* "mountain." Possibly the kings of the country were called *Krung vnam* "kings of the mountain" like the Śailendras of Sumatra.

2 The existence of the kingdom of Dvāravatī is attested for the 7th century by the two histories of the T'ang Dynasty and by the pilgrims Hiuen-tsang and I-tsing who locate it between Śrīkshetra (Prome) and Cambodia, but it may be much older. The ethnic character of its population has been brought to light by G. COEDES, *Documents sur l' histoire du Laos occidental*, *BEFEO*, XXV, pp. 115 ff. cf. bid, iv, 223, note 5.

As in Champa so in Funan we meet with two main cults: one in the foreground, the Śaivism; one in the background but not negligible, the Buddhism—the two religions existing peacefully side by side. That is what we gather from the evidence of I-tsing.[1] "Setting out south-westwards (from Champa) one reaches within a month Pa-nan, formerly called Fu-nan. Of old it was a country, the inhabitants of which lived naked, the people were mostly worshippers of the devas; later on Buddhism flourished there but a wicked king has now expelled and exterminated them all and there are no members of the Buddhist brotherhood at all."

Concerning the preponderance of Śaivism in Funan, it may be noticed that although the head of the mission sent to the court of China in 484 A.D., Śākya Nāgasena was a Buddhist monk, still in his description of Funan he exalts especially the god Maheśvara (*BEFEO*, IV, 270). Nevertheless, Buddhism enjoyed a place of honour in this country. Some illustrious relics were preserved there, notably a hair of the Buddha, 12 feet long which the king presented to the Emperor in 539 A.D. (ibid, p. 281). Several bhikṣus of Funan went to China for the translation work of the holy books; among them were Saṅghapāla and Mandrasena at the end of the 5th and in the beginning of the 6th century (ibid., p. 294).

Our information on Funan does not allow any conclusion as to the particular form of Buddhism which was reigning there. Perhaps several sects divided this vast empire among themselves.

In the south of Funan, the Malay peninsula was essentially a Buddhist country. The inscriptions found in the region of Ligor and in the province of Wellesly prove that in the 4th century A.D. there were some important Buddhistic centres on the coasts.[2] Other inscriptions

1 *Record*, p. 12.

2 H. KERN, *Over eenige oude Sanskrit-opschriften van't Maleische Schiereiland* (Verslagen en Mededeelingen, 1880).

discovered on the south of the isthmus of Krā dating from the 8th and 9th centuries witness the continuation of the same religion in those countries. One of them which commemorates the construction of three caityas in honour of Avalokiteśvara, Buddha and Vajrapāṇi in 775 A.D. proceeds from the king of Śrī-Vijaya (Palembang).[1]

## III

Towards the middle of the 6th century, a political revolution broke out in the western Indo-china : the Khmers or Kambojas, till then vassal of Funan, overthrew the sovereign state and took its place.

It is no doubt to this event that I-tsing alludes in the passage quoted above, when he speaks of the wicked king who exterminated the Buddhists of Funan. We may be permitted to believe that the pious writer has strongly exaggerated this disaster, for, in 664 A. D., that is to say, only half a century after the conquest, and precisely at the time when I-tsing commenced his journey, the reigning king, in an inscription, praises two eminent Bhikṣus (bhikṣu-variṣṭhān) living in his kingdom both of whom are (said to be) "treasures of virtue, science, kindness, patience, charity, austerity and prudence" (*ISCC.*, p. 62). *Śīla-śruta-śamakṣānti-dayā-saṃyamadhī-nidhī.*

All that could possibly happen was a strengthening of Śaivism which was the religion of the Khmer kings, but there is not the least probability of a persecution or *a fortiori* of an extermination of the Buddhists by the new sovereigns. An inscription of the same epoch (7th century)[2] which associates in the same pious donation, the Buddha, Maitreya and Avaloki-

*tions du Siam et de la peninsule Malaise* (Bulletin de la Commission archeologique de l' Indochine, 1910, p. 147).

1 G. COEDES, *Le royaume de Śrīvijaya* (*BEFEO*, XVIII, n° 6).

2 Inscription of Ampil Rolöm, *cf.* AYMONIER *Le Cambodge*, I, p. 449.

teśvara, proves that it was the Mahāyāna which was at that time the form of Buddhism prevailing in Cambodia, and as such it remained till the inroad of the Hīnayāna following the Siamese wars, towards the 15th century when a new religious era commences.

The most popular figure of the Mahāyānist pantheon in Cambodia is Lokeśvara. This merciful Bodhisattva is the great divinity of the kingdom ; it is under his patronage that the capital is placed ; it is his image that appears on the fronton of the *dharmaśālās* built along the roads in order to provide a shelter to the pilgrims.[1] He is very often associated with Prajñāpāramitā and Vajrapāṇi. It is especially in the 10th century that his cult seems to have been flourishing. He is still invoked in the inscriptions of the 12th century, but no more foundations made in his name are recorded and when the great Buddhist king Jayavarman VII founds hospitals in various provinces of his empire, it is no more under the patronage of Lokeśvara that he places them, although this was one of the essential functions of the great Bodhisattva—but under that of the mythical Buddha Bhaiṣajyaguru and of his two assistants Sūryavairocana and Candravairocana.[2]

The Tantrism seems to have exercised very little influence upon the Khmer cults, although several images of Hevajra have been found in the ruins of Ankor. Generally speaking the Cambodian Mahāyāna gives an impression of laudable sobriety. We may gather an idea of it from some specimens of the invocations that ordinarily open the acts of pious gifts.

1 cf. L. FINOT, *Lokeśvara en Indochine*, in *Études asiatiques, publiées a l'occasion du 25 anniversaire de l'Ecole française d' Extreme-Orient*, Paris, 1925, T. I., pp. 227-256. ID. *Inscriptions d' Ankor et Dharmaśālās au Cambodge*, *BEFEO*, T. XXV.

2 Edict of the Hospitals : *BEFEO*, iii, 18 ff., 460, xv, 2, p. 108, 185. There was in Ceylon an Ārogyaśālā-Lokeśvara "Lokeśvara of the hospitals", FOUCHER *Iconographie bouddhique*, p. 193 et 212.

Inscription of Phnom Bantāy Nāṅ, A.D. (n° k. 214).

*namo stu paramārthāya vyomatulyāya yo dadhau*
*dharma-sambhogi-nirmmāṇa-kāyān trailokyamūrttaye//*
*bhāti Lokeśvaro mūrddhnā yɔ' mitābhañ jinan dadhau*
*mitaraśmiprakāśānām arkkendvor darśanād iva//*
*Prajñāpāramitākhyāyai bhagavatyai namo stu te*
*yasyāṃ sametya sarvvajñās sarvvajñatvam upeyuṣaḥ//*

"Homage to the Absolute, identical with the Void, who has taken the bodies of Law, Beatitude and Creation, to make from them the shape of the three worlds.

"Resplendent is Lokeśvara, who has placed upon his head the Jina Amitābha (Unlimited Light) as a consequence of his having ascertained the limited light of the Sun and the Moon.

"Homage to thee, Blessed One ! who art called Prajñāpāramitā, in whom the Omniscients have attained their Omniscience."

Inscription of Ta Prohm, 1186 A.D. (n° k. 273).

*Sambhāra-vistara-vibhāvita-dharmmakāya-*
*sambhoga-nirmiti-vapur bhagavān vibhaktaḥ/*
*yo gocaro jina-jinātmaja-dehabhājāṃ*
*vuddhāya bhūtaśaraṇāya namo stu tasmai//*

*vande niruttaram anuttaravodhimārggaṃ*
*bhūtārtha-darśana-nirāvaraṇaikadṛṣṭim/*
*dharmman trilokaviditāmaravandyavandyam*
*antarvasat-ṣaḍariṣaṇḍa-vikhaṇḍa-khaḍgam//*

*samyagvimukti-paripanthitayā vimukta-*
*saṅgo pi santatagṛhītaparārthasaṅgaḥ/*
*saṅgīyamāna-jinaśāsana-śāsitān yān*
*saṅgho bhisaṃhita hitaprabhavo vatād vaḥ//*

*trailokya-kāṅkṣita-phalaprasavaika-yonir*
*agrāṅguli-vitapa-bhūṣita-vāhu-śākhaḥ/*
*hemopavīta-latikā-parivīta-kāyo*
*Lokeśvaro jayati jaṅgamapārijātaḥ//*

*munīndra-dharmmāgrasarīṃ guṇāḍhyān*
*dhīmadbhir adhyātmadṛśā nirīkṣyām/*

*nirastaniśśeṣavikalpajālāṃ*
*bhaktyā jinānāṃ jananīṃ namadhvam//*

"To the Blessed One, whose previous merits, as a result of their growing, are manifested in the bodies of Law, Beatitude and Creation and who (thus) is divided, who is the domain of those who put on the bodies of Jina or of Bodhisattva,—to the Buddha, the Refuge of the beings, homage !

"I adore the supreme way of supreme Illumination, the Only View through which the pure reality is perceived without any veil, the Law, most revered by all the immortals who know the three worlds whom the three worlds know, the sword that cuts down the thicket of the six inner enemies.

"He, who, although emancipated from all attachments, is putting obstacle in the way of perfect emancipation, nevertheless remains faithfully attached to the interest of others, teaches the world the doctrine of the Jina sung (by the councils) and has always the production of good in view,—may the Saṅgha protect you !

"Victorious is Lokeśvara, unique source of the fruits wished for by the three worlds, whose arms are like branches adorned with twigs that are his fingers, whose body is encircled by a liana which is the Brahmanic thread, and who is (thus) a living Pārijāta (Tree of paradise).

"With a pious love adore Her, who marches at the head of the Law of the king of munis, who is rich in virtue, perceptible to the sages only by means of introspection and who unfolds the tangle of all kinds of doubts, the (Prajñāpāramitā), mother of the Jinas !"

Of a more popular character is the cult of Bodhidruma such as it appears to us in an inscription which is connected with one of the sacred trees planted on the terrace of the principal temple of the royal palace at Angkor Thom. That inscription (n°. k. 484) may be attributed to the reign of Jayavarman VII (12th century).

*Vrahmamūla Śivaskandha Viṣṇuśākha sanātana*
*Vṛkṣarāja mahābhāgya sarvāśraya phalaprada||*
*mā tvāśanir mmā paraśur mānilo mā hutāśanaḥ*
*mā rājā mā gajaḥ kruddho vināśam upaneṣyati||*
*akṣispandaṃ bhruvo spandan dussvapnan durvvicintitam*
*aśvattha śamayet sarvvaṃ yad divyaṃ yac ca mānuṣam||*

"Oh, Thou whose roots are Brahmā, trunk is Śiva, branches are Viṣṇu, Oh, Eternal One, king of the trees, Fortunate One! Universal Refuge, Giver of fruits!

"Let neither the thunder-bolt nor the axe, nor the wind, nor fire, nor the king, nor the furious elephant cause thy ruin.

"Eye-blinking, eye-brow-trembling, bad dreams, evil thoughts, O Fig-tree, dispel all these, whether divine or human!".

Under the reign of Sūryavarman I (1002—1049 A.D.) who, according to a Pāli chronicle,[1] was the son of the king of Śrī Dhammarāja (Ligor) and probably belonged to the Buddhist religion, as is shown by his posthumous name of Paramanirvāṇapada, the Khmers wrested from the Mons the valley of Menam. The first Khmer inscriptions at Lopburi date from his reign[2]. One of them, the object of which is to lay down some rules and regulations for the temples, monasteries and hermitages, makes a distinction between the Sthaviras and the Mahāyāna Bhikṣus.[3] It is, therefore, probably on the Lower Menam that the Mahāyāna of the Khmers and the Theravāda of the Mons met. A little afterwards, the advance of the Khmers towards the North put them in contact with another race which was, in a short time, to drive them back on the Mekong and finally to wrest from them the hegemony of western Indo-china. It was the *Thai*, descended from Burma.

1 *Cāmadevīvaṃsa*, cf. *BEFEO*, XXV, pp. 23 ff.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 25.
3 *Aymonier, Le Cambodge*, II, p. 81.

## IV

The first record of the introduction of Buddhism into Lower Burma is that of the Singhalese Chronicles (Dīpavaṃsa, VIII, 12, Mahāvaṃsa, XII, 6, 44) concerning the mission of the theras Soṇa and Uttara sent to Suvaṇṇabhūmi by the council of Pāṭaliputra during the reign of Aśoka. Admitting the historicity of this mission, it does not follow that it marks the beginning of a continued development of Buddhism in these countries. In fact, we lack information on the following centuries.[1] A flash of dim light shows us something of the religious state of Lower Burma towards the 6th century. We owe it to two documents found near Hmawza (Prome), the one is a pair of gold-leaves upon which is engraved the well-known "Thammapariyāya" : *Ye dhammā* etc, followed by some other Buddhist formulas ; the other is a terracotta tablet which bears a fragment of of the Vibhaṅga.[2] All these texts are in Pāli and written in characters intimately connected with those which were in use in Southern India towards the 6th century of our era.

This is about the time when the study of the Pāli Piṭakas flourished in Kañcipuram (Conjeveram), under the direction of the learned commentator Dhammapāla.[3] Now, as Pegu, according to its own traditions, had a continued communication with Kañcipuram[4] it is tempting to look to that country for the origin of the Hīnayānist school of Prome, which

1 Those of TARĀNĀTHA'S *Geschichte des Buddhismus*, p. 262, do not seem to have a very great value.

2 Cf. L. FINOT, *Un noveau document sur le bouddhisme Birman* (Journal Asiatique, 1912, 2, p. 121) ; ID. *Le plus anciens temoignage sur l'existence du canon pâli en Birmanie* (ID., 1913, 2, p. 193).

3 Ed. HARDY, *Ein Beitrag zur Frage ob Dhammapāla im Nālandasaṅghārāma seine Commentare geschrieben* in Zeitschrift für D. Morgenl. Gesellsch., 1897, p. 126.

4 M. H. BODE, *The Pāli Literature of Burma*, p. 8.

might have received from there through Thaton its religious culture. That school continued to prosper in the following centuries side by side with a community of Vaiṣṇavas, who has left some remarkable sculptures.[1] The exact time of the destruction of Prome is not known, but it is likely that it took place in the course of the 9th century.[2]

In 1057, Anuruddha, the king of Pagan, invaded the Delta, became master of Sudhammapura (Thaton) and brought back to his own kingdom the collection of the holy books in Pāli together with several learned monks and dethroned the sovereign. From that time, the Theravāda of Ceylon completely superseded the mighty sect of the Ari, whose cult was a mixture of serpent worship, spirit worship and Tantric Buddhism.[3] It is strange that Pegu, which was evidenty in a state of civilization more advanced than Pagan, should have left us no literary work anterior to the conquest of Anuruddha and that the first hearth of Pāli literature should have been kindled at Pagan.[4]

Thirteenth century witnesses a general advance of the Thai or Shan race, facilitated by the fall of Pagan dynasty, which followed the Chinese invasions. They overran rapidly the whole Burmese territory and passed onwards into the basin of Menam where they very soon came into conflict with the Khmers. Their first important conquest was that

1 R. C. TEMPLE, *Notes on Antiquities in Ramaññadesa*, Pl. XIII-XIV ; L. de BEYLIE, *Prome and Samara*, pt. VII p. 2,

2 M. Harvey, the last historian of Burma, places it "not long after A.D. 800" (*History of Burma*, p. 12). It can not be prior to the embassy of Piao to the court of China in 807 A.D. (PELLIOT, *Two Itineraries*, p. 163).

3 On the Ari, see the excellent memoir of Mr. Charles Duroiselle. *The Ari of Burma and Tantric Buddhism* (Arch. Survey Annual Report, 1915-16, pp. 79-93).

4 The first work is the Kārikā, a treatise on Grammar, written in 1064 A.D. by Dhammasenāpati, a Burmese of Pagan (M. H. BODE, *op. cit.*, p. 15).

of Sukhodaya which was wrested from the Cambodian Governor who had charge of it—by two Thai chiefs. One of these, a vassal of Cambodia, transferred to his confederate the title of Śrī-Indrapatindrāditya, which he has received from his suzerain, and installed him as king in Sukhodaya. That event took place about 1250[1] A.D. The second successor of this king was his son Rāma Khamhéng, of whom we possess a long and curious inscription, drawn up towards the year 1292 A.D.[2] It tells us that the boundaries of his kingdom extended in the North and the East, up to the Mekong, in the South, up to Ligor (Malay Peninsula) and in the west, up to Haṃsavatī (Pegu). It contains also interesting details on the state of Buddhism at Sukhodaya.

"People in this city of Sukhodaya are given to alms, are given to making offerings. Prince Rāma Khamhéng, lord of this realm of Sukhodaya, with the matrons and nobles of the city, their retinues of servants and maidens, the gentry one and all, both male and female, and the mass of common folk, have reverence for the teaching of Buddha. Every one of them keeps the precepts during the Varṣa. When Varṣa is over, there are the offerings of the Kathin for a month before they are ended. In these ceremonies, they present heaps of money, they present heaps of areca-nuts, heaps of flowers, cushions for sitting and cushions for reclining. The accessories of the Kathin which are offered each year amount to two millions. To perform these ceremonies of the Kathin, they go to the Forest-monastery yonder; and when they return to the town, the procession stretches in line from the Forest-monastery yonder unto the skirts of the plain.

1 G. COEDÈS, *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam. I. Inscriptions de Sukhodaya*, p. 7.

2 C. B. BRADLEY, *The Oldest known Writing in Siamese. The Inscription of Phia Rām Khamhaeng of Sukhothai* (Journal of the Siam Society, 1909); G. COEDÈS, op. cit., pp. 37 ff. (The extract given below is borrowed from Bradley slightly altered according to the emendations of Coedès).

There everyone prostrates himself, while the air resounds with the sound of timbrels and lute, the sound of carolling and singing. Whoever likes to sport, sports ; whoever likes to laugh, laughs, whoever likes to sing, sings."

"This city of Sukhodaya has four gates exceedingly great. The people throng and press each other fearfully there, when they come in to see him, (the Prince) burn candles, to see him play with fire within this city of Sukhodaya. In the midst of this city of Sukhodaya, there are temple-buildings, there are golden images of Buddha, there is one eighteen cubits high. There are images of Buddha that are great, there are images that are middle. There are temples that are great, there are temples that are middle. There are reverend monks, there are theras and mahātheras."

"Toward sunset from this city of Sukhodaya is the Forest-monastery. Prince Rāma Khamhéng made of it an offering unto Phra Mahāthera, the Saṅgharāja, the scholar who studied the Tripiṭaka unto its end, the head of his order and above every other teacher in this realm. He came here from Śrī-Dharmarāja."

"In the midst of that Forest-monastery is a temple-building that is large, lofty and exceedingly fair. It has an eighteen-cubit image of Buddha standing erect."

From what precedes, it follows that the kingdom of Sukhodaya professed the Theravāda with Pāli as its religious language.[1]

Rāma Khamhéng had as his second successor Lüthai, a cultured and learned king, author of a Buddhist Cosmology, entitled *Traibhūmi*. He ascended the throne in 1347 A.D., under the name of Dharmarāja. In 1361, he received the ordination and wore for a time the yellow robe.

At that time, in the Buddhistic world, a growing esteem was shown for the Sīhalagaṇa, a Singhalese sect,—founded

1 For what follows, cf. Coedès *Inscriptions de Sukhodaya*, pp. 8 ff. and *Documents sur la dynastie de Sukhodaya* (*BEFEO*, XVII, 2, pp. 36 ff.).

in 1190 by the Talaing monk Chapaṭa—which admitted as valid only the ordinations dating back to the Mahāvihāra of Ceylon. It is under the influence of these ideas that Dharmarāja called from Pegu the thera Sumana, disciple of the thera Udumbara, who had left Ceylon to settle in the Ramaññadeśa. The king of Nabbisipura (Chieng-mai) obtained afterwards from the king of Sukhodaya the permission that Sumana should be sent to him to restore the religion in his kingdom. Dharmarāja was a zealous follower of Buddhism, but this did not prevent him from raising, in the celebrated Mango-grove (Ambavana), by the side of the great monastery which was there (Ambavanārāma), statues of Maheśvara and Viṣṇu.

Under his successors Sukhodaya steadily declined before the growing power of the kingdom of Ayodhyā, founded in 1350, which reduced it first to a small vassal state, then, to complete subjection.

On the other hand, this new state repelled, towards the East, the Khmer kings who had to abandon their capital Angkor, probably in the course of the 15th century.[1] This event marks the disappearance of Hinduism and of Mahāyāna which had, for such a long time, reigned in Cambodia. The whole country now professes the Theravāda which the Thai influence introduced there at the end of the 13th century[2] and to which the triumph of Siam assured an uncontested hegemony.

L. FINOT

1 *BEFEO*, XIII, 6, pp. 6 ff. and XVIII, 9, p. 27.

2 Tcheon Ta-Kouan (1296 A.D.) "The *Ch'u-Ku* shave their head..." (*BEFEO*, II, p. 148). *Ch'u-Ku* = Chan-Ku, "My lord" appellation of the monks in Siam. (ID., xviii, 9, p. 6) This precise detail shows clearly the Siamese origin of modern Buddhism in Cambodia.

## Administration of the Bahmani Kingdom

The empire, which Ghiyasuddin Tughlak bequeathed to his son Muhammad Tughlak, ranked in point of extent, population and wealth as the greatest empire not only in the whole of Asia but probably in the whole world. The whole country from the Himalayas on the north to Dvarasamudra on the south, and from the eastern confines of Bengal on the east to Sind and Gujrat on the west, obeyed one sceptre. But this vastness and unwieldy extent of the Delhi empire at a time when there was no telegraphy or steamship, without adding strength and power to the central government, only multiplied its dangers and difficulties. It was well-nigh impossible that an emperor with his seat at Delhi could properly administer a distant province like Bengal or the Deccan or to check in time the centrifugal forces which were constantly at work in those rough days, the result of which was not slow in showing and within a few years after the accession of Muhammad Tughlak the Delhi empire began to crumble down by its own weight. The same thing was repeated during the reign of Aurangzeb when the Delhi empire again became too bulky and the same was true to all mediæval states whenever they had similarly outgrown in extent and territory.

Muhammad Tughlak, no doubt, made heroic attempts to patch up the fallen fabrics of the empire but "Delhi was distant" and while he quelled one rebellion in the Punjab another broke out at the same time in Bengal or the Deccan; in this manner, his attempts were met with only partial success, and before his death, he was convinced of the futility of his attempts to suppress the general spirit of revolt which then prevailed in his kingdom, as he himself said that it was a disease which admits of no cure. This revolting spirit soon spread from the north to the south, and the Amirs of the Deccan like those of Northern India shook off the yoke of

Delhi and established a new centre of Muslim civilization in the south. Thus was established the Bahmani Kingdom as the outcome of a revolutionary movement; this nature of its origin mainly determined the character of its future government.

It was essentially a military state and the military character of its administration was maintained from the beginning to the end. The high officials of the state were all enrolled in the army list, and were given the command of a prescribed number of horsemen according to their respective rank and position ; every one of them had to render military service to the state on which depended their rank and promotion. (A study of *Burhan-i-maasir* as well as *Ferishta* will reveal this fact).

At the head of the government was the king himself who was the pivot of the whole administrative system and the main-spring, upon which rested the entire political machinery. Like all other Muhammadan states it was a theocratic state with the king as the vicegerent on earth and thus he was the head of both church and state. The king was thus all-powerful in the state in matters whether spiritual or temporal. Although, in strict theory, he was responsible to the learned muslim theologians for his actions and doings and liable to explain to them his conduct, whenever necessary, yet in practice, he was responsible to nobody. And we find that no constitutional body as the parliament of our present day was devised as checks upon the absolute and irresponsible autocrat. No doubt there was a council in which was framed and discussed all important affairs of the state and which the king usually consulted before taking any important step in any direction but we must bear in mind that it was a nominated council and sat merely when the king summoned it and it had no right or power whatsoever to enforce its will upon the sovereign.

Next in importance to the king was the minister. His appointment and dismissal depended solely on the king; he was responsible to the king alone for his actions and so

long as the kings took an active part in the administration of the state his position was no better than a secretary to register his will and follow his dictation. It was only when the kings slept and passed their time in drinking and merry-making that the ministers stepped into their places and used to guide and control the affairs of the state.

Other important officers of the state were Sahib-i-Arz (one who reviews the army), Dabir (secretary), Dewans, Dawat-Dar (Keeper of Seals), Sayad-ul-Hujjab (Lord Chamberlain), Shahna-i-Phil (Keeper of Elephants), Kur Beg-i-Maisarah (Commander of the left wing), Kur Beg-i- Maimarah (Commander of the right wing), Naib Barbak and the Prefect of Police (*Burhan-i-maasir*, also Iswariprasad's *Mediæval India*).

### *The Court*

The court consisted of the nobles, the muslim theologians, scholars and the musicians. Like all other mediæval states the Bahmani sovereigns spent large sums of money on its splendour. The splendour of the court of Muhammad Shah I is thus described by the Ferishta—"He sat on a throne called the Tukht-i-Feroja, the frame of which was of ebony, covered with plates of pure gold, inlaid with precious stones of great value……on the canopy over his seat he caused a golden ball, inlaid with jewels, to be placed, on which was a bird of paradise composed of precious stones, on whose head was a ruby of inestimable price……He increased the train of his attendants and divided the nobility and officers into four orders, allotting to each specific duties and times for attendance at court. He formed a corps which he styled Barders, whose duties consisted in mustering their troops, and in conducting persons to the audience. He had also a band of Siléhdars, composed of two hundred youths, selected from among the sons of the nobility to carry the royal armour and weapon; and he formed a body-guard of four thousand men under the command of a nobleman of high rank

styled Meer Nobut. Fifty Siléhdars, and a thousand of the body-guard, attended at the palace daily" (Briggs' *Ferishta*, II, pp. 298-9; *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, printed original, I, pp. 535-6).

### *Provincial Administration*

Allauddin Hassan divided his kingdom into four provinces each of which was placed in charge of a governor who were later on styled as "Tarrufdar" (*Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, printed original, vol. I). The first province extended from Kulburga on the east to Debal on the west and Raichore and Mudkol on the south; the territory "comprehending Chaul on the sea-coast and lying between Junnar, Doulatabad, Beer and Pertum" formed the second province, Bidar, Indore, Kowlas and the districts in Telingana comprised the third province and Mahur, Rangir and a portion of Berar formed the fourth province. Among these governorships, that of Daulatabad was considered as the most important and the ambition of every great noble had been to seize this part. All these governors enjoyed almost unlimited power within their jurisdictions and each province was, what we may call a "miniature replica of the state." They were in sole charge of the forts within their jurisdictions and the appointment, promotion and dismissal of the commandant and garrison of these forts depended on them alone (*Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, printed original, vol. I, pp. 532-33).

The result was what might be expected, and the governors very often looked after their opportunity to assert themselves. The extreme vigilance of the kings like Alauddin Hassan and Muhammad Shah I, no doubt, kept in check their arrogant spirit but it is certain that during the reign of most of the other soverigns who cared little for the administration of the kingdom and passed the greater part of their time in the harem or in the wine-cups they enjoyed uncontrolled power in the provinces. Such state of things continued till the reign of Muhammad Shah III when his great

minister Mahmud Gawan devised some checks upon the power of the provincial governors. He made a fresh territorial distribution, dividing the kingdom into eight provinces, instead of four, as before, thus limiting the jurisdiction of each governor and with it their power also. Next, he still more curtailed their power by limiting their authority to one fort only within their jurisdiction and transferring the control of other forts to officers directly appointed by and responsible to the sovereign (Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. II, pp. 502-5 ; printed original, vol. I, pp. 691-92).

These salutary reforms of Mahmud Gawan checked the growing insolence of the Taraufdars for a time and the system worked well under his able guidance and vigilant care. But after his death when the administration grew slack, and the old quarrels of the Deccanies and the foreigners revived, the Tarafdars again raised their heads and finally brought about the dismemberment of the mighty kingdom.

### *The Judiciary*:

In the mediæval age nowhere do we find a regular gradation of courts from the highest to the lowest or any regular judicial procedure. Almost everywhere justice was dispensed with in a rough and ready fashion according to the discretion of the authorities and no written judgment was passed. Punishments were very severe and death-sentence was passed even for a petty offence. Bahmani kingdom too was no exception to this general rule and here also we find the absence of a regular judicial procedure and a regular gradation of courts. Neither was their the penal code in any way modified. Theft, robbery and treason were generally met with death-sentence. Parading through the streets of the cities was sometimes devised as a means of insult and punishment for some heinous crimes. Duelling as a means of settling disputes was practised in the Deccan a little later.

The king was the fountain-head of justice and he used to try cases and redress grievances. Muhammad Shah I

even made a tour annually, "through one quarter of his kingdom when he was employed in investigating the state of the resources, in redressing complaints," etc. (Brigg's *Ferishta* vol. II, p. 326 ; *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, vol I, printed original, p. 562). But such things were rarely done and we may rest assured that very few cases were actually tried by the kings. In the provinces the governors were certainly empowered with judicial functions but their multifarious duties afforded them little opportunity to devote their time in this direction and consequently most of the cases were, as elsewhere, decided by the village-moots or panchayets, so as regards justice the villagers derived little benefit from the government and they were mostly left to their own fate. Such state of things prevailed not only in the Bahmani kingdom but throughout the whole of India in the mediæval period. In *Burhan-i-maasir* as well as in *Tarikh-i-Ferishia* we get occasional references of Quaazis dispensing justice, but we do not know how they were appointed or what was their territorial limit. It seems that only the large towns or the provincial head-quarters had such Quaazis.

### *Fiscal System*

Land revenue formed the principal source of income of the Bahmani kings. No evidence is still forthcoming as to the exact share taken by the Bahmani sovereigns from the produce of the soil; but from the materials that are available, one point is clear, that no oppressive exaction was made by the state from the peasantry. On the contray, we find that the sovereigns like Allauddin Hassan, Muhammad Shah I, Mahmud Shah III, and the minister Gawan took special care of the peasantry and encouraged cultivation (see *Burhan-i-maasir* and *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*). By the revenue reforms of Gawan, the cultivators were allowed to pay the revenue either in cash or in kind and under his patronage and vigilant care, the cultivators enjoyed peace, prosperity and happiness which is testified by the accounts of the Russian traveller Athnasius

Nikitin who came to Bidar in 1470 A. D. He said, "the country was populous, the lands well-cultivated, the roads safe from robbers, and the capital of the kingdom a magnificent city, with parks and promenades" (*India in the 15th century*, Hackluyt Society's publication).

### *The army*

Now let us turn our attention to the military administration of the Bahmani kingdom. The army consisted of heterogenous elements, such as the Turks, Persians, Abyssinians, Rajputs, etc. (*Tarikh-i-Ferishta*). This heterogenous nature of the army was a source of weakness to the Bahmani kingdom and the animosity between the Deccanies and the Foreigners, moreover, told heavily on the efficiency of the army organization. As the Bahmani sovereigns were in constant warfare with their Hindu neighbours, large standing army was a necessity to them. From the account of Athnasius Nikitin we learn that the army of Muhammad Shah III numbered about 300,000 men, and including retainers and camp followers the number came up to 900,000 foot, 190,000 horse, and 575 elephants. The organization was as follows:—"All the higher officials of the kingdom were graded as Mansabdars, from Mansabdars of 2,000 to Mansabdars of 100 and we find that there were four divisions among these Mansabdars. The first division comprised the Mansabdars of 2,000 which were restricted to the Tarafdars of the four provinces. The second division comprised the Mansabdars of 1500, who received the lofty title of Amir-ul-Umra ; and the third division consisted of the Mansabdars of 1200. All the Mansabdars between 1000 and 100 were placed in the fourth division and they were designated as Mansabdaran Amiran (*Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, vol. I, printed original, p. 616). An Amir of a thousand had the privilege of carrying the Togha, the *alum*, (a banner) and drums as insignia of his order." (Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. II, pp. 399). The Bahmani kings encouraged the jagir system and we find that large tracts of land were given to the nobles for their

Maintenance. Innumerable examples of this may be found both in the *Burhan-i-maasir* and *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*. An officer of 500 men got one lac of huns a year (a hun is approximately equal to Rs. 3-8 as.), the officers of a thousand two lacs, etc. But afterwards as a result of Gawan's reforms the salary of the mansabdars was still more increased and an officer of 500 used to get one lac and twenty five thousand huns, and of a thousand two lacs and fifty thousand (Brigg's *Ferishta*, vol. II, pp. 503-4). His reforms were so thorough that if the revenues of a jagirdar "fell short of the estimate even by one hun, the balance was payable out of the royal treasury and at the same time if the officers kept one soldier less than the complement, a sum equal to his pay was deducted from the allowances." (Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. II, pp. 504-5). Thus unlike the Mughals, the Bahmanis enforced the full number of army.

Such was the administrative machinery of the Bahmani kingdom, and so far as its frame-work was concerned we cannot say that it was in any way worse than that of any other state in mediæval India, but whatever defect there was in it, it lay in the execution. Although we may blame the Bahmani sovereigns for introducing the jagir system as it enhanced the power of the aristrocracy and tended to local autonomy, yet if we carefully go through the pages of the histories of mediæval states, whether in Asia or Europe, we find that it was a common mode of paying the servants of the state in the East and the West alike. Under the strong rule of Alauddin Hassan, Muhammad Shah I and Ahmad Shah and under the able ministry of Mahmud Gawan, the administration of the kingdom was quite efficient; and peace, prosperity and happiness prevailed almost everywhere. But during the greater part of its existence, the efficiency of administration was greatly impaired by the lethargy and negligence of the sovereigns, who passed most of their time with the wine-cup in merry-making, and in quarrels and intrigues between the Deccani Muhammadans and the foreigners.

JOGINDRA NATH CHOWDHURY

## The Jaina References in the Buddhist Literature

The Buddhist literature contains many important and useful references to Jainism, some of which are as follows :

Let us examine first the *Dīgha Nikāya* (*Dialogues of Buddha*—S.B.B.). In its Kassapa Sīhanāda Sutta a set of ascetic practices is given and it is said about it that the practices given are "accounted in the opinion of some Samanas and Brāhmaṇas, as Samanaship and Brāhmaṇaship." Rhys Davids ascribes them to the Ājīvika recluses. A similar list of ascetic practices is also given in the *Majjhima Nikāya* as 36 and Prof. H. Jacobi thinks them to be the usages of the Acelaka recluses whom he recognises as the followers of Makkhali Gosāla and his two predecessors (*Jaina Sūtras*, II, xxxi). But now it is a known fact that the followers of Makkhali Gosāla were styled Ājīvikas and those of Pūraṇa Kassapa Acelakas (*ERE.*, vol. I). Most probably the word 'Acelaka' was used at that time in a general sense in the same way as the word 'Śramaṇa', because we find the Jaina recluses mentioned as 'Acelakas' in the Buddhist literature (e.g. Pāṭika Sutta, *D. N.*, Acela Pāṭikaputta was a Jaina). The Jaina recluses styled themselves with this epithet in the Jaina Śāstras, as we shall see below. Consequently the above-mentioned ascetic practices could not be ascribed to the Acelakas, for they were not the followers of Makkhali Gosāla or of any other teacher. We can however take them as those of the Jaina recluses, because the Jainas are known in their Śāstras by the epithet 'Acelaka' and because the above practices coincide with those given for them in their Śāstras. In this event these practices could hardly be assigned to the Ājīvikas. Obviously in doing so, there remains another difficulty as well, namely that the Ājīvikas of Buddha's time were not all strict vegetarians. (See *Jātaka*, I, p. 390 and *Jaina Sūtras*, II, p. 409) ; and the ascetic practices referred to above put forth

vegetarianism to be practised by its adherents. Hence it seems improbable that they can be ascribed to the Ājīvikas. Probably they have been intended for the Niggaṇṭha samanas (Jaina monks) of Buddha's time. A comparative treatment of them along with the rules of Jaina Muṇis as given in the Jaina Śāstras will convince the reader that they are really meant for the Jaina Muṇis.

Now the very first practice given in the above mentioned list of the Buddhist Sutta is: "He goes naked." Of course today there is a dissension in the Jaina church on this point. The Digambaras agree while the Śvetāmbaras raise their voice against it. But leaving the apparent dissension aside, we come straight to the respective Canons of both the sects. For the Digambaras it is no matter of disagreement. Their earliest authority can be cited in its support. Kundakundācārya of the first century A. D. describes it as an essential duty of the Jaina recluse (See *Pravacanasāra*, pt. III). Another reliable authority is that of the *Mūlācāra* of Ācārya Baṭṭakera. He, too, describes this practice as one out of the 28 root-characteristics or essential duties (Mūla Guṇas) of a Jaina Muṇi and describes it in the following way :—

"Vatthājiṇavakkeṇa ya ahavā pattāiṇā asaṃvaraṇaṃ,
Ṇibbhūsaṇaṃ ṇiggaṇṭhaṃ accelakkaṃ jagadi pūjjaṃ." 30.

"A bodily state, void of all garments of hemp and hair, of grass, bark, and leaves and clear of every ornament and covering of decency, i.e. a stark naked state and the heart free from every knot of anger, deceit, etc. is said to be the worshippable Acelaka-ship or nakedness." In the Śvetāmbara Canons, we find also the nakedness to be the feature of a Jaina recluse. In the eighth chapter of their *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, it is styled the 'highest state' of a recluse (*Jaina Sūtras*, I, p. 56).

A naked sādhu is called "Jinakalpī" in the '*Pravacanasāroddhāra Prakaraṇa-ratnākara*' (Bhimsingh Manekji's edition, p. 134). But this division of Jaina Muṇis into Jinakalpī

and Sthavira-kalpī seems not to have been expressed clearly in their older and authentic books, Aṅgas, etc. So it is open to doubt whether it was raised in a later and more self-conscious period. In their *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* there is given a course of practices for attaining the status of a Jaina Muṇi, somewhat similar to that of Digambara Śāstras. The author of the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* first describes the highest order of nakedness ; then passing on to various other rules, he comes again to the attire of a Jaina Muṇi. Here he describes a gradual mode of renunciation for a would-be Jaina Muṇi. Naturally it is not at all possible that a householder would adopt the naked state of a Jaina Muṇi all on a sudden. The summit could be reached by gradual steps only. Hence the Śvetāmbara author, too, first allows a novice, "aspiring to freedom from bonds," to keep on three clothes only (see *Jaina Sūtra*, pt. I, p. 69). Then he exhorts him gradually to keep on two clothes and then one or none (*Ibid.*, p. 71). Now it is quite clear here that the Śvetāmbara author tries to alter a gradual course to suit his conceptions ; otherwise he would have prescribed nakedness as the last compulsory rule. In their '*Uttarādhyayanasūtra*' a clear evidence of the kind is discernible, for we find in it its sixth and seventh chapters styled "khuḍḍagāniyaṇṭhijjaṃ" (kṣullaka-nirgraṇṭhīyam) and "Ailayaṃ" (Ailakaṃ) respectively, though the interpretation of these is not the same there as accepted by the Digambaras. Still it is enough to infer that the writer of this Śvetāmbara Sūtra was quite aware of the older form and meaning of these two words, which are found in the Digambara Śāstras in their original form and meaning as we shall see below. Hence it is safe to assume that the attire of the Jain Muṇis originally was a naked state of nature. The Buddhist [*Divyāvadāna*, p. 165 ; *Jātaka Mālā* (S.B.B.), vol. I, p. 145 ; *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* (PTS.), Visākhāvatthu, vol.I, pt.II, p. 384 ; *Dialogues of Buddha*, iii, 14 ; *Mahāvagga*, 8, 1 ; 5, 3 ; 1, 38, 16 ; *Cullavagga*, 8, 28, 3 ; *Saṃyutta Nikāya* 2, 3, 10, 7,

and *Dhammapada*, p. 3] and Brāhmaṇical (*Ṛgveda*, x, 136 ; *Varāhamihira-Saṃhitā*, 19-61, 45-58 ; *Mahābhārata* 3, 26-27, *Rāmāyaṇa*, Bālakāṇḍa, Bhūṣaṇa Ṭīkā, 14-22) evidences too support the view of the Digambara Jaina Śāstras inasmuch as the apparent attire of a Jaina Muṇi is being upheld by them as nakedness. The Digambara Śāstras describe the preparatory course of renunciation thus : A would-be Muṇi (Udāsīna Śrāvaka) in the preliminary stages of development keeps on at first three clothes ; and as he makes progress on the path he diminishes his wants and keeps only two and then one garment only, i.e. loin-cloth. The latter are called the 'śrāvakas of the highest stage' (Uttama Śrāvaka), and they are also known as Kṣullaka and Ailaka. In the Buddhist literature, we have the mention of these śrāvakas in their similar synonyms as the Digambaras say, i.e. "Eka-vastra-dhārin" and "white-clothed" ones (*Ind. Ant.*, 43). A later Buddhist commentator, Buddhaghoṣa, styles them "Muṇḍa Sāvakas" (Udāsīna śrāvaka), "Niggaṇṭhas" (Uttama śrāvaka) and "Better Niggaṇṭhas" (Naked Muṇi) (*Dial. of Buddha*, S.B.B., Intro. and Fausböll's *Dhammapada*, p. 398). I should here point out that the word "Niggaṇṭha" is not used always in the Buddhist literature in the sense of a Jaina Muṇi. At times we find it used even for a vowless Jaina householder (see my book "Buddha and Mahāvīra"). It seems that it was used at the time of Buddha in the same sense as the word "Jaina" is being used nowadays and the "Arhat" was used for the Jainas during mediæval times. Along with the Buddhist literature, the mention of the Jaina Muṇi in the Brāhmaṇical literature, too, is in the shape of 'vivasana,' 'dig-vāsa,' etc. (see "Vīra" vol. II) which also supports our view that the ancient attire of the Jaina Muṇis was nakedness, as is still adhered to by the Muṇis of the Digambara sect of the Jainas.

Thus we find that in both the sects of the Jaina, nakedness, which was the ancient attire of Jaina Muṇis, is accepted as an object of worship for the laity and as an essential mark

of the Samanaship, though, of course, the Śvetāmbara school has now altered it to fit its own conceptions; but in the earliest portion of their *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* it is highly spoken of in its old sense. In this way, we find that the first rule of the Buddhist book referred to coincides with that of the Jaina Muṇis.

In the similar way, the rest of the practices can be traced in the daily routine of a Jaina Muṇi :

| Buddhist | Jaina |
|---|---|
| 2. He is of loose habits (performing his bodily functions and eating in a standing posture, not crouching down as well-bred people do). | 2. This constitutes the 24th (non-bathing), 26th (non-brushing of teeth) and 27th (taking meal in a standing posture) Mūlaguṇas of a Jaina muṇi. See Mūlācāra 31-33. |
| 3. He licks his hands clean, etc. (after eating; and not washing them as well-bred people do). | 3. It is known that a Jaina Muṇi takes food in the hollows of his hands and takes the food thus placed without taking it into morsels and turning it from jaw to jaw (see also *Jaina Sūtra*, I, 57). The Buddhist author seems to point here to this practice. |
| 4. (When on his rounds for alms if politely requested to step aside etc.), he passes steadily on... | 4. It is described in full in the commentary on Eṣaṇā Samiti in Mūlācāra viz. 'Bhikṣāvelāyāṃ jñātvā praśānte dhūmamuśalādiśabde gocaraṃ praviśen muniḥ tatra gacchann atidrutam, na mandam, na vilambitaṃ gacchet. 121. |
| 5. He refuses to accept food brought (to him, before he has started on his daily round of alms). | 5. In Eṣaṇā Samiti the recluse is allowed to take only pure food void of 46 doṣas (defilements) and in procuring it he will not have concern of mind, speech and body. It must not be specially prepared for him. So he accepts not food brought to him (*M. Gāthā* 13). |

| | |
|---|---|
| 6. He refuses...food (if told it has been specially prepared for him). | 6. In it, too, as the Kārita and Anumodanā doṣas are apparent, it is Auddeśika food. |
| 7. He refuses to accept any invitation, etc. | 7. The same is the case here. |
| 8. He will not accept (food taken) from the mouth of the pot or pan, etc. | 8. It is Sthāpita or Nyasta doṣa |
| 9. (He will) not (accept) food within the threshold, etc. | 9-10. These are Prāduṣkāra doṣa. |
| 10. He will not (accept food) placed within the sticks, etc. | |
| 11. (He will) not (accept food) placed within the pestle, etc. | 11 It is the Unmiśra Aśana doṣa |
| 12. When two persons are eating together he will not accept.... .....if offered to him by only one of the two. | 12. It is Anīśvara Vyaktāvyakta Anīśārtha Doṣa. |
| 13. He will not accept food from a woman suckling baby etc. | 13-14. These are described among the 35 Dāyaka Aśana doṣas. |
| 14. He will not accept food from a woman talking with, etc. | |
| 15. He will not accept food collected...in drought. | 15. It is Abhighāta-Udgama-doṣa. |
| 16. He will not accept food where a dog is standing. | 16. It is Daśaka doṣa (see also Jaina-Sūtras). |
| 17. He will not accept food where flies are swarming by. | 17. Prāṇi-jantu-vadha doṣa. |
| 18. He will not accept fish, nor meat, nor strong drink, nor intoxicants, etc. | 18. It requires no corroboration : "Khīra-dahi-sappi-tela-guḍa-lavaṇāṇaṃ ca jam pariccayanam.<br>Titta-kaṭu-kasāyaṃ vilamadhurarasāṇaṃ ca jam cayanam 155.<br>Chattāri mahāviyaḍī ya honti navaṇīda-majja-maṃsa-madhū.<br>Kankhāpasaṃgadappāsaṃjamakārīyo edāo. 156. |

| | |
|---|---|
| 19. He is a "One-houser" etc. | 19. It is the Vrataparisaṅkhyātā-Practice. |
| 20. He takes food only once a day or once every two days, etc. | 20. It is the Sākāṅkṣaṇā-kṣana Vrata. |

Thus the very first reference in the Buddhist book to the Jainas is of great importance and it gives a more reliable and accurate evidence about the very vexed question of the Jaina Church *i.e.* the attire of ancient Jaina Muṇis. It makes it clear that it was "Digambara" or "Acelaka.".

The next reference noteworthy in the aforementioned Buddhist book is to the 'Cātuyāma Saṃvara' of Jaina Muṇis. It is described in the following way in the Sāmañ-ñaphala Sutta :

"A Nigantha, O king, is restrained with a fourfold self-restraint. He lives restrained as regards all water ; restrained as regards all evil ; all evil has he washed away ; and he lives suffused with the sense of evil held at bay. Such is the fourfold restraint. And since he is thus tied with this fourfold bond, therefore is he, the Nigantho (free from bonds), called Gatatto (whose heart has gone, that is to the summit, to the attainment of his aim), Yatatto (whose heart is kept down i. e. is under command."

Commenting on this the learned translator remarks that "the series of riddles in this difficult passage is probably intended to be an *ironical imitation of the Niganṭha's way of talking.*" Gogerly has caught the general sense fairly enough, but his version is very free, and wrong as to two of the words, and it gives no idea of the oracular form in which the original is couched. Burnouf's rendering is quite wide of the mark. The first of the 'Four Restraints' is a well-known rule of the Jainas, not to drink cold water on the ground that there are 'souls' in it (see the discussion in the *Milinda Paṅha*, II, 85-91). Professor Jacobi (*Jaina Sūtras*, II, xxiii) thinks "the 'Four Restraints' are intended to represent the four vows kept by the followers of Pārśva. But this surely cannot be so, for these vows were quite different."

So let us see, what did the Buddhist authors mean by this

'Fourfold Restraint'. We know that the advantages of the life of a Jaina Muṇi are discussed herein. Hence it has concern with the mode of their life. Knowing this we should explore, if any corresponding assertion is traceable in this connection in the Jaina śāstras. Fortunately we easily find such a passage in the *Ratnakaraṇḍaka* of Śrī Samantabhadra Svāmī of the 2nd or 3rd century A. D. He defines a Jaina recluse thus :

"Viṣayāśāvaśātīto nirārambho 'parigrahaḥ,
Jñānadhyānataporatnas tapasvī sa praśasyate" 10.

Herein, too, the fourfold characteristics of a Jaina recluse are given. He should be void of all passion and desires (viṣayeṣu sragvanitādiṣv āśā ākāṅkṣā tasyā vaśam adhīnatā, tadatīto viṣayākāṅkṣārahitaḥ), should keep himself aloof from all kinds of traffic ('nirārambhaḥ' parityaktakṛṣyādivyāpāraḥ), should wipe off all 'parigrahas' ('aparigraho bāhyābhyantara-parigraharahitaḥ) and remain absorbed in knowledge and meditation of Self. ('jñānadhyānataporatnaḥ' jñānadhyāna-tapāṃsy eva ratnāni yasya etadguṇaviśiṣṭo yaḥ sa tapasvī guruḥ 'praśasyate' ślāghyate). Comparing this with the fourfold restraint described in the Buddhist book, of course, we find no particular difference whatsoever. The Buddhist author at the outset says that 'he lives restrained as regards all water.' Now if you take its true sense, it means that a Jaina Muṇi keeps himself quite aloof from every kind of traffic. He could not himself take even the water for his use, which is a very essential thing for the upkeep of our daily life. This could be said in other words that a Jaina Muṇi is quite 'Nirārambhī.' Here perhaps, it might be objected that the Buddhist author has not described this in clear words and as such it is doubtful to take his meaning in the above way. But I would explain this reason of writing in a riddle form, i. e., the Buddhist author meant to imitate the Tīrthaṅkara's way of talking (Divya Dhvani) in an ironical fashion ; and hence he is scarcely quite clear. This points to the Jaina

belief that a Tīrthaṅkara's speech is understood by all, because one 'Māgadha Deva' interprets it in such a way that every creature present at the auspicious occasion easily grasps its meaning. Besides it that the restraint of water is really intended to point the 'Nirārambha' condition of a Jaina Muṇi is apparent from the fact that taking water for use is a work of a householder, who does not observe the Ahiṃsā vow in full. Svāmī Baṭṭakera confirms this view, while describing the 'Piṇḍasuddhi' or observances in connection with food. In the gāthā "Adhakammuddesiya ajhovajheya etc." the Ācārya first makes this clear that the Udagama doṣas are concerned with "Adhahakarma" i.e. activities of a layman in arranging for pulling oneself on as a true householder. Hence this 'adhahakarma' has connection with the layman only. The Muṇi will have nothing to do with his doings, because it is said that in exerting after the worldly business or in procuring water, food, etc. the six kinds of living organs are destroyed. And a Jaina Muṇi is under vow that he will never cause hurt to any living being by mind, speech and body. So the Adhahakarma i.e. acquiring and arranging food, water etc. rests entirely on an Asaṃyamī (vowless) host. The Saṃyamī (Muṇi) would have no concern with it. Consequently by referring to the restraint of water, the Buddhist author did mean nothing but the 'Nirārambha' condition of the Jaina Muṇi, as is denoted in the above Jaina śloka as a characteristic of a Jaina Muṇi.

Next to it, the Buddhist author says that 'He (Jaina Muṇi) lives restrained as regards all evil.' This restraint is quite in agreement with the first assertion of Śrī Samantabhadra, that the Jaina Muṇi is void of passions and desires, which are the sole causes of sin. Hence he lives restrained as regards all evil. Further on, the Buddhist author says that the Jaina Muṇi has washed away all evil. Being void of all sins, all evil he would naturally wash away. The third mark of distinction in the above Jaina śloka is of the same meaning ; i.e. 'Aparigraha.' Outer and inner,

both kinds of Parigraha, has he washed away. Outer 'Parigraha' is nothing but clothes, house, money, relations, etc. ; and the worldly cravings, infatuations, passions, etc. are the inner 'Parigrahas'. These both a Jaina Muṇi keeps away from him. Lastly the Buddhist author says that 'He lives suffused with the sense of evil held at bay.' Similar is the last assertion of the Jaina Ācārya with regard to the mode of life of a Jaina Muṇi. He says, the Jaina Muṇi remains absorbed in the knowledge and meditation of Self, which means, in other words, that he is self-suffused and no evil can touch him. In this way we find the explanation of the 'Catuyāma Saṃvara' of a Jaina Muṇi ; and the meaning of this difficult passage of the Buddhist book is quite clear from it. This surely does not refer to the four vows of Pārśva.

If there remains anything in this connection then it is but the words 'Gatatto,' 'Yatatto' and 'Thitatto.' Of course the identical synonyms for them have not come to my notice so far in the Jaina Śāstras, but the meaning of them could be traced in the Jaina Śāstras.[1]

The following assertions of the *Iṣṭopadeśa* of Śrī Pūjya Pāda also denote the same fact :—

Abhavac cittavikṣepa ekānte tattvasaṃsthitiḥ.
Abhysyed abhiyogena yogī tattvaṃ nijātmanaḥ 26.

"He in whose mind no disturbances occur and who is established in the knowledge of the self such an ascetic should engage himself diligently in the contemplation of his soul, in a lonely place."

Bruvann api hi na vrūte gacchann api na gacchati,
Sthirīkṛtātmatattvas tu paśyann api na paśyati. 41
Kim idaṃ kīdṛśaṃ kasya kasmāt kvety aviśeṣayan,
Svadeham api nāvaiti yogī yogaparāyaṇaḥ. 42. *Ibid.*

"He who has firmly established himself in the knowledge of the self such a one does not speak while speaking, does not move while moving and does not see while seeing. The ascetic immersed in the

1 See the *Pravancanāsāra* (5, 6, 42) of Śrī Kundākunda Ācārya of the 1st century A.D.

process of self-realisation has no awareness of even his body, being undisturbed by questions such as what is the soul ? What is its nature ? Who is its master ? From whom is it derived ? Where does it reside ? and the like.—(Discourse Divine).

From these it is clear that the meaning of the words used by the Buddhist author are traceable in the Jaina Śāstras. And it is most probable that the Jaina Muṇis were known by these special epithets at that time.

The next reference in the '*Dialogues*', to which I would draw the attention of the reader is the ancient view of a soul in the form of 'Eternalists.' The Buddhist author there expresses the ancient view of the soul. He says that there are sophists who, having recollection of the previous births and dwelling places, etc. declare the eternity of the soul. These he divides into three according to the degree of recollection of previous births. The fourth group of upholders of this very view about the eternity of the soul are said to have reached to this belief by argumentations. All these four kinds of sophists are described to hold that the soul is eternal and the world is giving birth to nothing new, is steadfast as a mountain peak, as a pillar firmly fixed ; and these living creatures though they transmigrate and pass away, fall from one state of existence and spring up in another, yet they are for ever and ever. Now though in connection with these beliefs the Buddhist author has not named the particular sect yet looking at the obvious similarities, I believe that they refer to the Samanas of Lord Pārśva's Tīrtha. In the Jaina Purāṇas we find this exact narration of knowing the past lives and upholding the eternity of the soul and the world. Really the Buddhist author condemns these theories but he has not been successful in his aim, because the above assertion clearly shows that though souls transmigrate yet they remain the same all round, *i.e.* it points to the Niścaya (Real) and Vyavahāra (Material) points of view of Jainism which the Buddhist author has failed to discriminate.

Fortunately it coincides with the Jaina narration further

on and the Jaina Śāstras describe the Jaina Muṇis of Pārśva's Tīrtha of different capacities.[1]

Amongst them Kevalajñānī, Śrutajñānī, Avadhijñānī and Vādī should be compared with those mentioned by the Buddhist author. These Muṇis really confirm their conceptions of the soul and the world in the same way as described in the above mentioned Buddhist passage. A similar list of the followers of Śrī Pārśva is, also, given in the Kalpasūtra.[2] Thus it seems to hold with much accuracy that the Samanas referred to here who upheld their philosophical speculations in the above way, were Jaina Muṇis of Śrī Pārśva's Tīrtha.

It is also noteworthy that these references of the authentic Buddhist book of old prove the credibility and authenticity of the Digambara Jaina Śāstras further on than hitherto accepted. From these we, also, see that the Jaina conceptions were the same even near Lord Mahāvīra's predecessor Śrī Pārśva.

KAMTA PRASAD JAIN

1 See *Uttara Purāṇa*, 149ff.
2 *Jaina Sūtras*, pt. I.

# Old Words and New Will

"I have no words....." So sigh parting lovers, so feels the mother welcoming the dear home-comer, so stammers the man rescued by brother-man, so is aware the seer of hearer of new beauty, new truth. Will throbs as feeling inarticulate.

But where, in calm persistence, man's will is registering and working the what and the how that he has pored over and come to know, there he will seek words, there he will find names. This may be a difficult task. He may find himself as a child in garments outgrown. He may have to clothe himself in garments of unwonted texture and shape. He may not find texture or shape available to clothe the new worthiness in his growth. He will make use of the best he can find. But he will clothe himself. He will find words.

And he will find words in proportion to his interest in the new knowledge ; he will find words commensurate with the value, the worth he assigns to the fresh aspects he has won of life. Where once men *will* strongly about anything not accounted for in their stock of words, they will find a name for it. Language, old and new, is strewn with such increments.

Again, where he has seen effects only and not causes, he will word the effects only. Where he has seen only effects and last, or proximate causes, he will not find names for the deeper lying causes. The day comes when he finds names for these also. And where the cause is that which transcends man's personal, man's racial experience, nor is bounded in his idea by that, he will find names for the cause which grow with his growth.

Thus to say :—the crescent moon when "lying on its back" means windy weather, is to word one effect by another effect. To say : the noble eight-fold path in Buddhism is the way to Nirvāṇa is to express, in terms of the working of the

worthy will, the underlying cause :—that man, as man, wills his welfare in the best way he knows. To name the all transcending Will as *paramâtman*, or *dharma*, or the *summum bonum*, or *ho theos*, or the "power not ourselves that makes for righteousness" is, it may have been, the best available name for the highest fetch in one stage of one people's growth.

The new, the not seen before, the seen before but not understood—all this we come to clothe in words more or less fitting, more or less happily chosen. And with the new wording our life takes on, by so much, a richer meaning—a yet richer meaning, if the new words are what is called pregnant,—words that not only name the newly found, but point to a yet further harvest of what will come to be wrought, come to be understood, with what we are even now in travail.

I have said that our zest in wording depends much on the worth we discern in that for which we seek new words. Is our welfare in any deep vital sense wrapped up in the new vision, the new synthesis ? If we deem it is not, we shall either remain wordless, or at best we shall remain content with old terms, guess-words of our ignorance.

Or again, our zest in wording depends much on the degree there is with us of faith and hope that we may and shall come to know, by our will efforts, things we are now not knowing as things understood, as things we call "natural laws." Where faith and hope are met by the fiat : "We cannot know. We may not know. We cannot prove,"—there we feel little zest in wording. We are then not persuaded that our welfare is deeply involved in our coming to know these things also as part of our life's perspective and our life's equipment. We say : "Let be !" and turn to other things.

Take electricity :—we have always been liable to be "struck by lightning," but hitherto we, as peoples, have left it at that. Now that we are finding more and more, that

we can enrich our life indefinitely by adapting to this and that purpose a natural force or mode of motion we call electricity (a word built since the Middle Ages), we turn to this adapting or to these new adaptations with zest. And we accordingly enrich our tongue, wording them, with a vocabulary of new terms, from telegraph to marconigram, not one of which is in any dictionary older than the last century.

But take the mode of motion in the man, the woman, who work by body and yet are obviously not body—the mode of motion of them when body dies and is left to ways of motion that are just of body only—the way of disintegration, of resolution into other compounds—here we have as yet not faith, not hope that we can by willed effort come to know, as natural law, the way, the mode of motion thenceforth, of the man, the woman.

And so we have no words ; no words for the next state or stage of life ; no word for ourselves in that next state ; no word for the how or where of it—for to say "above" belongs to the old, dead ideas. We talk of the "dead" when we do not mean that which is dead. We talk of "spirits" when all the while we mean re-embodied man. We talk of "soul" as something which has left "the man," and we do not mean that. India to some extent has been wiser. For Jain and Buddhist, *devatās* or *devas* are not what we in the west term "gods" so much as men and women in the next state when they have merited happiness. "The ascetic has lied about me," says an indignant soldier, visitor from "beyond the grave", to Gotama. "I am not in hell ; I am a *deva* in the Tāvatiṃsa (the next) world." And yet so little has been the serious attention devoted to this all-important matter for every one of us :—What is my life's next step, should the body die to-morrow ?—that most scriptures old and new slur over the whole question and launch us into misty vagueness. And so do they side-track the matter, that we are puzzled to follow up their one clear implication that man, wherever man be, works embodied, not disembodied.

To only two conclusions can we reasonably come :—the first is, that neither does the Indian any more, as yet, than the western mind *worth* the way that is about to be my way, your way. Let them once be persuaded that it belongs very urgently to our welfare in the deepest sense to be less ignorant than we all are herein, then shall we find words. We shall find words because we shall will to find what we need. The way of the man and the woman will have become as important in our perspective as the way of electricity. We shall "more-worth" the one as we do the other. Electricity brings the earth more to our ken. The science of the world-way will bring the next state more to our ken. We shall know better what to will, what to do, if only we can extend a little further the rays of our light.

The second is, that neither does the Indian mind, any more than the western mind realize and worth the driving power of concerted wills, when once the willed end is worthed. Concerted wills have done much, in my country, that the more inert bulk of willers who drifted with tradition did not like or will. We created a navy to save our independence ; we approved of plantations, yet we strove to end the slave-trade ; we distrusted education, yet we carried out free elementary education to every child ; we hated standing armies, yet in three years we created an immense army ; we prize our individualism, yet we have come to stand by the League of Nations. All the while the more inert bulk has sneered and drifted, but a sufficient number of concerted willers have willed for the rest and have done the work.

But zest in the new findings of science ignores that which is as yet the blind spot in the eye of science. Zest too, in the study of the past, in the study of men, not 'man', turns from that which lies right across the way of you, of me. And the malaria has infected the teachers of the old creeds. They have no new message to give us to place beside the new dogmas of science and history. They tend to pare down their wisdom of the world-way to systems of ethics.

And so we have no words.

When man developed the entrancing sport of naming, he found words for what life's great adventure brought him. We read of Adam naming interesting beasts as they passed before him, even as, long after, Gotama Sakyamuni was depicted as naming the interesting ways of the mind-world. Man was slower and clumsier in finding words for the hidden things, the beginnings, the changes, the not fully understood, the unseen not-self.

But in that this was enormously interesting, in that an inner prompting bade him seek refuge from all his many perils, many foes, in an unseen Warding, mightier than himself, he sought after and he wondered about It. He had no words. But some few among the rest had been able to hear, to see where, in the many, was neither hearing nor sight. Some few had either learnt to lend their will to be willed by unseen willers, or were born able so to lend it. To them the many left the wording, the calling of unseen aid. The many called those few their priests, seers, celebrants, "medicine-men", intermediaries, linking them with warders unseen but surely there.

In time the intermediaries having found words of appeal for warding, and having handed them on in fixed forms, with ritual of act enhancing them, the formulas outlived the worders. and the words came to be clothed in the sanctity of things long lasting. But while the words lasted unchanging, men lived and willed, worked and grew, and worded themselves, growing, and changing in what they worthed. So at length the unchanging ritual-words were old and hoary; they were no more the expression of the living will, but in many ways were dying and dead. And the living chanters of them, wording by them the unseen world, became, for all their words, wordless. Men had got round or beyond this or that in the old vision, the old way of picturing. Will had been at work, and was grasping afresh and wording otherwise. Man still looked to the unseen, but

in it he saw a welfare and a warding as a way towards which he had been growing,—past which he would one day grow.

And among these newer willers was here and there a man who had been willed to work in uttering things the many needed for their welfare to know. Such a man felt that the chanters had become mere imitators, repeaters of old things, men of rite and routine, teachers of the husks of truth, unable to guide or to express the newer will which was seeking new wording, or new depth in old wording. He uttered that newer will.

We have such a crisis in the life of India. Along the great watershed of the Ganges, in the sixth century before Christ, the day arose when the hereditary order or intermediaries, the brahmans, had fallen away from being the "live wires" they once had been. Still was it reckoned by all serious souls, brahman and not brahman, that to be seeker and worder of warding in the unseen was work of highest worth. But on the one hand, the brahman still claimed, in virtue of his birth, a class-monopoly in that seeking and that wording, whether in conduct he lived or did not live worthily; on the other hand, it was dawning on an ever greater number, that neither caste and privilege, nor sacrifice and invocation were the way leading to warding by the unseen. A new standard of values was rising. The life of the man it was that made him, or made him not, very brahman, very "worthy (*arahan*)."

And with this new conception of the way to the unseen welfare, the wording of man's outlook thereon had changed. The old words ceased to have weight. To know the Vedas no longer impressed. Sacrifice seemed much ado about something grown unworthy, rites that worried men and tortured beasts, or offered the unfit to the unheeding :—

"*For Brahmā feedeth not on food like that* !"

And fire-tending and bathing had become empty symbols.

But *sīla* :—here lay the very rock-bed of the true Brahma-life ; *karman* :—here was the arena of man's victory or

defeat ; *mārga* :—here was no mere day's journey from village to town. It was The Way. *Saṃsāra* too was way—a word unknown to the older mantras—it was the way all men must go ; but *Mārga* was the way man might will, or not will to go, the way of the worlds to worlds' end. No longer was life a mere rolling on 'twixt births and dying ; it was a way, a means, of advance past what man was to what he might become, marked by milestones of will-explosions in resolve and aspiration. It was a great tramping, forth-faring host of living creatures, of many worlds, no matter what their birth, breed, station, all bent on progress in the way to way's end. New words too grew up for way's end. *Svarga*, of happiness too earthlike and transient, gave way to Nirvāṇa. And *mokṣa*, wording a new feeling for liberty, unknown when, for the imigrant Aryan, only solidarity had been possible, now pointed, with Nirvāna, to an utter "Well," but conceived negatively as riddance.

The quickened will thus working and wording prevailed till the Cults of the Way were forces to be reckoned with by rulers. Asoka, frightful fratricide at the start, was a notable opportunist. He marked the strength of the Jain and Buddhist ethical reforms, and fathered both them and brahmans very cleverly, establishing in peace and worthiness his blood-based sovereignty.

Here there is much I would say on what befell this new will and new wording in the warders of it as the years rolled on. But let it wait for another occasion. To-day it is with the very great significance in our having words or not having words that I end my say.

To-day we are earnestly looking back over our shoulder at these old-world, and other much older-world, leavings. This has its uses.[1]

It is still my conviction that inquiries into the bases—

1 *Buddhism* (Home University Library), p. 248.

also into the growth—of ancient thought may become a living force in present evolution, even as the explorer, carving a way to the forward view, turns to adjust his bearings by some rearward range of hills with kindred trend. But we tend to overlook how heavy a tax it is levying on our will's creative energy in seeking and in wording the new. Because of its absorbing just those wills who are not attracted by research in the world of matter, but who are attracted by research into the world of the man himself, his becoming and his accomplishment, the residue of the will-force left to look at this latter world, and not to look backward, but straight ahead is sadly to seek.

And because there is so little will-work being done not in what man has been, but in what he has come to be and may become, we have no new or quickened wording on it.

In those old-world leavings we shall win no new treasures in the fields where we dig. At the worst we only come upon wardrobes of cast-off clothes, cupboards of bones. At the best we come upon some old world-wording that once was new. If now it has a *new* message for us, it is because we have been slothful and dull not to have worked it out for ourselves. We learn old things we did not know, and that is well so far as it goes. But by this very poring over the old, our life and outlook are moulded by the limitations of the old. We live and think in worlds where the king,—conqueror and little god,—is enthroned, victims at his feet, offerings before him; in worlds with an under-world of prisoner and slave, courtier and woman; in worlds where welfare is of the body, of the dominant class, where growth, success, progress is of material things, rather than of character, or of world-amity; in worlds where the earth is mainly unknown, and the outlook over it very ignorant; in worlds where worth is rated by power, by ruthlessness, by victory in war, not by increase in the welfare of man as man. And all of it, save some immortal world-words, which we either have taken or should

have taken up into our lives, all is dead of a dead world. The living men, the living women, whose were these husks so long ago, what of them? We are deaf, as we dig, to that old world-word which is ever quick :—why seek ye the living among the dead—the live men among the dead things? Of them we say, our eyes full of dead things, they are just "the dead." Of some thousands mostly nameless, we say "Their name liveth for ever more :—"so we echo the word of a mainly dead writing, wording it in a wrong way because we pore over dead old things.

Those of us who would work and word in the field of man as user of body, are as heirs for whom a kingdom waits, while we are searching to make good our claim to it. Let us enter upon our kingdom. The men of old entered upon theirs. They spent little time recreating their past when they did so. *They worded their present*, when they were really world-worders. They worded truly, for their present, that was *they*. But their present, that is not *we*. We are changed. Not only is our world new; the man, the woman, the soul that we are, is not persistently old. Hence is the wording we have to give no more the same. We can be the vivid, the true worders only of that which we now are. We can word what the past did not know, did not want to know, was not ready to know. Even the child of Asia, even the Indian words new ideals, words his old world-words as he never used to. Into the bottles of ancient wisdom we pour our newer wording of our newer out-growths, the while we say, Let the ancient teaching be our guide! Nay, all the guidance it can give us, as old wisdom, is that we can by it measure how far we have come. Herein it may give us a wording we should else be slower to come by. For it will show us the names we need by the measure of words which the old world had not, and was not aware that it needed.

Our chief creative energy to-day is willing work in the world of matter. There, working to come to know, we find new wording;—names of elemental substances not known

before; names of elemental forces not dreamt of before: ion, proton, electron; name of new ways and means for man's rushing to meet and word his fellows, conquering space. Here has creative energy been at work, finding and naming like a very Adam. But we do not see corresponding energy at work in that world of willers who seek to know the new, the unknown, the possibly knowable about not matter but man, about not men's bodies but about the man who uses body, about not the mind or will, but about man as wielding it. Such wills are either burying themselves in the past, seeking the living among the dead, or they are following too servilely, as to mind, the way of research in matter, seeking man in his animal body, his "herd" mind, or explaining him by repressed and stunted growth of will.

Nor are such wills preparing our sons to be more fruitful workers in the field of the man and of the world-way of him and of what he may become. Eight to twelve precious years are too often filled with what we frankly call "dead" languages. This means firstly, that their young outlook is narrowed (we deem complacently it is widened) by the leavings and the wordings of an outgrown past; secondly, that they go forth among their fellow-men, not equipped as once were learned men, with a common tongue containing such written wisdom as we once had, but crippled and dumb for want of means of access. When they travel or write, they are still self-islanded, self-frontiered by the one and only live tongue they can speak. They are as deaf-mutes. The intermediary they most need is not the priest, but the interpreter. They cannot feel the pulse that throbs in the native tongue of other fellow men; they cannot discuss together the common good, the outlook before man; they cannot be forwarding the international training in world-peace, world-citizenship, world-warding.

So do we hinder ourselves where we might be moving on together. So do we make a little world where we might be in a greater one. So do we harness our vision to a corner,

in time and space, of our world, when ours, as man, is the way of all the worlds, of earth and the rest. We are brave workers, but we tie our arms. We are swift to find words where will works, but we gag ourselves. When we have so worked that we can name, our will as from a spring-board bounds forward to find the new name, the "more-word". Now are we wordy, not worded. Our books are largely cud-chewers. We do not know what more-wording may not come, once our wills are set to find new pasture, new worlds to conquer, once we fare forth to word the new and not only and not so very much the old.

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS

## Rasātala or the Under-World
### VI

(5) The Kuśa-dvīpa was bounded by the Sea of *Surā* (wine) which is the Sanskritised form of the Sea of *Sarain* as the Caspian Sea was called.[1] The Sea of *Sarain* is perhaps a corruption of the Sea of *Shirwan* by which name the Caspian Sea was known; or perhaps the Sea of Surā is a corruption of the Sea of the *Surabhis* or Khorasmii, as they lived in Kharism close to the Caspian Sea[2]: at least the northern portion of the Caspian Sea was called the Sea of Surā. It should be stated here that both Surabhi and Surā (wine) rose from the Kṣīra Sāgara when it was churned by the gods and Asuras.[3] It is not likely that "Sarain could have been derived from Sari, the capital of Mezanderan, a very important trading town, which, however, is about nine hours' journey from the southern shore of the Caspian Sea.

1 Sir Henry Yule's *Marco-polo*, vol. ii, p. 494.
2 *Mbh.* Udyoga, ch. 109. 3 *Viṣṇu P.*, pt. I, ch. 9.

In the Varāha Purāṇa[1] Kuśa-dvīpa is said to be bounded by the Sea of Kṣīra, which, as stated before, is the Sanskritised form of Shirwan, that is the Caspian Sea. Kuśa-dvīpa derived its name perhaps from the Kushans, a very powerful tribe of the Huns, who were also called the Great Yue-chis or Haitalite Huns,[2] and who lived between the Jaxartes and the Chu rivers.[3] Their country was called Kushan[4] which was included in this *dvīpa* or division. A section of this tribe called the Little Yue-chi occupied Kabul, and the famous Kaniṣka of Gandhāra belonged to this dynasty. It is however more probable that Kuśa-dvīpa derived its name from the mountain called *Caucasus* which is another form or corruption of Koh Kus or the "Mountain of Kosh" or Kuśeśaya mountain of the Purāṇas, included in this dvīpa (division). The word *Kuśa-dvīpa* still subsists in the name of *Circassia* (Cir-kosh-ia) and *Caucasia* (Koh-kas-ia). Kuśa-dvīpa appears to have been the original home of the Daityas and Dānavas. (6) Krauñca-dvīpa was bounded by the *Dadhi* Sāgara (Sea of Curd)[5] or the Sea of Aral which was most probably called the Sea of *Dahae* from a famous Scythic tribe which lived on the Upper Jaxartes and evidently on the shore of this lake.[6] The whole of Central Asia was called after their name "the country of the Dahis"[7] The Sea of Aral was also called Daria-i-Kharism, and it is stated that the Caspian Sea has communication with the Sea of Aral or in other words, the Sea of the Inspissated Milk communicates with the Sea of Curdled Milk.[8] The word '*Aral*' in Turkish

1 *Varāha P.*, ch. 87.

2 Dr. Modi's *Early History of the Huns* in *JBBRAS.*, vol. xxiv, p. 568.

3 Vincent Smith's *Early History of India*, ch. x, p. 218.

4 *JBBRAS.*, vol. xxiv, p. 569.

5 *Varāha P.*, ch. 88. 6 *JBBRAS.*, vol. xxiv, p. 548.

7 *Farvardin Yast* (xiii) in *SBE.*, vol. xxiii ; *JBBRAS.*, vol. xxiv, p. 548.

8 Vambery's *History of Bokhara*, p. 9 note.

means *'between'*, that is, between the Jaxartes and the Oxus.[1] It is therefore a descriptive name. The Krauñca-dvīpa most probably derived its name from Kuchar, Koutcha, or Kucha which in ancient time constituted one of the four territories of Eastern Turkestan and an important Buddhist settlement. It was situated on the great caravan route between the East and the West.[2] (7) Plakṣa-dvīpa is also called Śveta-dvīpa[3] and Gomeda-dvīpa.[4] This Dvīpa is called Śveta, because the river Śvetā, now called the Swat, flowed through it and it comprised the Swat valley known in ancient times by the name of Udyāna. The inhabitants of this Dvīpa were worshippers of Viṣṇu,[5] of course, in his form of Buddha. It is called Plakṣa-dvīpa as it derived that name from a Plakṣa tree, now called Pilu tree (*Salvadora Persïca*). It is recorded by Sung-yun that Buddha, when he visited Udyāna, planted there a Dantakāṣṭha (tooth-stick) which grew into a lofty tree. The Tartars called it Polu tree.[6] It is called Gomeda-dvīpa from the Gomeda mountain, as the Altai Range was called evidently from the Gobi desert, of which it formed the northern boundary, and a chain of this mountain traverses the desert on its western side. It was bounded on one side by the *Lavaṇa Sāgara* or the Indian Ocean[7] and on another side by *Svādu-jala* (sweet-water),[8] which is perhaps the Sanskritised form of *Tcha-dun*, a river of Mongolia, *Tchi* being a Turkish word for river. It also appears from the Bhāgavata[9] that the river Aṅgirā is evidently the river Angora which falls into the Lake Baikal in Siberia. Śveta-

1 Burnes' *Travels into Bokhara*, vol. iii, p. 163.

2 *Bower Manuscript*, Introduction, p. 1; Vincent Smith's *Early History of India*, p. 187.

3 *Mbh.*, Bhīṣma, ch. 12. 4 *Varāha P.*, ch. 89.

5 *Kūrma P.*, ch. 49.

6 *Travels of Sung-Yun* in Beal's *Records of the Western Countries*, Introduction, p. xcvi.

7 *Brahmāṇḍa P.*, ch. 52. 8 *Kūrma P.*, ch. 50.

9 *Bhāgavata*, V, ch. 20.

dvīpa contained a *varṣa* (country) called *Uttara* (north) Kuru-dvīpa, the corruption of which is Kor-ia, which was situated on the south of the Northern Ocean.[1] There can be no doubt therefore that Plakṣa-dvīpa comprised all the countries to the north of India, including China, Mongolia and a part of Siberia. Some of the Purāṇas confound Plakṣa with Puṣkara-dvīpa. The seven principal *divisions* called "*Mahā dvīpa*" in the Agni Purāṇa comprised sub-"dvīpas" or "Dias," which meant *countries*, as may be traced in Assur-ia (Ashur-dia), Armen-ia (Ramaṇa-[2] or Rāmaṇīyaka-dvīpa), Sarma-tia (Sarma or Saramā-tia or dia, the country of Saramā), Kor-ia (Kuru-dvīpa), Med-ia (Madra or Mad-dia), etc., where "ia" stands for "dia." *Asia* is a corruption of *aspa* (or *aswa*) and *dvīpa* (*dia* or *ia*) ; it means the region of horses, i.e. the home of the Turanian race, *Tur* implying the fleetness of a horse. Similarly Arab-ia means the country of the Arabs, Mongolia the country of the Mongols. In short *dvīpa* or its corruption "*dia*" or "*ia*" when applied to a "Mahā-dvīpa" meant a "*division*," when applied to a sub-"dvīpa" in any Mahā-dvīpa, it meant a "*country*."

Names of Sāgaras are Turanian words absorbed in the Sanskrit language.

It will be remarked that of the seven divisions into which Asia was divided, the Jambu-dvīpa (India) was inhabited by the Indo-Aryans. The Śāka-dvīpa, of which the northern boundaries were the Caspian Sea and the river Ikṣu or the Oxus, was inhabited by the Iranians and the Turanians, that is those Turanians who had come under the influence of Indian civilisation, and hence the Oxus was considered to be the "old boundary line between Iran and Turan."[3] Śālmala-dvīpa was inhabited by people who belonged to the Semitic race, while the

1 *Brahmāṇḍa P.*, ch. 44, vs. 37, 38 ; ch. 48, v. 12.

2 *Bhāgavata*, V, ch. 20, where *Ramaṇaka* is mentioned as a *varṣa* (country) in Śālmala-dvīpa.

3 Vambery's *History of Bokhara*, p. 11.

remaining four divisions were exclusively occupied by nations who belonged to the Turanian stock. Excepting the name of *Lavaṇa*-(salt) Sāgara which surrounded Jambu-dvīpa, with the state of which the ancient Hindus were fully acquainted, the names of the other six Sāgaras were borrowed from the Turanian language and absorbed in Sanskrit and transformed into words which closely resembled the original words in sound, but were quite different in meaning, as *Shirwan* was changed into *Kṣīra* (milk), *Sarain* into *Surā* (wine), *Erythras* into *Ghṛta* (clarified butter), *Dahi* into *Dadhi* (curd), *Oxus* (Akṣu) into *Ikṣu* (sugarcane juice), and *Tcha-dun* into *Svādu-jala* (sweet-water). The ancient Hindus cannot possibly have believed in such absurdities as oceans of Milk, Curd, Sugar, Cane-juice, etc. We must give them credit for possessing at least some amount of common sense. The names were records of old nomenclature; they underwent changes by lapse of time, and then ridiculous interpretations were put on them during the dark age of the Kali-yuga, showing symptoms that generally precede the downfall of a nation.

Identity of Rasātala and Scythia.

It will be observed that notwithstanding the changes that have been brought about by the lapse of time in the names of places, rivers and mountains and the names of the inhabitants, both in Sanskrit and Turanian, of Rasātala and Scythia, the resemblance in the corresponding names in the two languages is yet remarkably striking, and the names are so considerable that their resemblance cannot be considered as merely accidental. It would not be reasonable to deny the identity of the two countries, especially when the inference based upon the resemblance of names is corroborated by various other facts and circumstances. Further researches will clear up many obscurities which still hang round several facts connected with the subject, and it is hoped that some of the hymns at least of the Ṛg-Veda, which have been interpreted by Sāyaṇa and other commenta-

tors as figurative descriptions of Nature when her elements are at tumultuous war or in serene repose, may be found possible to explain by the light of traditions of other nations who lived near the original home of the Aryans, as expressions of feelings of the human heart based upon facts and incidents of real life. According to Professor Weber the major portion of the Ṛg-Veda Saṃhitā was composed before the Aryan migration to India.[1]

Turanian or Hunnic settlements in India.

It appears from the ancient Hindu works that even at a very remote period the Scythic or Hunnic tribes extended their inroads to India in search of food and fodder. They were a nomadic race, and did not till or cultivate land, but lived only upon milk and fishes, and the roots of some trees and the half-cooked flesh of animals. At the time of the Rāmāyaṇa, as stated before, we find the Massagetæ or "the Great Gate", as symbolised in Jaṭāyu, occupying Daṇḍakāraṇya, and nearly the whole of the Deccan was interspersed with Rākṣasa settlements. They were Turanians, and it is very probable that the language introduced by these races formed the basis of the "Tamulic or the language of the Deccan", one of the four classes into which Professor Max Müller has divided the Southern Turanian family of language.[2] The Rāmāyaṇa also mentions a colony of Yakṣas in the Himalaya and a tribe of Daityas under Madhu in Madhuvana or Mathura,[3] and it likewise speaks of Gandharva-deśa, the Gadara of the Behistun inscription, where a tribe of Scythic Gandarians must have established itself long before the Rāmāyaṇa was composed.[4] The Haihaya tribe lived on the bank of the Narmadā at the time of the Rāmāyaṇa.[5] They evi-

1 Weber's *History of Indian Literature*, p. 63.
2 *Science of Language*, vol. I, p. 334.
3 *Rāmāyaṇa*, Uttara, chs. 31, 74.
4 *Ibid.*, Uttara, ch. 113.
5 *Ibid.*, Uttara, ch. 36.

dently belonged to the Hunnic tribe of Hui-he,[1] the ancestors of the Usbeks who had originally settled near Khotan, Kashgar, and other places. At the time of the Mahābhārata almost the whole of the Punjab, called Āraṭṭa, was occupied by Scythic tribes, especially by the Bāhīkas.[2] The Bāhīkas lived in the country of Madra, and therefore they were also called Madras. In short, according to Pāṇini and Patañjali Bāhīka was another name for the Panjab.[3] It appears that Bāhīka is an abbreviation of Bālhika of the Rāmāyaṇa,[4] and Bālhīka is the Sanskritised form of Balkh, the capital of Bactriana.[5] It is therefore clear that Scythic tribes from Bactriana occupied the Punjab at a very remote period. It appears also that the Suparṇa or Garuḍa tribe lived in Guzerat. From the story of Ulapī it appears that a Hunnic tribe lived at Gaṅgādvāra or Hardwar.[6] There were Rakṣasa settlements also between Vāraṇāvata and Ekacakrā,[7] that is between Mirat and Itawah; and also in Magadha.[8] These tribes belonged to the Turanian race. There can be no doubt that at the time of the Mahābhārata many Hunnic tribes inhabited various parts of India,[9] and the snake-sacrifice of Janmejaya means only a compaign of extermination of the Nāgas or Huns to avenge the treacherous assasination of his father Parīkṣit by a Nāga of the Tochari tribe. It is stated that the first tribe whom Alexander met after leaving the great confluence at Uchh in Sindh, when he invadded India in the 4th century B. C., was the Sogdoi, whom Saint-Martin considers to be the same as Sogdians,[10] that is the people of

1 For the name, see Prof. Max Müller's *Science of Language.*
2 *Mbh.*, Karṇa P., chs. 44. 45.
3 *Indian Antiquary*, vol. I. p. 22.
4 *Rāmāyaṇa*, Ayodhyā K., ch. 58.
5 *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, ch. 18 ; *JASB.*, 1838, p. 630.
6 *Mbh.*, Ādi, ch. 214. 7 *Ibid.*, Ādi, chs. 155, 160.
8 *Ibid.*, Sabhā, ch. 16.
9 See Fausböll's *Indian Mythology*, p. 29.
10 McCrindle's *Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 354.

Sogdiana or Sogdoi, the Chagzai of the Mahomedan historians, who must have invaded Sindh and settled there at least at the time of the Mahābhārata,[1] which classifies the people of Sindh with the Madrakas and other Scythic tribes in their manners and customs, and states that they are Mlecchas and irreligious and that they are natives of a sinful country. Sogdiana is the modern kingdom of Bokhara, and hence the Sogdoi of Sindh at the time of Alexander must have belonged to the Hunnic tribe called Ephthalites, and also Haetalites, who lived in the valey of the oxus and whose principal centres were Balkh, Bokhara and othor places.[2] It is therefore evident that from the name of Ephthalite or Elāpatra of the Mahābhārata and Buddhist works, their principal town was called Pātāla (modern Hyderabad)[3] and the whole of the Indus Delta was called Patalene.[4] The Purāṇas[5] also refer to the Scythian inhabitants on the banks of the Yamuna, Gumti and Nerbuda. The names of Negapatam, Uragapura (modern Uraiyur or Trichinopoly), etc. indicate Hunnic settlements in Southern India. To an unbiassed mind many of the arguments advanced by Dr. Spooner in favour of the identity of the Mauryas with the Mauravas appear to be reasonable.[6] Maurava was the name of the people of Merv (Marv), and

1 *Mbh.*, Karṇa P., ch. 41.

2 Dr. Modi's *Early History of the Huns* in *JBBRAS.*, vol. xxiv, pp. 562, 567.

3 McCrindle's *Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 356. Pātāla has also been identified with Tatta and Minnagar (Burnes' *Travels into Bokhara*, vol. I, p. 27; Schoff's *Periplus*), Min or Ming being the name of a tribe of Usbeks. Min is also an Indian name for the Scythians (McCrindle's *Commerce and Navigation of the Erythrean Sea*, p. 109 note).

4 Strabo, bk. XV, ch. I, 33; McCrindle's *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 183 note.

5 *Mārkaṇḍeya P.*, chs. 22, 23.

6 Dr. Spooner's *Zoroastrian Period of Indian History* in *JRAS.*, 1915, pp. 406 f.

Merv is the ancient Margine or Marginia of Ptolemy,[1] and there is a close resemblance in sound between Maurya and Margine, and Merv according to some authorities was the "cradle of the Aryan race".[2] Magadha, according to Dr. Spooner, was peopled by the Magas or Magians of Scythia.[3] According to the Purāṇas, Magas, the Magi of Strabo, were the priest class, and the Magadhas formed the warrior class of Śākadvīpa.[4] The statement of Dr. Spooner appears to be confirmed by the Mahābhārata[5] which says that Pṛthu assigned Magadha to the Māgadhas for their residence, though the word "Māgadhas" there mean "panegyrists" which is the later application of the term, but it should be observed that the priest of Pṛthu was Śukrācārya, who was the Daitya-guru. Jarāsandha, king of Magadha, was an Asura.[6] The story of uniting the two parts of his body by a Rākṣasī named Jarā at his birth is a figurative way of saying that he was born of a Hindu father by a Hunnic mother. Dr. Spooner has rightly come to the conclusion that the Śākya tribe of Kapilavastu, to which Buddha belonged, originally came from Śākadvīpa, as the custom of marrying one's own sister, as the ancestors of the Śākyas used to do, was prevalent among the Scythian and other non-Aryan races, especially those who followed the Zoroastrian religion.[7] Vistaspa, king of Bactria, married his sister Hutos, and the ancient Egyptians married their own sisters.[8] The word *Śākya* has evidently been derived from the word *Śaka*. Manu[9] mentions some tribes as *Vrātya Kṣatriyas* for the ruling class called

1 Bretschneider's *Mediæval India*, vol. ii, p. 103.
2 *JRAS.*, 1915, p. 407. 3 *Ibid.*, pp. 422-27.
4 *Kūrma P.*, Pūrva, ch. 49 ; *Strabo*, bk. xv, ch. iii, 13-15.
5 *Mbh.*, Śānti, ch. 59.
6 *Ibid.*, ch. 340. 7 *JRAS.*, 1915, pp. 438-40.
8 Maspero's *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 50, 51.
9 *Manusaṃhitā*, x, 20, 22 :—

*Jhallo mallaś ca rājanyād vrātyān nicchivir eva ca,*
*naṭaś ca karaṇaś caiva khaso drāviḍa eva ca.*

"Rājanya" who were without the *Saṃskāra* or sacrament of the sacerdotal thread, which signifies that they were foreign non-aryan "warriors" admitted into Hindu community, that is, they were invested with the sacred thread after the expiry of the prescribed period of initiation, and he mentions among them Jhalla, Malla, Naṭa, Karaṇa, Khasa, Draviḍa and others. The Jhallas were the Jhala clan of the Rajputs who from their original settlement in Sindh migrated into Kathiawar (Surāṣṭra). They gave their name to the division called Jhalawar. The Mallas were evidently the Mallas of Kuśīnagara where Buddha died, and the Naṭas were the Nāṭa (or Nāya) clan of the Kṣatriyas of Kuṇḍagāma, a suburb of of Vaiśālī, from which Mahāvīra, the founder of Jaina religion, hailed.[1] According to Dr. Satis Chandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa the Karaṇas were a Scythic tribe of Central Asia and were probably the inhabitants of Khaurana of Ptolemy.[2] The word *Karaṇa* and *Kuṣāṇa*, Kwei-shwang of the Chinese travellers, are according to Beal, only different forms of the same word. The Yue-chi king Kaniṣka was a Kuṣāṇa, and his inscribed coins bear the legend of "Kanyski Korano". The Yue-chis were a tribe of the Turks.[3] The Karaṇas form a well-known Hindu caste and live in various parts of India; they have now become thoroughly Hinduised. The Karaṇas therefore were originally inhabitants of "Skythia" and were Śakas. According to Professor Monier Williams, the Khasas or Khasias are the representatives of "wild Tartar tribes" who marry their brothers' widows; they were perhaps the Cossei of Strabo. The Draviḍas or Dravidian races came from Central Asia, and their language shows that they

1 Dr. Hoernle's *Uvasagadasao*, p. 4.

2 *JASB.*, 1902, pp. 162, 163—S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa's *Vrātya and Saṅkara Theories of Caste.*

3 Beal's *Records of Western Countries*, vol. I, p. 56 note 37.

were Turanians.[1] Prof. Monier Williams calls the Draviḍas "out-caste Kṣatriyas" by which he means "Vrātya Kṣatriyas"[2] The peculiar custom by which property of the Dravidian races, as the Nairs, etc., of Malabar, Travancore, Cochin and other parts of Southern India, devolves upon the sisters' sons, if it be not the survival of their ancestral custom of marrying sisters at a remote period, indicates that the type of polyandry that prevails among the Nairs and others, is somewhat similar to that which prevailed among the early Semites.[3] Ragozin also thinks that the Dravidians were Nāgas, not because they were Huns, but because the Serpent (Nāga) was their symbol of the Earth.[4] The story of Paraśurāma shows that the real Kṣatriyas of India were nearly extinct at the time of the Rāmāyaṇa by their constant wars with the foreign invaders and that the conquerers were afterwards admitted into the Hindu community as Vrātya (or spurious) Kṣatriyas in the place of those whose countries they occupied. During the Vedic period the Vrātyas were considered as nomads[5] which indicates that they were Scythians ; other non-Aryan immigrants also settled in India. The Vrātyas were not Mulattos, as the word has been interpreted.[6] On account of these Hunnic settlements we have got counterparts of some cities and countries of Central Asia in India, e.g. for Bokhara we have Puṣkara in Rajputana, for Balkh Bālhīka or Bāhīka, for Media Madra. The long residence of the Scythic tribes in India brought them into close contact with the Aryans. Hence we find intermarriages

1 Prof. Monier Williams' *Indian Wisdom*, p. 312 note, Intro. p. xxx, note 2 ; *Śukranīti*, iv, 5, 98 ; Mr. E. J. Rapson's *Ancient India*, p. 29.

2 *Indian Wisdom*, p. 236, note 2.

3 *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. viii, p. 467.

4 Ragozin's *Vedic India*, p. 308.

5 *Vedic Index*, vol. I, p. 342.

6 *JASB.*, 1874, p. 254.

taking place between these two different races at the time of the Mahābhārata. Yayāti married Śarmiṣṭhā, daughter of the Daitya Vṛṣaparvan, and Devayānī, daughter of Śukrācārya who was the priest of the Daityas and grandson of Hiraṇyakaśipu by his daughter Kāvyā.[1] Pāṇḍu married Mādrī, sister of Śalya, king of Madra, who belonged to the Scythic tribe of Bālhīka or Balkh. Bhīma married a Rākṣasī, and by her he had a son named Ghaṭotkaca[2]; and Arjuna married Ulapī, daughter of a Nāga[3]. Kaṃsa, king of Mathurā of the Bhoja dynasty, married Jarāsandha's daughters,[4] and Kṛṣṇa's grandson Aniruddha married Ūṣā, daughter of Asura Bāṇa[5]. That such marriages have taken place between the princes and princesses of India with those of the Huns is a matter of history. A Śātavāhana prince named Gautamīputra Śātakarṇī, who was a Hindu, was married to a daughter of Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman, who was Śaka ; Yaśaḥkarṇa, king of Cedī, was married to a Huna princess Ahalladevī[6]. Such marriages and intercourse with Hunnic tribes must have influenced Hindu civilisation and produced very great changes in the manners and customs of the ancient Hindus. Many of the customs were modified, and many new customs and practices, borrowed from the Turanian races, came into existence. It is very probable that Rākṣasa and Gāndharva forms of marriage were adopted by the ancient Hindus, as the terms indicate, from the Scythic races ; and the description of a Gretna Green marriage of the Turks, where the bridegroom was unable to pay the

Inter-marriages.

1 *Vāyu Purāṇa*, ch. 65.
2 *Mbh.*, Ādi, ch. 155.
3 *Ibid.*, Ādi, ch. 214.
4 *Harivaṃśa*, chs. 84, 90.
5 *Ibid.*, chs. 187, 188.
6 See Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's *Foreign Elements in Hindu Population* in *Ind. Ant.*, January, 1911, pp. 15, 21.

dower fixed by the parents of the bride, closely tallies with that of the Rākṣasa form of marriage.[1] Among the Tartars of Mongolia, though the match is arranged by the parents of the bride, and her "price" is settled by them, yet they make a show of fight and offer resistance to the bridegroom when he comes to their house to take away the girl betrothed to him to perform the ceremony at his own house[2]. The Gāndharva form of marriage is performed simply by exchange of garlands without any nuptial rite. It was a sort of Morganatic marriage, but the son was entitled to inherit the father's rank and property.

Centuries passed away from the time when the Aryans first migrated to India to the time of the composition of the Purāṇas. By that time the real significations of the terms *Nāgas* and *Rasātala* were quite forgotton. *Nāgas* became merely serpents and not Huns ; and as serpents live in holes and consequently below the earth, Rāsatala where the Huns lived, that is the valley of the Jaxartes, came necessarily to mean the region below the earth or the *Under-world* ; and as a logical sequence, when one desires to go to Rasātala, one must go to it through a hole as a serpent does. It was for this reason that the Rāmāyaṇa relates that Rāvaṇa in his expedition to Rasātala entered it through a hole near Mount Meru, and that Sāgara's sons entered it through a hole made by them at the mouth of the Ganges. Any hole anywhere on the surface of the earth was good for the purpose of entering Rasātala. The prince Kuvalayāśva entered Pātāla in pursuit of a daitya through a hole.[3] There was a tradition that these Nāgas lived near the banks of rivers ; of course, the rivers

Association of Nāgas with the serpents.

1 Burnes' *Travels into Bokhara*, vol. iii, pp. 37, 48 ; *Bhāgavata*, x, ch. 54.

2 M. Huc's *Travels in Tartary, Tibet and China*, vol. I, pp. 184, 185.

3 *Mārkaṇḍeya P.*, ch. 21.

were the Oxus and the Jaxartes ;—this evidently led to the idea that Rasātala could also be entered through the beds of rivers. It is therefore that we find Akrūra entering the Nāga country or Rasātala through the Yamunā, Kuvalayāśva through the Gomatī and Cyavana through the Narmadā.[1] According to the Buddhist writers also the Nāgas lived not only below the earth, but also in lakes and rivers.[2] The association of the Huns or Nāgas, as they were called, with serpents, resulted not only in changing the meaning of Rasātala from the valley of the Jaxartes to the Under-world, where access was only possible from the surface of the earth through holes and crevices, but also in the division of the region into seven spheres, one above the other, so that the inhabitants thereof consisting of birds, beasts, reptiles and demons, who were inimical to one another, could live in peace and safety. By a further stretch of imagination, it was conceived that the rays of the Sun never penetrated into Rasātala which was below the earth, but that the whole region was illuminated by the brilliant flashes of light emitted by the gems which adorned the heads of the serpents.[3]

Ritter's view of Pātāla.

The real meaning of Rasātala, the situation of the region, and the character of its people were forgotten in time. The seven *Lokas* or the worlds above the earth were subsequently invented, analogous to the seven spheres of Rasātala called "Sapta Pātāla" which were below the earth. This circumstance alone has served a good deal to put off investigation from the right track, leaving an impression behind that everything the ancient Hindus asserted which was not concerned with India was fictitious, especially when anything was limited to the mystic number "seven," which

1 *Devī-Bhāgavata*, iv, ch. 7.

2 *Yamunā* and *Ghaṭaka Jātakas* in Cowell's *Jātakas*, vol. I, p. 270 ; vol. iii, p. 174 ; vol. vi, pp. 44, 80.

3 *Bhāgavata*, V, ch. 34.

came to be regarded as the hall-mark of pure imagination. It was, however, Ritter only who thought that Pātāla was a country in the west and not a figment of the imagination, though he did not assign to it any definite place. He says, "Pātāla is the designation bestowed by the Brāhmaṇas on all provinces in the west towards sunset, in antithesis to Prasiaka (the eastern realm) in the Ganges-land : for Pātāla is the mythological name in Sanskrit of the Under-world, and consequently of the land of the west."[1] With regard to the inhabitants of Pātāla as Dānavas, Daityas and Rākṣasas, Mr. Pargiter says that the older Paurāṇic accounts treat them as men, whereas the later Brahminical accounts as demons.[2]

We have endeavoured to reclaim a lost and forgotten country, buried in the debris of time in the shape of traditions, legends, fables and superstitions. Some of the best European scholars, who consider that some of the narratives in the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas, which embody many of the earlier traditions, as for instance, those regarding the seven Dvīpas, the seven Sāgaras, Rasātala, called also the "seven Pātālas," etc., are "wild ideas and absurd figments." But they are not to blame. The old Purāṇas mentioned by Manu and others,[3] which contained the accounts of the traditions, no longer exist. The Purāṇas, which are now extant and which have been adopted by Brāhmaṇas as their religious authority, are later compilations ; they were composed and redacted when the traditions about the earliest occurrences had become distorted by lapse of time. This led their

1 Quoted in McCrindle's *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 183 note.

2 Mr. Pargiter's *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 13, 290.

3 *Manu-Saṃhitā*, iii, 5, 232 ; *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, vii, 1, 4 ; Professor Monier Williams' *Indian Wisdom*, pp. 492, 493.

authors to interpret them in their own way and embellish them according to their own imaginary notions. Mr. Pargiter rightly observes with regard to ancient Indian historical tradition : "It is not to be put aside as wholly unworthy of attention, nor is it to be summarily explained by *prima facie* comments," especially as our knowledge of the most ancient times in India rests mainly on tradition.[1] We must avoid scepticism regarding the historical basis upon which the tradition is based, and at the same time we should avoid euhemerism, as it may lead to error. Independent evidence, if any, certainly does much to strengthen and confirm our conclusions. Besides traditions, which in many other cases have now-a-days been treated with greater respect by science itself, and which on many occasions serve as a clue and guide to real facts which lie at their basis,—the facts and circumstances adduced as evidence, together with a comparison of the physical features of the country and the condition of the people of Rasātala as described in ancient Hindu works with those of Turkestan or Tartary (both these names being synonymous with each other),[2] as recorded in the Avesta and in the works of travellers, go a great way to establish the identity of Rasātala with Central Asia. There is a strong resemblance in the names of towns, rivers, lakes, and mountains of Rasātala with those of Turkestan, and these resemblances could not have been the result of accidental coincidence, as for instance, we recognise Bhogavatī in Bākhdhi, Aśma in Aksu, Bali-ālaya in Balkh, Maṇimayī in Maymeni, Bibhāvarī in Bāveru or Babylon, Rāmaṇīyaka in Armenia, Alamba in Albany, Ikṣu in Oxus, Rasā in Araxes, Vāruṇa in Vehrkāna, Meru in Meros. There is a "golden river" in Rasātala (the Hāṭakī) and a "golden river" also in Central Asia (the Zarafshan). The names of the seven

1 Mr. Pargiter's *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 13, 14.

2 Burnes' *Travels into Bokhara*, vol. II, pp. 214, 221 ; cf. pp. 287, 295, 297 ; vol. III, pp. 125, 210 ; *JBBRAS.*, vol. XXIV, p. 545.

"spheres" or provinces of Rasātala correspond with the names of the Huns, or rather of the various sections of the Huns, who dwelt in Scythia. All these and other circumstances mentioned before could not have been the result of mere chance. Of course, traditions, facts and circumstances taken singly are not strong enough for the purpose, each of them being a link in the long chain of circumstantial evidence, but the cumulative effect of all of them considered together makes out a strong case in favour of that identity. Yet there remains much that should be cleared up, as time has distorted and transformed the names of places and people out of recognition, and dimmed the memory of ancient events as recorded in the traditions which have become susceptible of different interpretations from different points of view. Stripped of its grotesque verbiage, the story of Rasātala, as given in the Purāṇas, is founded upon traditional chronicles which again are based on a substratum of facts. Future researches will no doubt throw much light upon many things that remain obscure and explain many facts which have become blended and associated with the remote past, especially those which are connected with the original abode of the Aryans, which, notwithstanding the attempts of eminent scholars to elucidate them, are yet involved in considerable obscurity, as their conclusions on this point do not agree; but there can be no doubt that the places and peoples mentioned in ancient Hindu works, when correctly identified, will help a good deal in arriving at a right conclusion. According to the traditions of the Turks, the earliest peopled portions of the earth were Balkh and Surukhs near Khorasan,[1] and according to the Avesta the first country created was Airyana Vaejo[2] on the river Dāitya. Merv, according to some authority, was the "cradle of the Aryan race."[3] The Mahā-

1 Burnes' *Travels into Bokhara*, vol. ii, p. 206; vol. iii, p. 44; see also Marshman's *Brief Survey of History*, p. 10.

2 *SBE.*, vol. iv, pp. 4, 5.

3 *JRAS.*, 1915, p. 407.

bhārata[1] also appears to place the first inhabited portion of the earth in Pātāla or Central Asia, as it says that the egg, from which the great fire is to issue for the destruction of the world, yet remains there unhatched, implying that the other egg which produced the creatures had been hatched there before. It has been conjectured[2] by some scientists that "Mongolia of to-day and the adjacent territory had in ages past been the centre of disposal of animal life to other parts of the sacrifice of the earth." According to tradition[3] the original home of the Semites and other races was in Armenia. Much light therefore will be thrown on this point and other doubtful questions when the Hindu works will be clearly understood by future researches.

NUNDO LAL DEV

1 *Mbh.*, Udyoga, ch. 98.

2 See Mr. R. C. Andrews' account of the Third Asiatic Expedition of the American Museum of Natural History in Asia (New York), 1923-24.

3 Chambers' *Encyclopædia*, vol. xxi, p. 643, s. v. *Semites*.

# Patañjali

*as he reveals himself in the Mahābhāṣya*

## IV

### *Scientific theories in the Mahābhāṣya*

It is often said that early India made little progress in scientific speculations and that no contribution worth mentioning was ever made by Indians to the knowledge of the scientific world. The peculiarity of both mind and habit specially fitted the Indian teachers for making wonderful progress in the domain of religion and philosophy to the utter disregard of the world around them. But it is not wholly correct to say that they were totally indifferent to matters secular. The Indian teachers, though their mind was fully occupied by higher thoughts relating to metaphysics and supreme end of life, and though more in touch with the internal than with the external world, were not altogether unmindful of the workings of nature. The sacred soil of India, which still abounds with hermitages and holy shrines, has its characteristic peculiarities ; the children of the soil were pre-eminently religious in habits and naturally anxious to solve the subtle problems of life. While the western world boasts of her material progress and activities in different spheres of life, the east—the sacred land of seers and sages—takes pride in her religious zeal and spiritual advancement, the like of which is not to be found in the history of human thought. The *sat-vāda* of the Vedas (i. e. the world coming out of something that was really existent), the atomic theory of the Vaiśeṣikas, the genesis of the material world from the primordial substance (Prakṛti), and the so-called wave-theory of the Naiyāyikas may be put forward as unmistakable evidence that the all-absorbing attention of the Indian teachers had also been directed towards the mysteries of the external world.

Patañjali has referred to certain scientific principles

or laws of nature that are more or less based on such facts as are experienced in our daily life. These references are calculated to show the true scientific insight and minute observation on the part of the author.

(1) Patañjali has cited instances from both animate and inanimate world to show how affinity with regard to origin tends to bring things together : [1] (i) So far as sentient beings are concerned, cows, for instance, while grazing in the field at day time, can easily recognise their own calves and lie down with them ; (ii) "a clod of earth,[2] when thrown upwards by the force of hands does neither move circuitously nor proceed only upwards, but as a result of natural affinity comes to the earth of which it is a modification ;" (iii) "smoke (or clouds) that takes its origin from the atmospheric water does not move circuitously or pass downwards in the windless sky, but modification of water as it is, it comes to water on account of affinity" ; (iv) "flames that are modified forms of light (i. e. the Sun) or luminous bodies burn highly in the windless sky and do not move circuitously nor descend downwards, but ultimately go to the luminous bodies owing to natural affinity". Kaiyaṭa[3] here observes that there is a vast mass of water accumulated in the distant atmosphere and all kinds of water are but modifications of it. He goes further to say that smoke is generated from the watery particles of fuel when they come in contact with fire. As regards the *flames of light*, he holds that they (flames) are modifications of the Sun's rays and consequently they lose their identity finally in the Sun (the ultimate and perennial source of light). The existence of water in the atmosphere is explained by Nāgeśa[4]

1 Vol. I, p. 123.

2 Vol. I, p. 123—लोष्ट: क्षिप्तो बाहुवेगं गत्वा नैव तिर्यग् गच्छति नोर्ध्वं मारोहति पृथिवीविकार: पृथिवीमेवागच्छत्यान्तर्यत: ॥

3 अन्तरिक्षे सूक्ष्म: समुद्रोऽस्तीति तद्विकार: सर्वो आप इति काष्ठादिस्थानामपामग्निसंयोगाद् धूमो विकार: ।

4 अतएव निदाघे निशि निरावरणे शयानानां शैत्योपलब्ध: ।

with reference to a fact of common experience, viz., "in a summer-night one feels cold while sleeping in open air".

Now, these three instances, which are all intended to prove the invariable tendency of a thing to be associated with its original and cognate elements, are based upon the laws of nature ("Like draws the like").

The ultimate end of science and philosophy is the same; both have attempted to bring out the truth underlying the phenomenal and essential aspects of nature. They complement each other in a striking manner. Thus, what formed the subject of our philosophical discourses in the foregoing pages are now also considered from the scientific point of view.

(2) Patañjali maintains the whole to be composed of parts, i. e. the whole is nothing but an aggregate of parts or a harmonious combination of parts.[1] To the Naiyāyikas, on the other hand, the whole ( अवयवी ) is an entity distinct from the parts ( द्रव्यान्तरभूतोऽवयवी ).

(3) Patañjali has expressed his view that "everything possesses consciousness." According to the strict interpretation of this view, there is nothing like inert object, that is to say, things absolutely devoid of consciousness. This is exactly consistent with the highest teaching of the Vedānta, namely, "the whole world is a positive manifestation of Brahman" (सर्व्वं खल्विदं ब्रह्म). The well-known researches of Sir J. C. Bose in the field of plant—life have thrown some light upon the truth of the above statement.

(4) Patañjali states that "A magnetic stone attracts iron" ( "अयस्कान्तमयः संक्रामति"—vol. II, p. 16).

(5) Patañjali describes how thirsty deer are often deceived in the sunshine by the sight of false currents of water.[2] It is usually found in summer that the rays of the Sun coming in contact with the heat of the earth look like the current of water.

1 अवयवात्मकः समुदायः। अभ्यन्तरो हि समुदाये अवयवः। तद् यथा हस्तः प्रचलन् सहावयवैः प्रचलति।—vol. III, p. 3.

2 मृगास्थिता अपां धाराः पश्यन्ति न च ताः सन्ति।—vol. II, p. 196.

(6) Patañjali is scientifically accurate in his conception of sound. Consistently with the Naiyāyikas, Patañjali takes sound as a quality of ether (i. e. generated by the ethereal vibrations) and comprehensible by auditory organs[1] ( श्रोत्रोपलब्धिः and आकाशदेशः शब्दः ). Our auditory organs form a part of the sky, or, in other words, the part of the sky comprised by the orifice of the ear is called "auditory organ" ( "कर्णशष्कुल्यवच्छिन्नं नभ एव श्रोत्रम्" ). There is, therefore, some generic relation between the sky and the organs of hearing.

(7) Patañjali[2] has more than once referred to the movement of the Sun. The Sun has its motion, though it is not perceptible by our naked eyes. There might be some bigger luminous bodies around which the Sun would be moving, just in the same way as the earth moves round it.

(8) Patañjali has shown some amount of physiological knowledge in his discrimination of grammatical genders. He first gives the popular conception of sex,[3] according to which beings having long hairs and mummary glands are called females ; those with hair on their face and breast are known as males ; and beings devoid of these features are regarded as neuter. Again, growth and productivity,[4] he holds, represent respectively the two essential characteristics of females and males, i.e., that which bears or forms the substratum of embryo is called *Strī*, and the agent of production is called *Pumān*. Kaiyaṭa has made an important observation with regard to neuter gender. He explains[5] "नपुंसक" by स्थिति or

1 Vol. I, p. 18.

2 "यथादित्यस्य गतिः सती नोपलभ्यते"—vol. II, p. 197 and "आदित्यगतिवन्नोपलभ्यते"—vol. II, p. 124.

3 स्तनकेश्यवती स्त्री स्याल्लोमशः पुरुषः स्मृतः। उभयोरन्तरं यश्च तदभावे नपुंसकम्॥—vol. II, p. 196.

4 संस्थानप्रसवौ लिङ्गमाख्येयौ—अधिकरणसाधना लोके स्त्री, कर्तृसाधनश्च पुमान्—vol. II, p. 198.

5 आविर्भावतिरोभावान्तरालावस्था स्थितिरुच्यते सा च नपुंसकत्वेन व्यवस्थाप्यते—Kaiyaṭa on the Bhāṣya.

retention of force which stands midway between growth and decay. We do not know, if we are allowed to use the scientific expression "Conservation of energy" as an exact synonym of "स्थिति", but it is almost incontestable that neutrality or a state of equilibrium on the part of *Prakṛti* or primordial matter represents the preservation of dormant force.

(9) Patañjali rightly observes that "a thing cannot exist at the same time in two different places." Devadatta, for instance, cannot simultaneously remain at Srughna and Mathurā (न चैकमनेकाधिकरणञ्च युगपत्। न चैको देवदत्तो युगपत् खघ्ने भवति मथुरायां च vol. I, p. 244).

(10) Patañjali observes that an amount of iron and cotton, though their body and circumference are equal, appears to have much difference in weight when placed on a measuring instrument. What makes this difference is explained by the author as '*dravya*' or substance. This is what is commonly known as the scientific distinction between mass and body (इह समाने वर्त्मणि परिणाहे चान्यत्तुलायां भवति लौहस्यान्यत् कार्पासानां यत्कृतो विशेषस्तद्द्रव्यम्। vol. II, p. 366).

(11) Patañjali has given some instances which have direct bearing upon the Zoological and Botanical sciences: (i) "scorpions grow from cowdung" ("गोमयादश्चिको जायते" vol. I, p. 329); (ii) a *godhā* (lizard) does not become a snake by the simple act of crawling or gliding[1] (i.e. though they may be crawling, they belong practically to two different species); (iii) "*dūrvā*-grass grows from the hairs of cows and sheep.[2] He also observes more minutely that the *durvā*-grass grows in a lying posture and the stalk of lotus in a standing posture ("शयाना वर्धते दूर्वा" and "आसीनं वर्धते विसम्" vol. II, p. 128)

### *His knowledge about medical science*

On the strength of a popular tradition we have already tried to show that Patañjali had to his credit a treatise on the *Āyurveda*. Puṇyarāja expressly states that through the

1 नहि गोधा सर्पन्ती सर्पणादहिर्भवति—vol. I, p. 82.

2 गोलोमाविलोमभ्यो दूर्वा जायन्त —vol. I, p. 330.

verse of the *Vākyapadīya* (1, 148), Bhartṛhari eulogised the author of the Mahābhāṣya as one who purified the body, speech and intellect of men by means of different Śāstras. There is another verse[1] current among the scholars which also corroborates the above by making Patañjali at once the author of the Yoga-Sūtra, the Mahābh āṣya and the Vārtrika on the Āyurveda. The *Pātañjala-carita* also fully endorses the view stated above. The more convincing and reliable evidence is one that comes from Cakrapāṇi,[1] the well-known commentator on the *Caraka*. He also recognises Patañjali as an author of the Āyurveda, and not only alludes to the fact of his removing the impurities of mind, body and speech, but salutes him as the "king of serpents'. The author of the *Bhāvaprakāśa* has given a detailed account how *Ananta* once came upon the earth in the form of a *spy* ( चर ) and, being much moved at the sight of the ailments and diseases of people, composed the renowned work *Caraka* with a view to remove the illness of humanity. He got the popular designation *Caraka* from the fact of his first appearance as a spy. The author of the Bhāvaprakāśa has thus distinctly identified Ananta (Patañjali) with Caraka. Now, we see that it is not only the tradition that makes Patañjali a recognised authority on the Āyurveda, but Cakrapāṇi and the author of the Bhāvaprakāśa have also particularly supported the same view.

The author of the Bhoja-Vṛtti also holds the same view, as is clear from his opening verses ( जयन्ति वाचः फणिभर्तुः and वाक्चेतोवपुषां मलः फणभृतां भर्त्रे व येनोद्धृतः ).

Beside this consideration, there are a good many instances in the Mahābhāṣya that go to prove unmistakably Patañjali's wide knowledge of the Āyurveda. A study of the passages given below will be of considerable interest in so far as they show his minute knowledge of the medical science : (1) "curd in

1 योगेन चित्तस्य पदेन वाचां मलं शरीरस्य च वैद्यकेन। योऽपाकरोत्तं प्रवरं मुनीनां पतञ्जलिं प्राञ्जलिरानतोऽस्मि ॥—

2 मनोवाक्कायदोषाणां हन्त्रे ऽहिपतये नमः ॥—

contact with lead (or a kind of fruit called *phuṭi* in Bengali) causes fever positively' ( दधिवसुष प्रत्यचो ज्वरः vol, III, p. 30) ; (2) "the use of drain-water is attended with the disease of the feet" ("नड्वलोदक पादरोगः vol. III, p. 30) ; (3) "the use of clarified butter leads to longevity" (आयुर्घृतम्).[1] He speaks of *Vāta, Pitta* and *Kapha* and mentions also *Vātika, Ślaiṣmika* denoting their irritated condition.[2] He also gives such names of diseases as *Atisāra*[3] (strong diarrhœa), *Sānnipātika*[4] (Typhoid fever) and *Utkandaka,*[5] and states particularly that honey and *ghee* destroy respectively cough and bile. The Mahābhāṣya[6] contains a passage where a man is asking another "what is the condition of Devadatta's illness ? "It is increasing", he replies ; "it is subsiding", says the other. This also shows that Patañjali had the particular knowledge of a physician.

### *Society—language spoken, environments, customs, material progress, etc.*

We now come to see the picture of social life as depicted in the Mahābhāṣya. The study of the Mahābhāṣya places before us a good many materials wherefrom we can construct a short history of Patañjali's time with particular reference to society and its various aspects. The social life was then not so complicated and undignified as at present ; environments and popular usage were rather favourable to the happy growth of social life. People used to live under the protection of kings ; caste-distinctions were more strictly observed and the Brahmins occupied a much more respectable position and used to exercise great influence over social matters.

Society mainly consisted of four castes, namely, Brahmin, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, and Śūdra. The Mahābhāṣya distinctly

1 Mahābhāṣya, vol. III, p. 30. 2 Mahābhāṣya, vol. II, p. 351.
3 „ vol. II, p. 351. 4 „ vol. II, p. 358
5 „ vol. III, p. 465. 6 „ vol. I, p. 258.

mentions "चातुर्वर्ण्य"[1] and points out particularly that the division of castes is more or less based on a consideration of qualities.[2] Noble birth, practice of *tapasyā* and the knowledge of the Vedas are enumerated as characteristic qualifications of a brahmin. Besides these there were other minor castes such as weavers, *Ambaṣṭhas*, town-builders, artisans, *Caṇḍālas*, *Niṣādas*, *Varuḍas* and so on.[3] Under the rule Pāṇ. 5-2-21. Patañjali has spoken of a class of people, generally known as *Vrāta*, who had no fixed profession of their own but used to earn their livelihood by physical labour. They were something like day-labourers of our day. Mention is made of the four *Āśramas* (vol. II, p. 370). It is not unlikely that the custom of observing the Āśramas continued even at the time of Patañjali.

### *Sanskrit as a spoken tongue*

There is evidence to show that Sanskrit continued to be a spoken tongue even at the time of Patañjali. The question whether Sanskrit had ever been a spoken language has been fully discussed in my "Linguistic Speculations of the Hindus"[4] and here we propose to deal with the problem on the basis of evidence available in the Mahābhāṣya itself. Just in the very beginning of his commentary Patañjali has spoken of two different forms of language, namely, *Vaidika* or *Chandas* and *Laukika* or *Bhāṣā*, the former undoubtedly refers to the ancient literary language of the Vedas, and the latter to the current or spoken language of his time. From the time of Yāska to that of Patañjali the word *Bhāṣā* has been used with particular reference to Sanskrit—which shows that Sanskrit was certainly a spoken tongue with them. Patañjali has also quoted the Vedic injunction "न म्लेच्छितवै नाप

1 Mahābhāṣya, vol. II, p. 370.

2 सर्वएते शब्दा गुणसमुदायेषु वर्त्तन्ते ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रियो वैश्यः शूद्र इति— vol. I, p. 411.

3 Vol. II, p. 435.

4 Linguistic Speculations of the Hindus, pp. 116-121.

भाषितवै" which prevents a Brahmin from using corrupt words as are prevalent among the barbarous people. Though this injunction was rigidly followed only at the time of sacrificial performance, and people were possibly allowed to use incorrect words (some forms of Prākṛta) on other occasions, Patañjali has made the use of correct Sanskrit words almost obligatory on the ground of religious merits.[1] Though both correct forms as Gauḥ, etc. and their corruptions such as Gāvī, Goṇā, Gotā, etc. are equally capable of expressing the intended sense, Patañjali strongly maintains that it is the use of correct words alone that is in fact attended with religious felicity. Again, while commenting on the Vārttika 'यथा लौकिकवैदिकेषु," Patañjali states that the people of the Deccan were naturally fond of using words ending in "*taddhita*" terminations ; they, for instance, used "laukike" and "vaidike" instead of 'loke' and 'vede.' What is stated here does not refer to a dead language. Moreover, in setting forth the motives that are served by the study of grammar, Patañjali has mentioned a verse which emphatically declares that he who does not know how to use *pluta*[2] (protracted vowel) with regard to a name in responding to a salutation, should be treated as a female. Is it possible that such a practice was observed when Sanskrit had been a dead language ? Patañjali has given us another valuable information, namely, that it was not necessarily the educated Brahmins who had Sanskrit as their spoken tongue, but there was also a class of people known as Śiṣṭa,[3] who, with or without an adequate knowledge of grammar, were naturally competent to speak correct Sanskrit. They were, so to speak, the authority on the use of words, and their applications, though some-

1 समानायामर्थावगतौ शब्देन चापशब्देन च धर्मनियमः क्रियते—Vol. I, p. 8.

2 अविद्वांसः प्रत्यभिवादे नाम्नो ये न प्लुतिं विदुः।
तान् तेषु तु विद्वोष्य स्त्रीप्रियवायमर्हं वदेत् ॥—Vol. I, p. 3.

3 एतस्मिन्नार्यावर्तनिवासे ये ब्राह्मणाः कुम्भीधान्या अलोलुपा अगृह्यमाणकारणाः किंचिदन्तरेण कस्याश्चिदाचार्यः पारम्पर्यवभवन्तः शिष्टाः।—Vol. III, p. 174.

times contrary to the rules of grammar, were accepted by the grammarians without a word of objection. Just as we can freely speak our mother tongue without knowing even a syllable of grammar, so were these Śiṣṭas able to speak Sanskrit without having any knowledge of grammar. Even dialectical varieties of Sanskrit as a spoken tongue have been particularly noticed by Patañjali. He observes[1] that the verbal form '*Śavati*' meaning 'motion' is used by the Kambojas, the Aryans using the noun-form "*Śava*" denoting a dead body. Similarly, the people of the eastern provinces are said to have used the verbal form '*dāti*,' while the noun-form '*dātra*' was used by the northerners. More convincing evidence is given by Patañjali when he narrates a controversy[2] (held between a grammarian and a charioteer) in which a charioteer does not only speak Sanskrit but ably discusses a grammatical point with a grammarian. Thus, there are many instances in the Mahābhāṣya which tend to prove that Sanskrit was current as a spoken tongue before the Christian era. It is no wonder that the people, whose religious texts, moral laws, spiritual conceptions, ordinances concerning the 'ten holy sacraments,' poetry, songs, prayers and even stories are all preserved in Sanskrit, might have inherited Sanskrit as their mother tongue. It is a fact that a man can express himself freely only when he happens to speak his own mother tongue ; and the clear way in which Patañjali has expressed himself all throughout his vast work shows not only his command over language but makes it perfectly clear that Sanskrit was undoubtedly a spoken language with him. It must be, however, admitted that as a spoken language Sanskrit was confined to the area of cultured community of the Brahmins. There were different Prākṛta dialects current among the masses ; these were generally called *Apaśabdas*,

1 शवतिर्गतिकर्म्मा कम्बोजेष्वेव भाषितो भवति विकार एनमार्या भाषन्ते शव इति etc.—vol. I, p. 9.

2 एवं हि कश्चिदेयाकरण आह। कोऽस्य रथस्य प्रवेतेति ? सूत आह। आयष्मन्तं प्राजितेति।—vol. I, p. 488.

*Apabhraṃśas*, etc. The Hindu grammarians maintain Sanskrit to be the most original of all tongues,[1] and that all forms of Apabhraṁśas have Sanskrit as their origin. Patañjali has referred to a number of Prākṛta forms,[2] namely, *āṇapayati* (for Sk. आज्ञापयति ), *battati* (for वर्त्तते ), *baddhati* (for वर्धते ) and *gāvī, goṇā, gotā* (for *gauḥ*), as were generally used by people belonging to the lower strata of society.

So far as social customs and various usages are concerned, we give below the following :—

(1) People used to eat in brass-made utensils (M.B., vol.I, p. 302).

(2) The injury to crop by cows was regarded as an act of religious demerit and the king used to take a severe notice of such action (vol. I, p. 328).

(3) Drinking was not only strictly prohibited but considered as a serious sin. It is one of the five great sins enumerated by Manu. The seriousness of the offence is made clear by Patañjali when he states that a man drinking wine through ignorance is also liable to sin (vol. I, p. 2). He has also referred to a *Smṛti* text which lays down that 'the gods do not carry that brahmin lady to *Pati-loka*[1] (the celestial abode of husbands), who happens to drink wine' (vol. II, p. 99).

(4) People used both *sandal* (made of wood) as well as *shoes* (made of skin) (vol. II, p. 337). Two different kinds of skin, namely, *sanangu* and *upānat*, as were used in making shoes, are also mentioned in this connection.

(5) Every householder used to perform the "five great sacrifices" (as hospitality, oblations to the fore-fathers, etc.) (vol. II, p. 214). The practice of offering libation to the manes (तर्पण ) by means of water is also particularly referred to (vol. I, p. 14).

1 शब्दप्रकृतिरपभ्रंशः—Puṇyarāja under Vākyapadīya, 149.

2 Vol. I, p. 259.

3 या ब्राह्मणी सुरापा भवति नैनां देवाः पतिलोकं नयन्ति ।

(6) People, specially the brahmins, used to observe many religious vows such as "आदित्यव्रत," "महानाम्नव्रत" etc. (vol. II, p. 360).

(7) Patañjali has clearly referred to an ancient custom under the rule Pāṇ. 2.1.26, according to which a brahmin student was allowed to sit on a couch ( खट्वा ) only when he had finished the study of the Vedas, taken the ceremonial bath (after a period of Brahmacaryya) and obtained permission from his teachers to be a householder.

(8) Descent was traced either through the father or the mother, and we consequently hear of two kinds of Vaṃśa, namely, *Mātṛvaṃśa* and *Pitṛvaṃśa* (vol. II, p. 231). There was another kind of *Vaṃśa* counted on the basis of line of teachers ( गुरुपरम्परा ).

(9) *Gurus* were held in high respect. Respect was even shown to the descendants of Gurus. The injunction "गुरुवद्गुरुपुत्रेषु" was followed with due reverence (गुरुवद्गुरुपुत्र इति—vol. I, p. 133).

(9) The Mahābhāṣya mentions the names of many Gotras, namely, Vatsa, Kutsa, Bharadvāja, Agniveśman, Vaśiṣṭha, whereby families were distinguished in those days.

(10) People strictly followed the injunctions of the Dharma-Śāstras, and the Vedic and Smārta rituals were frequently performed. Mention is made of both the "sacrificial country" and of the family of brahmin priests. People were so much scrupulous in religious matters that it was considered to be defective, if anything was performed against the ordinance of the Dharma-Śāstras (vol. I, p. 243).

(11) The names were sometimes shortened by dropping the first syllable, e. g., *Devadatta* and *Satyabhāmā* were respectively called *Datta* and *Bhāmā* for the sake of convenience (vol. I, p. 6).

(12) People used to accompany or follow their departing friends up to the end of the forest and stream (vol. I, p. 340). Kālidāsa has also referred to this practice in his Śakuntalā.

(13) The custom of getting up from one's seat before an elderly man was in vogue (vol. III, p. 58).

(14) Certain customary principles, as are laid down in our Dharma-Śāstras, were followed by people at the time of salutation and its return (vol. III, p. 416). It is also to be particularly noted here that it was only optional to use the word "*bho*" at the time of salutation on the part of Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas, but the word *Varman* was added to the name of a Kṣatriya.

(15) The custom of inviting people on the occasion of ceremonies was in vogue. The invited guests were sumptuously fed with curd, milk, butter, etc. (vol. I, p. 332.).

(16) Canals were excavated for the purpose of growing paddy crop and the people used to fetch water therefrom for drinking (vol. I, p. 275).

(17) There was a class of brahmins[1] (like नैष्ठिक), who in pursuance to a religious vow did not partake of meals on the occasion of *Śrāddha* ceremony. Patañjali also observes that a स्थण्डिलशायी would have his vow broken if he remained away from the sacrificial ground (vol. II, p. 109).

(18) Both fish and meat were used as food by certain classes of people (vol. II, p. 95).

(19) The expression "पशुना रुद्रं यजते" indicates that the custom of animal-sacrifice was prevalent. Patañjali particularly states that the animal was first thrown into the sacrificial fire and then offered to the god *Rudra* (vol. I, p. 331).

(20) Students used to serve their teachers from both religious and secular motives, so that they might have religious felicity in the next life by rendering services to their teachers, and the teachers being satisfied with their service were likely to teach them more carefully (vol. II, p. 36). The sons of the teachers were also respected like the teachers (गुरुवद् गुरुपुत्रः) themselves.

(21) As a reward for their good services, servants used to get rice and cloth from their masters (vol. II, p. 36). The artisans used to receive salary for their works.

1 मद्यमांसभोजी ब्राह्मणः ।

(22) People used to wear various kinds of ornaments, namely, *aṅgada* (armlet), *kuṇḍala* (ear-ring), *kirīṭa*, (an ornament for head something like a crown) (vol. I, p. 259). Patañjali also gives us some information as to how different ornaments were made from lumps of gold; he mentions *rucaka*, (an ornament for the neck), *kaṭaka* (bracelet) and *svastika* (vol. I, p. 7).

(23) There were both theatrical stage and performance, and people used to go there for amusement. Patañjali has used the following words, namely, *Raṅga*, *Ārambhaka*, *Naṭa*, *Granthika* and *Śobhanika*, which all refer to a theatrical performance. The dramatic performance seems to have been current in India from ancient times. Pāṇini has mentioned the names of two authors on dramatic literature, namely, *Śilāli*, and *Kṛśāsva* (Pāṇ. 4. 3. 110-111). Patañjali has clearly shown how the incidents of *Kaṃsa-badha* and *Balibandha* formed the subject of theatrical representations; and he particularly states how the actors representing the sides of *Kaṃsa* and *Kṛṣṇa* besmeared their faces with black and reddish tinge respectively (vol. II, p. 36). The various dramatic compositions of Bhāsa, Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti bear also sufficient testimony to the fact that dramatic performances with scenic representation were actually held in India. Bhavabhūti clearly refers to the festival of *Kālapriyanātha* on which occasion dramatic performances used to take place.

(24) There were both male and female ascetics who used to wander from place to place without having any permanent residence of their own. Patañjali mentions the name of a wandering female monk, namely *Śaṅkarā*. Besides *Śramaṇa* and *Bhikṣu* (Pāṇ. 2. 1. 30), Pāṇini has mentioned a class of monks, known as *Maskara*, who used to hold a stick of bamboo in their hands. Under the rule Pāṇ. 6. 1. 154, Patañjali has given the salient characteristics of this class of wandering monks. They were probably so called because they advocated a principle of utter non-activity, that is, they urged people not to undertake any work in the following

way :—"Don't do any work ; don't do any work, you will have peace and welfare" (vol. III, p. 97). It should be, however, remembered here that this sort of absolute abstinence from work was possibly preached by a class of Buddhist monks.

(25) Patañjali refers to the cultivation of ground by means of plough and mentions some crops that grow in cultivated field. The husbandman was called either *Hālika* or *Kṛṣaka* (Pāṇ. 3. 2. 183). Patañjali mentions such agricultural products as व्रीहि, यव, माष, तिल and मुद्ग, and takes notice of the fact that these short trees get dried as soon as their fruits are ripe (vol. II, p. 327).

(26) Patañjali has given many sub-divisions of the Śūdra class as *Ambaṣṭha, Sūta, Māgadha, Kūmbhakāra, Nāpita* and such outcastes as carpenter, washerman, goldsmith, caṇḍāla ayaskāra, undertaker, etc. He refers to the practice, prevalent among the low class Śūdras, of drinking wine along with onion (vol. II, p. 419).

(27) Certain countries were rich in cattle. People kept cows as a sort of wealth and used to have sufficient quantity of milk and butter. Patañjali particularly notices that cows, black in complexion, usually give greater amount of milk ( गोषु कृष्णा सम्पन्नचीरा ).

(28) Under the rule Pāṇ. 2.4.10, Patañjali has spoken of two classes of Śūdras, namely, those who lived inside and outside *Āryāvarta* (the land of the Aryans). He has defined Āryāvarta as that portion of India which is surrounded on four sides by the four mountains, namely, Ādarśa in the east, Kālakavana in the west, Himālaya in the south and Pāriyātra in the north. The *Śakas* and *Yavanas* used to live beyond the boundary of Āryāvarta. Patañjali has particularly enumerated the places where the Aryans used to live—these are villages, *ghoṣa* (inhabited mainly by cows, sheep and buffaloes), towns, and *saṃvāha* (chiefly inhabited by merchants). Patañjali finally describes out-castes (निरवसित) as follows :—People, whose utensils after their eating are not capable of being purified even by the touch of fire

(as laid down in our Dharma-śāstras), are to be known as out-castes (vol. I, p. 475).

(29) A village consisted of many houses, but in some cases a village contained only one house. A village had its boundary lines and contained forests and sacrificial ground (vol. I, p. 77). Patañjali has clearly shown the difference between *Nivāsa* and *Abhijana*, the former meaning the place inhabited by one's predecessors (vol. II, p. 314). Every village was under the leadership of a headman known as "ग्रामनायक."

(30) Patañjali has made mention of many towns and cities. In the Mahābhāṣya we find the names of almost all important towns of India. Pāṭaliputra has been often spoken of as an important city surrounded by walls on all sides and lying on the bank of the Śona river. The frequent references to Pāṭaliputra and Kāśmīra lead us to believe that Patañjali might have the occasion of visiting these two important and flourishing cities.

(31) There were merchants who used to carry on various trades. The place where they generally lived was called *Saṃvāha*. The Mahābhāṣya gives the names of mercantile goods as cotton (vol. II, p. 337), wool (out of which blankets[1] were made), cloths, etc. Benares and Pāṭaliputra were two important cities of trade, the former was called *Jitvarī*[2] by the merchants (vol. II, p. 313). There were weavers who produced cloths of various kinds. In some cases people supplied them with threads and ordered them to prepare *Śāṭaka*[3] (a kind of cloth) out of them (vol. I, p. 394). There were shops where scents were sold (vol. II, p. 443).

(32) Patañjali has mentioned the names of measuring vessels such as *Droṇa*, *Khārī*, *Āḍhaka* etc. and different varieties of coins such as *Niṣka*, *Kākiṇī* etc.

1 कम्बलीया ऊर्णाः—Vol. II. p. 338 ; "पण्यकम्बलः"—Vol. III, p. 126.

2 वाणिजो वाराणसीं जित्वरीत्यपाचरन्ति—Vol. II, p. 313.

3 अस्य सूक्ष्मं शाटकं वयेति—Vol. I, 394.

(33) Patañjali has not only mentioned the names of kings such as *Candragupta*, *Puṣyamitra*, *Madrarāja*, *Kāśmīrarāja* but seems to have intimate knowledge of state affairs. Mention is also made of princes, royal court, officers, king's order, etc. Patañjali has tried to show how officers appeared to be submissive in the presence of the king and pretended to be independent elsewhere (vol. I, p. 326). He has also shown the nature of a king's order for the collection of men ("bring men from villages vol. III, p. 7). Mention is again made of *Chatradhāra* (umbrella-holder) and *Dvārapāla* (gate-keeper) who are associated with the king's person and royal palace respectively (vol. II, p. 94).

(34) Various accounts of warfare are given in the Mahābhāṣya. Patañjali's intimate knowledge about the details of warfare is an indication that he had the occasion of witnessing some actual struggles. He gives the names of various weapons, as were generally used in warfare, such as *Śakti*, *Aṅkuśa*, *Tomara*, sword and arrows (vol. II, p. 99), and mentions elephant, horse, chariot, foot-soldiers, and those that fought on chariot (vol. I, p. 181). That chariots and carriages were much used by people specially at the time of war is clear from many passages of the Mahābhāṣya. Patañjali has cited an instance to show how boats and carriages mutually help each other. It was most probably in war-time that carriages had to carry boats on land, and boats had to carry carriages while crossing a river (vol. I, p. 40). Patañjali has also used the word *Senānī* which means a *General* and speaks of *Mālavī Senā* i. e. soldiers recruited from the country of Malowa (vol. II, p. 281). The versified line " महीपालवचः श्रुत्वा जघ्नुः पुष्यमाणवाः " (vol. III, p. 288) is probably an allusion how the soldiers of Puṣyamitra exclaimed aloud on hearing the words of the king. The words Senā, Senānī and Senānī-kula (residence of soldiers) occur many times in the Mahābhāṣya.

(35) In obedience to customary practice people sometimes cut their hairs on the head (केशान् वपति ), sometimes wore twisted

hairs and sometimes kept a long tuft of hairs (शिखा) on their head (vol. I, p. 17).

(36) Brothers sometimes used to be divided in respect of their wealth (vol. II, p. 179).

(37) Teachers sometimes used to beat their students, if they failed to follow the lesson correctly (vol. I, p. 41),

(38) Though there was prohibition with regard to the sale of meat and oil, cows and mustard-seeds were sold (vol. I, p. 25). Mention is made of three kinds of oil, namely, *Tila-taila*, mustard-oil and Iṅgudī-oil (vol. II, p. 376).

(39) There were various routes through which people used to pass. Patañjali has the following : (1) *Vāripathika*—one who used to go through water-route ; (2) *Jaṅgala-pathika*—one proceeding on a path leading through the jungle ; (3) *Sthalapathika*—one going through land-route ; (4) Kāntārapathika—proceeding on a forest-path (vol. II, p. 359).

(40) There were thieves as well as dacoits. Patañjali minutely observes that thieves used to paint their eyes with collyrium, and dacoits used to murder the travellers (vol. II, p. 419).

(41) A man in distress due to either bereavement or mental shock sometimes used to take poison as a sort of remedy (vol. I, p. 333).

(42) There were musicians, and various sorts of musical instruments were used by people, such as *Mṛdaṅga*, *Pithara*, *Vīṇā*, *Dundubhi*, etc. (vol. II, p. 332). Mention is also made of dancing girls (vol. III, p. 153).

(43) To take curd was considered, as in these days also, to be an auspicious augury of success (vol. III, p. 261 दधिभोजनमर्थसिद्धेरादिः ).

(44) Patañjali says that the utmost length of life of even a long-lived man could not exceed one hundred years (vol. I, p. 5).

(45) Wells were excavated for the purpose of getting pure water (vol. I, p. 2).

### *Minute Observations*

The study of the Mahābhāṣya presents before us such materials as indicate the extent of minute observations on the part of Patañjali : (1) He did not fail to observe that the feet of fowls were yellowish and the ears of an ass were of reddish colour (vol. II, p. 271). (2) Again, he does not only speak of the sky as blue but expresses his wonder how the stars evade the possibility of falling down, though hanging in the firmament without any support (vol. III, p. 96), (3). When milk gets mixed up with water, he observes, it becomes extremely impossible to specify the exact amount of either milk or water and say anything definitely as to wherein lies milk and wherein lies water (vol. III, p. 15). (4) How closely he studied the incidents of homely life is clearly brought out by the following observation. Husbands, he says, though not actually in an angry mood, often pretend to be angry and falsely abuse their wives or at least make such gestures and physical signs as are common to angry men (vol. III, p. 367). (5) That which separates or intervenes between two things must necessarily be a distinct entity from both of them (vol. I, p. 59). (6) Patañjali says that it is only natural that out of a good many students pursuing their studies with equal attention very few are found to be successful in their attempt, while the rest are disappointed (vol. I, p. 95). This reminds us of a well-known verse of the *Uttara-Rāmacarita*. (7) A piece of white cloth assumes reddish colour when placed between two cloths tinged or smeared with red colour (vol. I, p. 206). (8) The same thing cannot be found in different places at the same time (viz., a man cannot remain in two different places at a time vol. I, p. 244). This seems to have been a very favourite illustration with Patañjali. (9) Patañjali has referred to a superstitious belief with regard to the evil influence as is exercised by certain celestial phenomena. He quotes a verse to show how the different colours of lightning indicate storm, sunshine, growth of crops and famine (vol. I, p. 449).

*Proverbial maxims and didactic sayings*

The Mahābhāṣya contains many didactic sayings as were possibly current at that time. We give below a few instances : (1) One should obey his mother and serve his father (vol. I, p. 62). (2) The virtuous man is always bent on performing virtuous deeds ( धर्म्यं चरति धार्म्मिकः). (3) There is no satiety of desire (vol. III, p. 78) (4) Everyone works for his own interest (vol. II, p. 36). (5) A man desirous of eating molasses is not at all satisfied with taking a clod of earth (vol. I, p. 333). It is a very interesting proverbial maxim. (6) Only gods are capable of knowing this ( देवा ज्ञातुमर्हन्ति ). (7) Though there is an apprehension of injury from deer, the peasants do not refrain from growing barley-corn and people do not cease cooking rice anticipating the presence of beggars (vol. I, p. 100).

*His geographical knowledge*

The Mahābhāṣya contains many geographical data. Patañjali has mentioned almost all the important places of India. In accordance with the popular Hindu conception as is described in the Mahābhārata and other Purāṇas he first speaks of the earth as consisting of seven great islands सप्तद्वीपा वसुमती. These are, as enumerated in the Mahābhārata, *Śaka, Krauñca, Śveta, Jambu, Plakṣa, Śālmali, Puṣkara.* He has also given a clear description of the Āryāvarta mentioning the names of four mountains, namely, Ādarśa, Kālakavana, Himālaya, and Pāriyātra that surround it on all sides (vol. III, p. 174). This definition is the same as given in the Bodhāyana Dharma-Sūtra (1, 1, 25) ; and it is not unlikely that Patañjali might have taken his definition verbatim from the above. According to the other view, the Āryāvarta lies between the Ganges and the Jumna (B. Dharma-Sūtra 1, 1, 26). The description of this land, as given in the Manu Saṃhitā, is different. Patañjali has also mentioned the characteristics of the people (Śiṣṭas) who used to live in this sacred land ; here also his description almost exactly coincides with that of

the Bodhāyana Dharma Sūtra (1,1,5) both in essence and language. Mention has also been made of "sacrificial country" ( यज्ञियो देश:—vol. II, p. 357). The country, says Manu, where *Kṛṣṇasāra* (a species of deer) naturally roams about is called "sacrificial land" (Manu, 2, 23). Patañjali (vol. I, p. 209.) has quoted the part of a Vedic verse which contains the names of four important rivers, namely, the Ganges, Jumnā, the Sarasvatī and the Sutlej (Ṛgveda, X, 75). Again, he mentions the Ganges and the Jumna, and observes particularly how good many rivers have lost their respective identity as well as their names by entering into these two rivers (vol. I, p. 316). He also states the source of the Ganges in the example—"The Ganges flows from the Himālaya" (vol. I, p. 329) and mentions the names of some other rivers as Carmaṇvatī, Śarāvatī, Śiprā, etc. (1) Patañjali has used both the words *Pāñcanada* (relating to the land of five rivers) and *Pañcanada* (Punjab) and disjoins the compound as indicating an aggregate of five rivers (vol. II, p. 239). It is the land of five rivers where the Indo-Aryans are supposed to have colonised for the first time. The word *Vāhīka* occurs in the Mahābhāṣya which either meant a country (modern Bactria) or a tribe living in the Punjab. Nāgeśa takes the word as the name of a country and has quoted a verse from the Mahābhārata showing the geographical position of the country. Under the rule Pāṇ. 1. 1. 75, Patañjali has *Sepura* and *Skonagara* which are explained by Kaiyaṭa as the names of two villages in *Vāhīka*. Patañjali has mentioned the names of various other villages of Vāhīka, namely, *Arat, Kaśtīra, Daśarūpya, Sakala, Śansuka, Patanaprastha, Kañkudivaha, Manuji, Nandipura, etc.* (vol. II, p. 296-99). It is clear from these numerous references to the villages of Vāhīka that Patañjali had lived in that part of India for a long time. He gives the names of villages in the northern country as *Śivapura* (vol. II, p. 293) and *Nilinaka*. The rule Pāṇ. 4. 2. 117. distinctly refers to the villages of *Vāhīka*. In the aphorisms of Pāṇini mention is made of

many countries and counties, such as *Sindhu*, *Kaccha*, *Madra*, *Kuru*, *Yugandhara*, *Vṛji*, *Uśīnara*, *Sauvīra*, *Śālva*, *Suvasta*, *Kamboja*, *Avanti*, *Gandhāra*, *Kośala*, *Kunta*, *Pratyagratha*, *Kālakūṭa*, *Aśmaka*, *Magadha*, *Kaliṅga*, *Suramas*, *Kekaya*, *Ikṣvāku*, *Mitrayu*, *Pāraskara*, *Takṣaśila*, *Tudi*, *Śālātura*, *Varmati*, *Kucacara* (the last four are names of villages) and *Kata* (name of a town), *Kapiśi*, *Kāśī*, *Dākṣiṇātya*, *Pañcāla*, etc. This long list of countries show how wide was the geographical knowledge of Pāṇini. Patañjali also has mentioned the names of many ancient countries, namely, *Trigartta* ("a most arid country in ancient times") identified with modern kangra *Vatsa* (the well-known country—the kingdom of Udayana—with *Kauśāmbī* as its capital), *Aṅga* (an important country ruled by Karṇa—see Mbh.), *Vaṅga* (Bengal), *Suhma* (a country lying south west of modern Bengal), *Puṇḍra* (Northern Bengal), *Gandhāra* (Kandahara), *Kāśmīra*, *Madra*, *Magadha* (its capital being Pāṭaliputra), *Mathurā*, *Srughna* (a town near *Pāṭaliputra*), *Kauśāmbī* (near Allahabad), *Kamboja* (name of a country near the Hindookusa mountain), *Kaliṅga* (south of Orissa Khandika, *Coḍa* (in Southern India), *Kerala* (modern *Kanara*), *Pañcāla* (well-known country referred to in the Mahābhārata), *Kāñcī* (in Madras situated on the Vegavatī river), *Vidarbha* (modern Berar, an ancient kingdom mentioned in the Mahābhārata—its capital *Kuṇḍinapura* is also mentioned by Patañjali), *Videha* (its capital was Mithilā), *Māhiṣmatī* (on the Narmadā), *Kānyakubja* (modern Kanouj), *Ahicchatra* (Northern portion of Pañcāla), *Ujjayinī* (Ujjein), *Daśārṇa* (in Malava), *Sāketa* (Oudh), *Kāśi* (also *Vārāṇasi*), *Kośala*, *Uśīnara* etc. He gives the names of certain countries as *Jihnava*, *Ikṣākava*, *Brāhmaṇaka* and so on. He frequently mentions the names of *Pāṭaliputra* and *Benares*, as situated respectively on the banks of the *Śona* and the *Ganges* ; and also speaks of the palaces and walls of Pāṭaliputra. Mention is also made of a road leading to *Sāketa* (Oudh) vol. I, p. 281. He says particularly that the city of *Sāṃkāśya* stands at a distance

of 8 miles from Gavidhūma (vol. I, p. 455), and speaks of a person halting at *Māhiṣmatī* on his way to Ujjein (vol. II, p. 35). He speaks of *Kāśmīra* in such a way as he is supposed to have visited that place (vol. I, p. 109). He does not only give the name of *Pañcāla* but mentions its northern and eastern portions also. It appears from his description that Mathurā and Pāṭaliputra were two flourishing cities in those days. That there existed wells on the way to Pāṭaliputra is clear from his statement (vol. II, p. 160). Patañjali speaks of the big lakes of the *Deccan* and of such ancient towns as *Nāsikya* (Nasik in Bombay presidency), *Tiṣṛka* and *Sauvapana* (vol. III, pp. 307, 319). The name of a certain desert track as *Aṣṭaka* also occurs in the Mahābhāṣya (vol. II, p. 298). Patañjali says that wheat is available in *Madra* just as in *Uśīnara* (II, 244). He speaks of some dialectical peculiarities of Kamboja and Saurāṣṭra (modern Kathiwar). He gives the names of two non-Aryan tribes, namely, *Śaka* and *Yavana* and refers to the invasion of *Sāketa* and *Mādhamika* by the latter. Besides giving the names of numerous villages, he particularly speaks of a country inhabited by peoples other than Brahmins and of a village abounding in many valorous men (vol. I, pp. 301, 403). Apart from the names of four principal mountains surrounding the Āryāvarta on four sides, Patañjali mentions the names of two other hills, namely, *Vindhya* and *Khāṇḍava*, and rightly observes that "mountains are full of snow" (vol. II, p. 339).

PROBHATCHANDRA CHAKRAVARTI

# The Gītā Literature and its relation with Brahma-Vidyā

## II

*(ii) The position of the Bhagavad-gītā in the Gītā-Literature*

Apart from the general similarities indicated above, there are other evidences to show that the Bhagavad-gītā was taken as the type by the authors of the other Gītās.

1. Some of the minor Gītās have even named their principal chapters after those of the Bhagavad-gītā ; and even the ending of the chapter is remarkably similar. For instance, the Bhagavad-gītā ends its chapters as follows : "iti śrīmad-bhagavad-gītāsūpaniṣatsu brahma-vidyāyāṃ yogaśāstre śrīkṛṣṇārjjunasaṃvāde &c. .....i.e. So endeth such and such chapter named such and such 'yoga' in the dialogue between Kṛṣṇa and Arjjuna in the yoga-śāstra in Brahma-vidyā in the Upaniṣad of the Bhagavad-gītā."

Now, even this form of ending has been imitated by more than one Gītā. Thus the Gaṇeśa-Gītā ends its chapters as : " iti śrīmad-gaṇeśa-gītāsūpaniṣadarthagarbhāsu &c."

A similar ending is noticeable in the Śiva-Gītā, Brahma-Gītā, &c. It will be observed that the similarity is not a mere verbal one. Like the Bhagavad-gītā, these other Gītās also seek to identify themselves with the Brahmavidyā in the Upaniṣads ; each chapter is called 'a chapter in Brahmavidyā in the Upaniṣads'.

The similarity in the name of the chapters does not end here. Besides being a chapter in Brahma-vidyā, each chapter has a specific individual name also, e. g. in the Bhagavad-gītā, the chapters are called 'Viṣāda-yoga', 'Sāṅkhya-yoga', etc. Now, even this nomenclature has been borrowed by some of the other Gītās. Thus, Gaṇeśa-Gītā, ch. ii is called 'Karmayoga' after Bhagavad-gītā, ch. iii ; and Śiva-Gītā, ch. xv is called 'Bhakti-yoga' like ch. xii of the Bhagavad-gītā. And so on.

2. But the most striking similarity is to be found with regard to chapters x and xi of the Bhagavad-gītā, respectively called 'Vibhūti-yoga' and 'Viśvarūpa-darśana' : In these chapters, in order to produce the necessary feelings of devotion and veneration for Himself, the Lord first declares that he is the source of all, specially all that is great and glorious in the world ; and then, by a miracle, He gives an ocular demonstration of the fact that the world is in him and that all things fly back to him. The effectiveness of such a demonstration can be

easily imagined ; to see God eye to eye and to see Him as containing the entire universe—the very idea compels feelings of awe and fear. And as we are told in the Gītā, the effect of this manifestation was electric.

Now, these two well-designed chapters, which were eminently successful, it seems, with the popular mind, were profusely imitated by other writers. And the imitation went so far as to involve even *verbatim* quotations from the original, without of course any express or implied acknowledgment. For instance, the most superficial reading will show that ch. viii of the Gaṇeśa-Gītā and ch. vii of the Śiva-Gītā, are but paraphrases of ch. xi of the Bhagavad-gītā. Let us take the Lord's peroration after he had given manifestation of his all-engrossing divinity. We give only a running translation :

"The manifestation of me, that you have seen, is difficult to see. Even the gods always wish to see it but cannot. I cannot be seen as you have seen me, by the help of the Vedas or austerities or gifts or by sacrifices. Unswerving devotion alone, O Arjjuna, enables one to see me as you have seen me, &c."

Now take the corresponding section of the Gaṇeśa-Gītā :

"This '*rūpa*' or manifestation of me cannot be seen by those who are not 'Yogins' ; Sanaka, Nārada and others see it through my grace. Those who know (only) the four Vedas or even all the Śāstras, and those who perform sacrifices, austerities and gifts, are not the persons who see me like this ; I can be seen like this only by means of devotion, &c."

Again, take Devī-Gītā, ch. ii ; it is on the face of it, a paraphrase of Bhagavad-gītā, ch. x coupled with ch. xi. The verbal similarities, it is needless to point out, are not detectable in translation ; but the identity of thought-structure cannot escape notice.

3. Besides these, there is one interesting doctrinal similarity which deserves more than a passing notice. Bhagavad-gītā, ch. iv, 7-8 says : "Whenever there is a decay of religion, O Bhārata, and an increase of sinfulness, then I create myself ; for the protection of the righteous and the destruction of the unrighteous, and for the establishment of religion, I am born in age after age."

This is obviously a reference to the doctrine of divine incarnation. It will be remembered that of all the deities in the Hindu pantheon, incaranations are spoken of almost exclusively of Viṣṇu alone. We have little or nothing about the incarnation of other gods. But the imitators of the Bhagavad-gītā wanted to be so thorough that they

even took up this idea in several cases. Thus Devī-Gītā, viii, 22-23 says :

"Yadā yadā hi dharmmasya glānir bhavati bhūdhara,
abhyutthānamadharmmasya tadā veṣān vibharmmy aham."

This and the corresponding passage in the Bhagavad-gītā differ only in three words, of which one is the name of the person addressed ; the other two words practically mean the same thing. Could imitation go further than this ? Or can it be regarded as anything but conscious imitation ? And it is more than mere verbal similarity : it is doctrinal equivalence.

Even in doctrines, other similarities are there. The theory of the 'vision of equality' (sama-dṛṣti) which pervades the whole of the Bhagavad-gītā, finds its echo in Gaṇesa-Gītā, i. 41-50. And like the Bhagavad-Gītā again, the Devī-Gītā also speaks of the 'three paths' of Jñāna, Karma and Bhakti. Bhagavad-gītā, ch. xvii dissertates upon the trial of 'guṇas' and correspondingly, three kinds of Śraddhā, etc. Chapter vi of the Devī-Gītā speaks of the same thing.

Imitation does not stop here. The Bhagavad-gītā has been imitated even in its attitude towards the Vedas. In chapter ii, 42-44, it says :

"Yām imām puṣpitāṃ vācam pravadanty avipaścitaḥ
veda-vāda-ratāḥ Pārtha nānyad astīti-vādinaḥ ;
kāmātmānaḥ svargaparāḥ janma-karma-phala-pradām
kriyāviśeṣabahulām bhogaiśvaryyagatim prati ;
bhogaiśvaryyaprasaktānāṃ tayāpahṛtacetasām
vyavasāyātmikā buddhiḥ samādhau na vidhīyate."

Compare with this Gaṇeśa-Gītā, i. 33-34 :

"Yām imām puṣpitāṃ vācam praśaṃsanti śrutīritām
trayī-vāda-ratā mūḍhās tato 'nyanmanvate 'pi na ;
kurvvanti satataṃ karma janma-mṛtyu-phalapradam
svargaiśvaryyaratā dhvastacetanā bhogabuddhayaḥ." &c.

The similarity in thought and language is too apparent to need any comment.

One may be permitted now to think that a multiplication of these instances is unnecessary. These striking similarities of thought and language cannot be explained on any other hypothesis save that of borrowing either way. A mere similarity in thought may be due to independent origin ; great minds often think alike. But it is not possible that the very same words even should be used by two writers, unless it be a case of borrowing. That there has been profuse

unacknowledged borrowing in the Gītā literature, is, therefore, an indisputable fact. The only question is: Who borrowed from whom?

The answer to this question is found in the verdict of time in favour of the Bhagavad-gītā. Time has made it *the* Gītā; the others are only antiquarian relics—more or less buried in forgetfulness. The Bhagavad-gītā is the 'Smṛti' referred to by Bādarāyaṇa in his Vedānta-sūtra; it is the Gītā that needs no qualifying its name. It has found dozens of commentators. The position of pre-eminence that it occupies can no longer be challenged. The conclusion, therefore, is irresistible that it was the prototype of all the other Gītās.

This is further evidenced by the fact that some of the books which contain these minor Gītās, expressly refer to the Bhagavad-gītā, attempt a summary of its teachings and even prefix it in some cases to their own Gītās. Thus the Agni-purāṇa, ch. 382 contains a 'Yama-Gītā' but ch. 381 gives the substance of the Bhagavad-gītā and calls it the 'very best of all the Gītās' ('sarvagītottamottamām'). Garuḍa-purāṇa, i, 242 similarly summarises the Bhagavad-gītā, but appears to have no independent Gītā of its own. Yoga-vāśiṣṭha, vi, 1, 53 *et seq.* contains a summary of the Bhagavad-gītā; but its own important Gītā called the Brahma-Gītā comes after it in vi, 2, 172. This means that enough respect was shown to the Bhagavad-gītā by the authors of the other Gītās.

Such instances of imitation and plagiarism are not unknown to history. There is an interesting example of it in the profane section of Sanskrit literature. Every one knows the high eminence that Kālidāsa's famous lyric Meghadūta enjoys; and it is also an admitted fact that the writers of Haṃsa-dūta, Padāṅka-dūta, &c. were but copyists and plagiarists.

The Bhagavad-gītā has been imitated and we have an extensive Gītā literature. But one may be permitted to ask: Are all the other Gītās imitations? Are none of them genuine and original? It would be rash to give a categorical answer to this question. The minor Gītās of the Mahābhārata are not, strictly speaking, imitations of the Bhagavad-gītā. They are too short for that. They only attempt answers to one or two short quuestions, and do not pretend to set up anything like a complete moral or spiritual ideal. We have given examples of them before; we might take up one or two more here to indicate their general nature. The Vicakhnu-Gītā (Mbh., xii, 264) is a brief diatribe against the use of meat and wine; Vṛtra-Gīta (xii, 278) is a dissertation

on Karma, migration of the soul and kindred topics. And Bodhya-Gītā is a little chapter of 26 lines, and indicates by means of a parable how the bondage of the world may be escaped and renunciation practised.

Even outside the Mahābhārata, there are one or two Gītās which say too little to be an imitation of the Bhagavad-gītā. Thus the Yama-Gītā of the Viṣṇu-purāṇa is a short treatise on Viṣṇu-bhakti or devotion to Viṣṇu.

These Gītās have not the ambition to attempt an imitation of the Bhagavad-gītā. To that extent, they may be considered as of independent growth. But their independence was never of sufficient magnitude to deserve special recognition. And unlike the Bhagavad-gītā and a few others which were more or less successful in imitating it, they lie entombed within the parent soil of the bigger compositions to which they belong.

Now, to whatever class a Gītā may belong and whatever may have been its relation with the Bhagavad-gītā, none of these Gītās seem to have escaped the general influence of the Upaniṣadic cult. Even the smallest and also the most sectarian among them breathes in the atmosphere of Brahma-vidyā ; it, too, talks of a moral or spiritual ideal of salvation or 'mokṣa' : of some kind of worship, or some spiritual, mental, or even physical discipline, as means for the attainment of this *mokṣa* and so forth. This is not all : most of them refer to, and a large number of them quote freely from, the Upaniṣads. We are thus led on to consider our third question, viz., the relation of the Gītās with the Upaniṣads.

### (*iii*) *The relation between the Gītās and the Upaniṣads*

1. We have seen before that the general tendencies of Brahma-vidyā influenced the Gītā-literature as a whole. This is manifest from the fact that most of the Gītās *quote* from the Upaniṣads; sometimes the quotations are direct and *verbatim*, sometimes they are paraphrases of localisable passages of the Upaniṣadic texts ; and generally speaking, the borrowing is frankly admitted.

That the Bhagavad-gītā has quoted and borrowed from the Upaniṣads is a well-known fact. Its similarity with the teachings of the Upaniṣads also has been recognised ; and the Vedānta-sūtra in several cases refers to it just as it refers to passages in the Upaniṣads. The second chapter of the Bhagavad-gītā is particularly noteworthy for its quotations and paraphrases of passages of the Kaṭha Upaniṣad.

Other examples of borrowing are: Devī-Gītā, ch. iii. 18, gives the general advice that one should listen carefully to the teachings of Vedānta and always meditate upon the meaning of the saying 'tat tvam asi' (That thou art). And *ślokas* 32-34 and 35-36 quote *verbatim* Kaṭha, i, 2, 18-20 and i, 3, 3-4. And ch. v of this Gītā quotes the whole of Muṇḍaka ii, 2.

Śiva-Gītā ii, 21 is a *verbatim* qotation of Kaṭha, i, 2, 19; and ii, 34 is a *verbatim* quotation of ii, 5, 7 of the same Upaniṣad. Besides this, paraphrases of Upaniṣadic texts and borrowing of thought-forms are quite plentiful.

The Rāma-Gītā refers to Śruti in general and to Taittirīya in particular (21). It also quotes the formula 'That thou art' (24).

The verbal similarity between the Brahma-Gītā of the Yoga-vāśiṣṭha and the Upaniṣads is somewhat less obtrusive. But here there is a much deeper resemblance in thought and meaning. It is frankly a dissertation on Brahmavidyā and has no sectarian deity to uphold; and, as an interpretation and amplification of the Upaniṣadic teachings, it had less need of quoting passages *verbatim*. But even it has not altogether escaped touches of Upaniṣadic expressions here and there. For instance, iii, 24 is a partial quotation of Taittirīya ii, 4, 1.

The Brahma-Gītā. that professes to belong to the Skanda-purāṇa, uses the Uapaniṣads more profusely than any other. It refers to other systems of belief and worship, but declares categorically that all else is opposed to Śruti and Smṛti, and hence, by implication, is false, except of course what it itself is propounding (ii, 5-9). It says:

"There are those who worship Hara, those again who worship Viṣṇu, and still others who worship me (i.e. Brahmā, who is the speaker here). And there are others also who follow other gods, such as Indra, etc. Some take Prakṛti with its threefold attribute, self-existent but unconscious. Some deluded people believe in atoms and some only in Logos or *Śabda*; some pin their faith on consciousness that does not endure beyond the moment, and some, equally deluded, believe in an undefinable Void or *Śūnya*; and some believe in the elements and some in Nature or *Nisarga*—all equally deceived. All kinds of arguments they advance by force, but they are all false. All these are opposed to the true meaning of Śruti and Smṛti;—this is my decided opinion."

The references here are obviously to Sāṅkhya, Bauddha, Jaina and other systems. All these are, however, declared to be wrong paths,

the true path being that of the Vedas. The mistaken paths also serve a useful purpose; they help us, by contrast, to arrive at the true meaning of the Vedas (ii, 29). They are errors which enhance the value of truth and the truth is to be found in the Vedas alone. But what do the Vedas really teach?

The answer is to be found in the book as a whole. Briefly, it is the worship of Śiva—who, be it noted, is the same as Brahma of the Upaniṣads. He is what the Vedas establish ('Vedasiddha'—ii, 37). He is the one ultimate reality of which the Upaniṣads speak. He saw (aikṣata) and created the universe (cf. Ch. Up. vi. 2. 3, &c.). And he is conceived as possessing all the attributes that are assigned to Brahma in the Upaniṣads.

The influence of the Upaniṣads on this book is perhaps more thorough than anywhere else. It not only adopts the general principles of Brahma-theory, but exploits the texts also more extensively than any of the other Gītās. For instance, ch. iv. 92-114, of this book paraphrases the incident of Kena, iii-iv. Brahma, we are told in the Kena, appeared before the gods, but they knew him not. One after another was sent to him to ascertain who he was. The messenger, who was himself a god, in each case declared his own identity and his prowess; Brahma however concealed his identity and wanted evidence as to the boasted prowess of the god before him. The god was benumbed and could not prove his strength. When all the gods were completely subdued in this way, a celestial form of beauty appeared in the sky and declared the greatness of Brahma. Now the gods knew him and worshipped him.

The Brahma-Gītā uses this story for the purpose of showing the superiority of Śiva to all other deities. It finds some interesting support in the fact that the Kena gives the names 'Haimavatī' and 'Umā' to the celestial form that discloses the identity of Brahma. According to later mythology, Haimavatī and Umā are names of the consort of Śiva.

The fourth chapter of this Gītā professes to be an interpretation of the Kena Upaniṣad as a whole, as its name 'Talavakāropaniṣad-vyākhyā-kathanam' implies. Chapter v in the same way contains an interpretation of Chāndogya, vi.

The 6th chapter is an explanation of the celebrated Upaniṣadic practice of meditating upon Brahma in the cavity of the heart, technically called 'Daharopāsanā' or 'worship of the little (sky).' The reference is to Chāndogya viii. 1, 1, which is expounded in Vedānta-sūtra i. 3. 14-21.

The 7th chapter (3-11) quotes with slight alterations the whole of Muṇḍaka i. 1 ; and Muṇḍaka i. 2 is paraphrased and quoted in some verses following these. Then follow quotations and paraphrases of Muṇḍaka ii ; and so forth.

Chapter viii, of the same Gītā has been called an 'account of the Kaivalya Upaniṣad,' and, as the name implies, it is full of quotations from that Upaniṣad. Chapters ix and x are devoted to the Bṛhad-āraṇyaka Upaniṣad, with special reference to the Maitreyī Brāhmaṇa of that book ; and ch. xi quotes extensively from Kaṭha and Śvetāśvatara.

We have given examples enough of the extensive use of Upaniṣadic texts by the Gītās. The smaller Gītās of the Mahābhārata are too small to quote extensively, but even they borrow forms and principles of thought. Thus the Bodhya-Gītā which consists of only 26 lines, attributes an oft-quoted saying to a king of Videha, viz., "Mithilāyām pradīptāyāṃ na me dahyati kiñcana—When Mithilā is burnt, nothing of me is burnt." It is easy to see that this is only a development of the line of thought started in the famous saying of Yājñavalkya, viz., "Amṛtatvasya tu nāśo'sti vittena" (Br. ii. 4. 2.). Moreover, the Gītās of the Mahābhārata develop moral precepts and theories of Jñāna and Karma, which are closely akin to those of the Upaniṣads.

It is evident, therefore, that the Gītā literature was extensively influenced by Brahma-vidyā of the Upaniṣads. Wherever this cult of Brahma-vidyā may have arisen and by whomsoever it may have spread, it shed its shining light on other systems of thought and worship, and, sometimes even on systems that were not quite friendly to it. It had discovered forms of thought and belief, the value of which could not be ignored ; and it had gained such a position for itself that no system of thought and belief could altogether escape its influence. Just as in modern times, one who is not a Christian has yet to use some of the Christian concepts and expressions of the Bible—just as one who is not necessarily a scientist, cannot altogether be ignorant today of the latest scientific conceptions, they permeate our life and thought so widely,—in the same way, in those ancient times in India, Brahma-vidyā had so infused the life and thought of the land that even hostile systems of culture could not altogether escape its influence. Perhaps the actual followers of Brahma-vidyā were never very numerous ; perhaps as a system of philosophy, Sāṅkhya claimed more adherents and was more extensively influential. Sāṅkhya influenced the positive sciences, specially the science of medicine,

more intensively than any other system of philosophy in India. But Brahma-vidyā also was not without its following. The sublimest thing in it was the concept of Brahma; and like Platonic ideas in ancient and Kantian ideas in modern European thought, the idea of Brahma and other kindred ideas shed their lustre on almost all the subsequent systems of thought. Some followed them up to their logical conclusions, others perhaps employed them only for their own purposes. The same phenomenon is illustrated in the entire range of Gītā literature.

2. Thus we have a series of Gītās which *exploit* the conceptions of the Upaniṣads for their sectarian purposes. The unity of the God-head reached in Brahma, was very widely used by sectarian writers. Each sect having a special deity of its own, tried to show, after the fashion of the Upaniṣads,—as we have pointed out before—that all creation, all gods, all elements, were but manifestations of that particular Deity. With the followers of Gaṇeśa, the Supreme Deity is of course Gaṇeśa; with those of Śiva, he is Śiva; and so forth. In the Upaniṣads, the minor gods are merged in Brahma; in the sectarian Gītās, it is the particular deity of the sect that swallows them up. This is one way in which Brahma-vidyā was exploited by sectarian cults.

Besides, even meditative discipline and physical training in postures auxiliary to such meditation, technically called 'yoga', were indicated by the Gītās, after the fashion of the Upaniṣads again. There was not necessarily an agreement in detail; but the general principle underlying these practices was the same. Thus Śvetāśvatara (ii. 10-11) suggests certain conditions of meditation: the sort of place in which meditation should be practised; the sort of objects on which attention should be fastened; and so on. The same topic is discussed pretty fully in Vedānta-sūtra iv. 1. 7-12. and also elsewhere. The Gītās also take up the idea. The Bhagavadgītā, for instance, lays down certain practical rules for the guidance of meditation in vi. 11-14:—

"One should place one's seat in a clean spot; and the seat should be steady, neither too high nor too low, and should consist of cloth placed upon hide (of deer or tiger), which again should be spread upon *kuśa* grass. There one should sit, with the mind fixed and the senses controlled; and having so seated oneself, one should practise *yoga* for self-purification. With the head, the middle of body and the neck in one line, and straight, with motionless steadiness fixing the gaze on

the tip of the nose, and without seeing anything else, with quiet of mind and freedom from fear, and practising all the austerities of a Brahmacārin, firm and fully self-possessed, and with heart set upon me (the Lord), one should remain joined with me (the Lord) and having me (the Lord) as the ultimate goal."

In commenting on Vedānta-sūtra iv 1. 10., Śaṅkara quotes these lines approvingly. This meditation or 'Yoga' was a means suggested by the Upaniṣads for the attainment of Brahma. The Gītās exploited these ideas for their own particular cults also. The Bhagavadgītā is not the only example. Gaṇeśa-Gīta iv. 26-34, Devī-Gītā ch. iv. &c. are other examples. It will be seen, therefore, that the Upaniṣadic ideas were not only *used* but even *exploited*. Of course, since all the Gītās were not sectarian, the charge of exploitation cannot be brought against all; but none appear to be altogether free from the genereal influence of the Upaniṣads.

3. There are some Gītās which are decidedly Upaniṣadic; i.e. they try to popularise and give a wider currency to the Upaniṣadic ideas. A more thorough-going practice of Brahma-vidyā is developed, going down even to the regulation of diet as a means for the attainment of Brahma (cf. Bhagavad-gītā, xvii. 7-10). Of all the Gītās, the Bhagavad-gītā did the most to spread and popularise Upaniṣadic ideas; but it was not alone in the field. The Brahma-Gītā of the Yoga-vaśiṣṭha comes next; and the smaller Gītās of the Mahābhārata also had their share in this work.

These facts discover to us one of the avenues through which the ideas of the Upaniṣads tended to percolate to the masses of the country. It is evident that the Upaniṣadic culture was sufficiently philosophic to arrest attention. Its existence could not be ignored. But was it sufficiently diffused to become a popular *religion*? The subsequent history of the country gives a decidedly negative answer to this question. The philosophy of the Upaniṣadic culture was all right; it has survived till the present day. But its religion, it seems, could never become popular. The way in which the sectarian Gītās employ its philosophical concepts and spiritual practices, shows that these were well-known and perhaps even popular. But the continuance and recrudescence of the sect-deities shows that the religion of Brahma-vidyā was too abstract for the popular mind; which still had the need for gods and goddesses.

To conclude: We have an extensive Gītā literature embedded in the Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata and in some cases also having an

independent existence, without forming part of any known book. Almost without exception, these Gītas bear mark of Upaniṣadic influence. So far as composition and literary structure goes, they were mainly modelled upon the Bhagavad-gīta. Some of these Gītas were designed to popularise the Upaniṣadic cult ; while others exploited the concepts of the Upaniṣads for furthering the worship of a sect-deity.

UMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE

# Indian Literature Abroad

## VI

Hiuen Tsang will be remembered by future generations for another work, the importance of which need not be pointed out to the students of philosophy. The importance of *Abhidharma-kośa*[1] was fully recognised by Burnouf, Kern and all other scholars. This work has come down to us in Chinese in two forms, one containing verses (602 kārikās) only, and the other being prose explanations of the verses. Paramārtha, the first translator of the *Kośa*, tells us that the prose text was compiled at the request of the 'Kāśmīra-Vaibhāṣikas.' Of course the verse-text is included in the prose explanation. Vasubandhu is the author of the kārikās as well as the explanations. Hiuen Tsang translated the kārikās in 2 fasciculi and the explanation in 309 fasciculi. In this book Vasubandhu deals with the views of the Vaibhāṣikas. There exists a Sanskrit commentary on this Śāstra, called *Abhidharma kośa Vyakhyā* or simply *Sphuṭārthā*. Its author is Yaśomitra, who also mentions two earlier commentaries by Guṇamitra and Vasumitra.

Vasubandhu's Abhidharma-kośa translated.

*Abhidharma-nyāyānusāra* and *Samaya-pradīpikā* of Saṅghadeva, who compiled the two Śāstras in Ayodhyā, were rendered into Chinese

1 For the French translation of this book see La Vallée Poussin—L' Abhidharma-kośa de Vasubandhu, 5 vols. Société Belge d' Etudes Orientale, Louvain, 1923-25. The Sanskrit text has been published in the Bibliotheca Buddhica by Stcherbatsky and Lévi. See Nariman, pp. 97, 279-286 (Nanjio, 1265).

by Hiuen Tsang. *Samaya-pradīpikā* contained 10,000 ślokas and merely explained the doctrine of Vibhāṣā. The translation has been made from a shorter work with similar explanation of the Vibhāṣā tenets. *Nyāyānusāra* had probably another title, '*Kośakarakā*' i. e. Kośa-hail-stone, but the name was changed by the great Vasubandhu into *Nyāyānusāra* after Saṅghadeva's death out of respect to his opponent. This book contained 120,000 ślokas, and is directed against *Abhidharma-kośa* of Vasubandhu. This is too elaborate and abstruse a book for general students, having 80 fasciculi, 1,751 pages and that is the reason why he composed 'Illustration of the *Samaya* or doctrines.' At the the end of each fasciculus it is stated that this book belongs to the Sarvāstivāda. Saṅghabhadra writing about the doctrine in his preliminary remarks says,—"I have already written a treatise and called it *Nyāyānusāra* (Shum-Cheng-li, Conformity to Truth). Those who are fond of philosophical speculation have to study it. With the phrases and sentences so detailed and elaborate, a research into it is a matter of difficulty. One will not be able to understand it unless one works hard. In order to make it easy to be understood by curtailing the elaborate composition, I again compiled an abridged treatise and called it *Samaya-pradīpikā* (Hsien-tsung, Exposition of the doctrine). I embellished Vasubandhu's *Kārikās*, and regarded them as the course of reference. I cut short those extensive concluding arguments which are found in the *Nyāyānusāra*, and set forth the right expositions against Vasubandhu's proofs to illustrate the true excellent doctrine to which we adhere." This book is preserved for us in Chinese by Hiuen Tsang.

There are other books translated by Hiuen Tsang and others, but their detailed notice need not be taken,. The literary activity of the Sarvāstivāda covers at least not less than ten centuries of the intellectual life of India. But this vast literature, rich in philosophy, is entirely lost to us and before we reconstruct the history of Indian philosophy these and other books must be studied from the Chinese.[1]

Of his seventy-five works about forty books belonged to Abhidharma. Aśvaghoṣa, Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Asaṅga and Vasubandhu were the principal writers on Mahāyāna philosophy. To be brief about the philosophical thoughts among the Buddhists, we can say that Āryadeva, Aśvaghoṣa and Nāgārjuna were great teachers of the Mādhymika School, and Asaṅga and his brother Vasubandhu were the founders and exponents of Yogācāra Philosophy. The Yogācāra branch

1 See Takakusu's article in the *JPTS.*, 1904-1905, pp. 64-146.

teaches Vijñānavāda, that is, nothing exists outside consciousness and repudiates Śūnyavāda. Paramārtha imported from Magadha to China the works of Asaṅga and Vasubandhu in 559 A. D. Hiuen Tsang translated four of Asaṅga's books and seven of Vasubandhu's thirty-six works and he is the real founder of Yogācāra school in China.

Hindu Logic in China.

Besides these, other important books as well as books of minor importance were rendered into Chinese. His *Vajracchedikā*, *Sukhāvatī-vyūha*, *Vimala-kīrti-nirdeśa*,[1] *Bhaiṣajyaguru*, etc. are well-known to the students of Buddhism. Among the other works that he brought to China were treatises on Grammar, Shing-ming-lun and Pe-ye-kia-lan-man (Edkins). There are three books on logic in Chinese[2] of which two were translated by Hiuen Tsang and one by I-tsing. But really these are two books, as one is only re-translated by I-tsing. These are Śaṅkara-svāmin's *Hetuvidyā-nyāya-praveśa-śāstra* or *Nyāyapraveśa-tarkaśāstra* and Nāgārjuna's *Nyāya dvara-tarkaśāstra*.

In Chinese the books are attributed to Saṅkarasvāmin and Nāgārjuna but they are really compositions of the great logician Dignāga. In Tibetan we find Dignāga[3] as the author of the work *Nyāya-praveśa*. The other work attributed to Nāgārjuna is clearly a mistake of name for Dignāga.

The influence of Indian logic in China and Japan can easily be gauzed from the very fact that in the Otani Library, Japan, there are about 120 books both printed and Mss. on Indian logic written in Chinese and Japanese.[4] Among these only three translations of two

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1 See the catalogue of Chinese and Japanese Books and Mss. in the Otani University Library (Japanese), p. 271, also Dignāga's *Nyāya-praveśa* and Haribhadra's commentary on it edited by N. Mironor (St. Petersburg). *Jaina-śāsana*, pp. 133-138.

Its Sanskrit text has been edited by Principal Dhruva of Hindu University; and the Tibetan text by Pandit Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya of Visvabhāratī, both to be published in one volume in the Gaekward Oriental Series, Baroda.

2 See the English Translation of *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa* by Hokei Idumi—*The Eastern Buddhist*, 1924-25, 26 continued.

3 Badajiro Sugiura—*Hindu Logic as preserved in China and Japan*, Philadelphia, 1900.

4 See Sugiara's books, the bibliography portion specially.

Sanskrit works are in Nanjio's catalogue. In the supplement of Kioto edition of the Tripiṭaka about eleven more books on Nyāya are named; but they are all *Vṛttis* or commentaries by Chinese or Japanese monks. There are six books on Dignāga's *Nyāyadvāratarkaśāstra* (Nanjio, 1223, 1224), five of which are written in Chinese and one in Japanese. But Śaṅkara-svāmin's (or Dignāga's) *Nyāyapraveśa* found more favour in both the countries and there are more than eighty books on logic written in Chinese and Japanese. [Catalogue of the Otani University (Japan), pp. 260-261].[1]

Vaiśeṣika philosophy in China.

The other heretical opponent in philosophy was the Vaiśeṣika. Its view-point was made known to the Chinese by Hiuen Tsang. This was known as *Daśapadārthaśāstra* and is an enlarged work of the *Saṭpadārtha* of the Vaiśeṣika Śāstra. Its original is lost and an English translation of the Chinese text by Mr. H. Ui, published in the Royal Asiatic Society Translation Series, has been of immense value to the students of Indian philosophy.

The Chinese title of the Vaiśeṣika treatise is *Shang-tsung-shih-chu-i-lun* and is known in Sanskrit as *Vaiṣeṣika-(nikāya)-daśapadārthaśāstra*, i.e. a treatise on the ten categories of the Vaiśeṣika. It was composed by a follower of that philosophy, whose name is transliterated into Chinese as Chan-ta lo which in Sanskrit would be simply *Candra*, in Chinese translation "wisdom-moon." According to later commentators, who give the full name, it is Chan-ta-(lo)-moti i.e. Candramati or Mati-candra. We know nothing of the life of this Indian Vaiśeṣika philosopher as his book in original Sanskrit is not known at present. According to Mr. Ui, Candra lived not later than the first half of the sixth century (p. 10).

It was probably taken to China by Hiuen Tsang and translated by him in 648 A.D. A tradition says that Kwei-chi, a famous disciple of Hieun Tsang, wrote a commentary on the treatise, but this, says Mr. Ui is perhaps a mistake.

Hiuen Tsang, as we have seen, translated a great many Sanskrit works into Chinese; but his main effort appears to have been devoted to the translation of the works of the Sarvāstivāda, specially, the *Abhidharmakośaśāstra*, and of the Vijñānavāda, especially *Vijñaptimātratā-siddhi-śāstra*. His disciples were divided principally between

1 Indian Logic has been dealt with in detail in the section *Tibet* where numerous books on logic have been preserved.

these two schools, though he introduced literatures of many other schools of thought. Kwei-chi is the orthodox propagator of Vijñānavāda and an authority on the *Vijñaptimātratā-siddhi*. This is a commentary on Vasubandhu's *Vijñapti-mātratā-triṃśat-kārikā*, which is a highly authoritative exposition of the Vijñānavāda and had ten commentaries by as many different Indian authors. Hiuen Tsang first translated the ten commentaries, but he afterwards amalgamated them with the commentary by Dharmapāla, the teacher of his teacher Śīlabhadra. The *Vijñapti-mātratā-siddhi* is ascribed to Dharmapāla, and it is said that Kwei-chi commented on the work. Dharmapāla's work adopts an idealistic standpoint in epistemology and metaphysics and refutes the realistic systems, the Sāṅkhya, the Vaiśeṣika, other minor schools, and Hīnayāna Buddhism. From Kwei-chi's commentaries we can gather many facts concerning the attitude of philosophers towards *Vaiśeṣika* and other Indian systems of thought.

Hiuen Tsang was followed by a number of workers in the field of translation. Shih Chu-T'ung,[1] a Chinese śramaṇa translated some four books on Dhāraṇīs and topics of allied nature; Bhagavaddharma,[2] a śramaṇa of West India translated one work; Atigupta[3] and Jñānabhadra[4] were each responsible for one book. Though translations of only two works are attributed to Puṇyopāya or Nandi,[5] he is known to us for his more important contributions. He reached China in 655 A.D. but before that he made extensive tours throughout India and Ceylon and collected 1,500 different manuscripts of the Tripiṭaka of both Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna schools. This vast collection he carried to his new home in China and must have deposited them in some monastery library. In 656 he was sent by the Chinese emperor to some island in the China Sea to find some strange medicine. Nandi-Puṇyopāya, it seems, must have been an expert pharmacopist, otherwise the emperor would not have selected this new immigrant for this herb discovery. He returned to China in 663 A.D. and translated three books, of which two *paripṛcchās* are extant.

Successors of Hiuen Tsang.

Puṇyopāya and his Sanskrit manuscripts.

Indian settlers from Further India went to China. Jñānabhadra, a śramaṇa from Po-liang or Ho-liang (Kaling—Java ?) in the South

1 Nanjio App. II, 134. 2 Nanjio App. II, 135.
3 ,, ,, ,, 136. 4 ,, ,, ,, 138.
5 ,, ,, ,, 137.

Sea, helped the Chinese traveller Houi-Ning, who passed that country on his journey to India in 664-666 A.D. We do not know if he actually went to China.

Divākara.

Divākara, a śramaṇa from Central India, came to China in 676 A.D. and lived till 688 and during these years nineteen works were translated by him. But in a preface to his works by the T'ang Empress Wu Ts'-thien (684-705 A.D.) Divākara is said to have translated only ten works with the help of ten Chinese assistants, accomplishing the work in 685 A. D. Divākara translated various books including two books on Abhidharma—one being a commentary on Vasubandhu's *Pañcaskandhaka Śāstra* (Nanjio, 1175) by Sthiramati, and the other was *Vajracchedikā-Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra Śāstra* of Bodhisattva Guṇada, which seems to be a commentary on the *Vajracchedikā* in the Prajñāpāramitā series. But his more important and enduring work was his translation of *Lalita-vistara*[1] (Nanjio, 159 ; Tok. Ed., ix, 7b). The literal translation of the Chinese name of this book is *Vaipulya-Mahāvyūha-sūtra.* There is another title of this book which if translated would be '*Ṛddhivikrīḍita (Sūtra)*' or *Ṛddhi kumāra-vikrīḍita (Sūtra)*'. The *Lalita-vistara* was not translated into Chinese for the first time by Divākara. It had been translated four times, but the first and the third were lost in 730 A. D., when the Khai-Yuen-lu-Catalogue was compiled. The two missing translations were both entitled *Phu-Yao-Ching* which would mean '*Samanta-prabhava-sūtra.*' The first was translated under the Later Han Dynasty, during 221-263 A.D., but the translator's name is lost. The third was translated under the Sung Dynasty (420-479 A. D.) by Chu-Yen and Pao-Yun. Of the extant translations the first was done by Chu-Fa-hu or Dharmarakṣa in 305 A. D., and the second was done by Divākara. As a matter of fact we do not at all know

Lalita-vistara.

1 Sanskrit Text, edited by Rajendra Lala Mitra, Bib. Indica, 1853 ; English Translation of a few chaps. by R. L. Mitra, Bib. Indica, 3 fasc., 1881-86.Lalitavistara Erzahlung von dem Leben und der Lehre des Śākyasiṃha.....Deutsche ubersetzt von Dr. S. Leffmann, Berlin, 1874 ; L.-V. Leben u. Lehre des Śākya Buddha. Text ausgabe, mit varianten, metren u. Worterverzeichniss, von Leffmann, Halle 1902 ; French Translation of the Tibetan version of L.-V. by P. E. Foucaux, Paris. Annales du Musée Guimet, vol. vi, xix, Paris, 1887-92.

whether the Chinese biography of the Buddha mentioned above as *Phu-Yao-Ching* is really a translation of the Sanskrit text.[1]

Buddhatrāta and Buddhapāla, two Indian teachers, went from Kubha or Kabul and translated two works. Devaprajña and Śikṣānanda were natives of Khotan, the great centre of Indo-Chinese culture where among the East Iranian peoples, Indians and Chinese elements met and there was a large Indian population. Devaprajña translated six works, one of which was a book on Abhidharma by Sthiramati called *Mahāyāna Abhidharma Saṃyukta-Saṅgīti Sūtra* (Nanjio, 1178), which was a commentary on a book of that name by Asaṅga (Nanjio, 1199). Śikṣānanda was abler and better known than his other countrymen; and as many of his books are very important, I shall dwell upon some of them here.

Śikṣānanda of Khotan.

In the Chinese Tripiṭaka there is a class of books known as *Avataṃsaka*. Under the Eastern T'sin Dynasty (317-420) Buddhabhadra and his associates translated *Buddhāvataṃsaka-mahā-vaipulya-śāstra*, but it was not completed. The more complete copy of the text was in Khotan and the Empress Wu Tso-thien sent a special envoy for the Sanskrit text. Śikṣānanda translated it in 80 fasciculi and 39 chapters. The Empress herself took part in this translation and wrote a preface to this book.

Laṅkāvatāra-Sūtra.

Śikṣānanda's other important work was the *Laṅkāvatāra-Sūtra*[2] to which the Empress also wrote a preface. I might mention here in passing that there are three translations of this book,—one by Guṇa (Bhūmi)-bhadra, which is incomplete, the other two by Bodhiruci and Śikṣānanda. The last two agree with the Tibetan and Sanskrit versions, the latter having been edited by B. Nanjio in Japan (1923). The book gives a report of the miraculous visit of Buddha Śākyamuni to Rāvaṇa, the king of Ceylon. Rāvaṇa pays his reverence to the Buddha and presses him for a reply to a number of his enquiries touching 'Dharma.' The answers given by the Buddha which represent the doctrine of the Yogācāra school,

1 Nariman, *Sanskrit Buddhism*, pp. 19-27.

2 In the fourth Band of "*Koku-Yaku-Daizokyo*" (Tripiṭaka translated into Japanese), vols. 13, 14 recently published. Rev. Yamakani Sogen has given an expository introdution to the Sūtra, and a Japanese translation of the Chinese 'Laṅkāvatāra' by Śikṣānanda. B. Nanjio has prepared another Japanese translation from the original Sanskrit (Nanjio, *Intro. to Laṅkāvatāra*, Tokio).

go to form the main contents of the Sūtra. It is, moreover, interesting inasmuch as it exposes the tenets of the Sāṅkhyas, Vaiśeṣikas, Pāśupatas and other philosophical schools and religious denominations of Brāhmaṇic origin.

The *Avataṃsaka* is one of the most important books on Buddhism, and its deep philosophical thoughts have inspired many sects to accept it as their scripture. In Sanskrit there is no book known by that name. But in the collection of Buddhist books found in Nepal there is a book called *Gaṇḍa-vyūha* The work is reckoned as one of the nine principal scriptures of the Buddhists, and held in high esteem. It gives the story of Sudhana in search of the perfect knowledge (R. L. Mitra, p. 90). It has been inaccurately identified by Mitra with the Chinese *Ghana-vyūha* translated by Divākara and Amoghavajra, but the mistake had been committed much earlier by Burnouf. *Ghana-vyūha* and *Gaṇḍa-vyūha* are two distinct works mentioned in the *Mahāvyutpatti*, a Sanskrit Buddhist dictionary of the ninth century. Pelliot has compared the contents of *Gaṇḍa-vyūha* with the Tibetan versions of *Avataṃsaka* and found similarity. Its identity has also been recognised by Prof. Watanabe of Tokio. The full title of the book however is *Mahāvaipulya-buddha-gaṇḍa-vyūha-yukti-sūtram.* Generally some used the name as *Gaṇḍa-vyūha* and others as *Buddha Avataṃsaka,* as it fell under Avataṃsaka literature. But it is the one and the same book.[1]

In the T'ang Dynasty Chau-Kuang, the fourth patriarch of the Avataṃsaka school who died in 806 wrote an original commentary on Śikṣānanda's *Buddhāvataṃsaka* (Ta-feng Kuang-fo-hua-yen-ching-shu) in 60 fasciculi, and further a sub-commentary on it in 90 fasc. (Nanjio 1589, 1590) was written by him. Phu-tsmi of the Yuan Dynasty (1280-1368 A. D.) compiled a record of the explanation of the hidden meaning of the introductory part of the commentary on the Avataṃsaka in 40 fasciculi (Nanjio, 1622).

Another important work translated by Śikṣānanda was *Śraddhotpāda Śāstra,* attributed to Aśvaghoṣa. It is a philosophical treatise on the Mahāyāna Faith, which is studied even today in the monasteries of Japan. It was translated twice, once in 534 A.D. and again in 710 A.D. From Śikṣānanda's version Suzuki prepared an English version, called the *Discourse on the*

Śraddhotpāda Śāstra.

1 Pelliot—Notes a propos d'un catalogue du Kanjur, *J. A.*, 1914, July-Aug, pp. 118-121 ; also *JRAS.*, 1907, p, 663.

*Awakening of Faith in the Mahāyāna* (Nanjio, 1259). Suzuki holds Aśvaghoṣa, the poet of Buddhacarita, to be the author and asserts on the basis of the book itself that the actual founder of Mahāyāna was Aśvaghoṣa. The doctrine which the book teaches is, however, that of Vijñānavāda as taught by Asaṅga and the teaching of *Tathāgata-garbha* and the *Tathatā* which occurs in the Laṅkāvatāra. Prof. Takakusu, who holds the authorship of Aśvaghoṣa as altogther out of the question, says that the older catalogue of the Chinese text, does not contain the name of Aśvaghoṣa as the author. Although M. Sylvain Lévi says, "The poet of the Buddhacarita shows him here a profound metaphysician, as an intrepid reviver of a doctrine which was destined to regenerate Buddhism" (quoted by Nariman). We are, however, not inclined to accept Prof. Takakusu's views. The Sanskrit original of *Śraddhotpāda Śāstra* is long lost. According to the Chang-Yüan Catalogue (compiled between A.D. 784-804) the Sanskrit text is said to have existed at that time. It is a great pity that such an important Buddhist philosophical work as this can only be studied now through translation.

Two Chinese translations of this work exist in the Tripiṭaka collection. The first translation was made by Paramārtha already referred to in 554 A.D. The second one was done by Śikṣānanda of Khotan, of whom we have just now read. The originals of these two translations were not the same, the one having been brought from Ujjayini and the other from Khotan. But the difference is not fundamental. According to an unknown Chinese writer, quoted by Suzuki, the Sanskrit original found by Śikṣānanda in Tzu-an Tower was older of the two, and he translated it with the help of several native Buddhist priests.[1] Of the two translations Paramārtha's has found a more popular acceptance in Japan as well as in China, not because it is more faithful to the original, but because a learned and brilliant Buddhist scholar called Fa-tsang (A.D. 643-712) wrote a commentary on it and on that account the commentary is more studied than the text itself. Fa-tsang also assisted Śikṣānanda in preparing the second translation, but he preferred the first one for his commentary work, partly because the first one had already found a wide circulation among the commentators before his time, and partly because both translations agreeing in all their important points, he did not like to

1 Suzuki, The Awakening of Faith, p. 40.

show his "partiality" as a commentator, as Fa-tsang says, to the one in the preparation of which he himself took part (Suzuki, p. 41). No Sanskrit commentary of this important work has yet been discovered, but the Buddhist population of China studied it most carefully. Fa-tsang compiled the commentary (Nanjio, 1625, 5 fasc.) during the T'ang Dynasty. In the Sung period, another learned monk revised the work and published it in 15 fasciculi (Nanjio, 1626).

Non-Buddhist Indians sometimes translated Buddhist books. Li-Wu-thao, a Brahman of Lan-po in Northern India, is mentioned as a translator of a Dhāraṇī in 700 A.D. In 705, Mitrasena an Indian Śramaṇa residing at Tukhara (Tokhara-East of Kucha) translated a minor Dhāraṇī. Ratna-cintā, a Śramaṇa of Kāśmīra is responsible for seven translations in 9 fasciculi and he wrote between 693-706 A.D. He died in 721 when he was more than 100 years old. All his works were minor Dhāraṇīs or sūtras of indifferent value and shows the signs of degenerate state of Buddhism soon to follow.

A Kuchean Indian.

After Hiuen Tsang's death, another Buddhist monk I-tsing by name started for India in 671 A.D., and arrived in 673. The object of I-tsing's tour was to know more thoroughly about the Vinaya or Buddhist views of Discipline. He wanted to correct the misrepresentations of the Vinaya rules, and to refute the erroneous opinions held by the schools of Vinayadharas then existing in China. I-tsing was a great traveller. He was twenty five years (671-695) abroad and travelled in more than thirty countries. In India he studied at Nālandā and visited almost all the sacred places. He spent a good many years in Śrī-vijaya in Sumatra, which was once a great centre of Sanskrit and Indian culture and politically as important as Singapore of today. He wrote a book called *Record of Buddhist Practices in Southern Seas.* He returned to China in 695, and took home some four hundred different Sanskrit texts, the ślokas numbering five hundred thousand, and a plan of the Vajrāsana of the Buddha. Between A.D. 700-712 I-tsing translated 56 works in 230 volumes. Among these works there are several important Sūtras and Śāstras, but in order to know how he represented the Mūlasarvāstivāda school, it will suffice to mention here only the Vinaya texts :—

I-tsing.

1 Mūla-sarvāstivāda-Vinaya-Sūtra I Fasc. (agrees with Tibetan) (Nanjio, 1110).

2 °Vinaya in 50 fasc (No. 1118).

His works on Mūlasārvastivāda.

3 °Saṃyukta-Śāstra 40 fasc. (No. 1121)
4 °Saṅghabhedakavastu 20 fasc. (No. 1123)
5 °Nikāya-Bhikṣuṇī Vinaya 20 fasc. (No. 1124)
6 °Vinaya Saṅgraha—originally done by the Venerable Jinamitra. It had a Tibetan version. (No. 1127)
7 °Ekaśata-Karman 10 fasc. (No. 1131).
8 °Nidāna 5 fasc. (No. 1133).
9 °Mātṛkā 5 fasc. (No. 1134).
10 °Vinaya Nidāna-Mātṛkā-Gāthā 15 leaves. (No. 1140).
11 °Vinaya-Saṃyukta-Vastu-Gāthā 10 leaves. (No. 1141).
12 °Vinaya-Gāthā 4 fasc. composed by Vaiśākhya. (No. 1143).
13 °Bhikṣuṇī Vinaya-Sūtra 2 fasc. (No. 1146). Besides these, six more Vinaya books were done into Chinese by I-tsing, viz.,

i °Pravarjya (upasampadā) vastu, 4 fasc.
ii °Varṣāvāsa Śāstra
iii °Pravāraṇa Vastu
iv °Carma Vastu
v °Bhaiṣajya Vastu 18 fasc.
vi °Kaṭhina-cīvara Vastu.

I-tsing thus represented the whole text of the Vinaya belonging to the Mūla-sarvāstivāda Nikāya, and founded a new school for the study of this branch of Buddhist literature in China (Takakusu, Records, Intro.). I-tsing is also responsible for some translations of Abhidharma works by Asaṅga, Vasubandhu and Nāgārjuna, three magnets of the Mahāyāna. He translated Diṅnāga's book on *Nyāya Praveśa* which had been translated previously by Hiuen Tsang in 648 A.D. *Vajra-cchedikā Prajñā-pāramitā* (Nanjio, 14) and *Sūtraśāstra* (Nanjio, 1231) composed by Asaṅga and its commentary (also No. 1231) by Vasubandhu were also rendered into Chinese by I-tsing. I-tsing wrote an appendix to the book where he explained in the last verse of the Śāstra, the meaning of Prajñā. Some catalogue-makers have considered this work as an independent one. Another important book of Abhidharma, *Vijñānamātra Siddhi*, by Vasubandhu had been twice translated into Chinese. In India a commentary was compiled by Bodhisattva Dharmapāla, which was translated by I-tsing.

As we owe to I-tsing the preservation of Buddhist books on Vinaya in Chinese translation, the Sanskrit originals of which have

been lost, we owe a great deal to his contemporary Bodhiruci for the translation of a bulk of literature known as Ratnakūṭa, equally lost to us in the original with a few exceptions. Bodhiruci's original name was Dharmaruci, which was changed into Bodhiruci by the order of the Empress Wu Tso-thien. He was a Śramaṇa of Southern India and a Brāhmaṇa by caste. He translated between 693-713 A.D., fifty-three works in 111 fasciculi, of which 12 works in 12 fasciculi were already missing in 730 A. D. It is said he died in his 156th year in 727 A. D. His most stupendous work was his edition of *Mahā-ratnakūṭa-Sūtra* (Nanjio, 23; 120 fasc.). This is a collection of 49 sūtras, arranged by Bodhiruci, who himself translated 26 of them (Nanjio, App. II, 150). He became so popular that the Emperor Tsui-tsung wrote a preface concerning the life of Bodhiruci. Su-no, a contemporary of our writer, also wrote an introduction to his Ratnakūṭa work.

Ratnakūṭa Literature.

During the first quarter of the eighth century Buddhism still continued to be favoured as state religion with a very brief period of reaction under Emperor Hsüan Tsang. It was represented to him that rich families wasted their substance on religious edifices and that the inmates were well-to-do persons desirous of escaping the burdens of public service. Buildings of monastaries and copying sūtras, making images of Buddha and Bodhisattvas were forbidden and 12,000 monks were ordered to return to the world. In the latter part of his life he became more tolerant and Buddhism again flourished. During this period, only four translators worked. Pāramita, (Pramiti), a Śramaṇa of Central India, together with Meghaśikha of Udyāna and Hwai-ti, a Chinese monk, translated a work on Sūraṅgama Sūtra in 705 A.D. (Nanjio, App. II, 151). Shih Chu-Yen, a son of the king of Kutsana (Khotan), who was sent to China as a hostage, became a Śramaṇa there in 707 A.D. He stayed there in a monastery, learnt Chinese and translated four books in 721 A.D.

## III

The second quarter of the eighth century marks the introduction of Tāntrism in China with the advent of Vajrabodhi and his pupil Amogha-vajra in 719 A.D. According to Tibetan chronicles 'the first of all the Tāntrikas who came to China from India was Sthavira Śrīmitra'. He was an heir-apparent to a king of India, but gave up his realm in favour of

8th century A.D. Tantrism.

his younger brother and became a Śramaṇa. He came to China in 307-312 A.D., when the Western T'sin was ruling at Nanking. 'He diffused the knowledge of Tāntrikism by translating the Mahāyāna and other Dhāraṇīs into the Chinese language. Although contemporaneously with him many other eminent Indian Tāntriks came to China yet very few books on Tāntrikism had been translated for the public. The sage Kumāraśrī also did not communicate his Tāntrik lore to the general public, but only to one or two of his reliable disciples, so that Tāntrikism made very little progress in China.' (*JASB.*, 1882, p. 93). During the period of four hundred years that intervened between Śrīmitra and Vajrabodhi, a number of Dhāraṇīs were translated by various writers. In A. D. 719 Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra arrived in China and reached Chang-an, the capital of the T'angs during the reign of the Emperor Hsuon Tsung (T'ang-ming-hung—Tibetan). Vajrabodhi instructed two Chinese monks in Tāntrik mysticism. He is said to have translated eleven works mostly on Tantra or Dhāraṇī. His principal works were *Caṇḍī-devī-dhāraṇī*, (No. 345), *Vajraśekhara Yoga-tantra* (No. 534), *Sarvatathāgata Vajrāyur-dhāraṇī*, (No. 960), *Vajraśekhara-Vimāna-Sarvayogayogi-Sūtra* (No. 1039), *Vajrāyur-dhāraṇī-adhyāya-kalpa* (No. 1391), *Vajaaśekhara-sūtra-yogāvalokiteśvara-rāja-tathāgata-caryākalpa* (No. 1430), etc. All these books seem to be scriptures on Vajrayāna, and the name Vajrabodhi itself seems to be an assumed name.

Vajrabodhi, the Tāntrik teacher in China.

Amoghavajra, when he came with his master Vajrabodhi, was only tewenty-one years old. His Guru at his death-bed (732 A.D) instructed him to go to India and Ceylon for the purpose of collecting some texts. It was not before 741 that he could fulfil his Guru's request and went back to India. He writes "from my boyhood I served the late teacher for fourteen years and received his instruction in Yoga. Then I went to the five parts of India, and collected several Sūtras and Śāstras more than five hundred different texts, which had hitherto not yet been brought to China. In A.D. 746, I came back to the capital. From the same year till the present time (771 A.D.). I translated seventy-seven works in more than 120 fasciculi." He was greatly honoured by the Chinese Emperor and was given various honorofic titles for his great work for the cause of Buddhism, He wanted to come back to India, but he was indispensable and could not be spared. He died in 774 A.D. in his 70th year, greatly honoured even after his death by the Imperial Order. He

Amoghavajra.

was held in veneration at the court of successive Emperors of the T'ang Dynasty. Under his influence the Tantra doctrine first gained ground in China. Tibetan chronicles say that he performed the ceremony of *Vajra-Garbha Maṇḍala* for the benefit of the king who, on account of his devotion to Buddhism, was given the religious name of Ta-Kuang-Shih-San-Tsang, i.e.. Repository of wisdom and knowledge of the Tripiṭaka. He is said to have performed many other miraculous works for the good of the Emperor. Being pleased with him for his eminent services, the king made him a gift of a piece of land supporting 3,000 tenants. After his retirement Hui-lang was installed in Amoghavajra's place as Guru or Vajrācārya.

Although both Vajrabodhi and Amogha-vajra and their disciples passed for Saints and Sages, yet Tāntrikism did not flourish long, but soon decayed. During the reign of the Sung Dynasty, Dānarakṣita, Dharma-bhadra, and other Indian Paṇḍits visited China, but being very jealous of their mystic operations which were kept secret to the public, they only communicated the *mantras* to a selected few, under solemn promise of not revealing them to the public. The later monks were instructed in only a few of the Tāntrik rites, such as the ceremony of *Amogha-pāśa*. It was owing to the several restrictions, that mysticism made no progress in China (*JASB.*, 1882, p. 94).

Other Tantirk writers.

Amoghavajra's contribution to Chinese literature was very great. There are hundred and eight works ascribed to him in the Ming Dynasty catalogue. Amoghavajra brought, as we have seen, 500 books from India, which had never been before his time imported into China, and it is not unlikely that he translated 108 of them—mostly Tantra books.

Three years before the arrival of these great Tāntrik teachers, Śubhākara-Siṃha arrived in China in 716 A.D. He was a Śramaṇa of Central India, and a descendant of Amṛtodana, an uncle of Śākya-muni and lived in the Nālandā monastery. He brought to China a large collection of Sanskrit books and himself translated a few. Only five books are ascribed to him such as *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi* (No. 531), *Susiddhikara Mahā-tantra* (No. 533), etc.

In 781 Prajñā, one of the translators of the T'ang Period, came to China in order to get near the scene of Manjuśrī's labours. He translated four books and collaborated with the Nestorian priest King-Ching or Adam, who erected the famous Singan-fu monument. Between them they made a translation of the

Prajñā.

*'Saṭ-pāramitā-sūtra,'* (10 fasciculi, 10 chapters) which they offered to the Emperor Tai-Tsung. The Emperor, however, refused to receive it, saying that King-Ching should devote himself to preaching the doctrines of *Meshis* (Messiah), leaving the Buddhists to propagate the teachings of Śākyamuni. The book therefore appears in Prajñā's name.[1] There is a preface added to it by the Emperor. Of his other books, *Buddhāvataṃsaka Vaipulya-Sūtra,* being a chapter on 'Samantabhadrapraṇidhāna,' deserves special mention.

Wu-néng-shang and O-chih-ta-sien (Ajitasena ?), of whom we know little, were the last translators of the T'ang Dynasty. They seem to be Indians.

'In 751 a mission was sent to the king of Ki-pin, which at that time meant N. E. Afganisthan. The staff included Wu-Kung, also known as Dharmadhātu, who remained in India, took the vows and ultimately returned to China with many books and relics. It is probable that in this and the following centuries Hindu influence reached the outlying province of Yünan or the Southern China directly through Burma' (BEFEO., 1904, p. 161 ; Eliot, III, p. 262).

Mission to India.

Before we close our account of the emigration of Buddhist monks, during the T'ang rule in China, we must not forget to mention a very important item of debt which China owes to India, and which fact is observed even in an ordinary text book of Chinese history. Li-ung-bing writes in his *Outlines of Chinese History*[2] : "About the time of the reign of Empress Wu, (of the T'ang), the Hindu calendar was for the first time adopted in China. The Kuang Chi calendar, adopted in 684, was the work of a Hindu monk employed by the empress for the purpose of revising the old calendar. In the 9th year of K'ai Yüan, A.D. 721, a Chinese Buddhist monk and celebrated astronomer, I-Hsing, was employed for the same purpose. His method of calculation was based upon that of Gautamasiddha, a Hindu monk. At about the same time, arithmetical knowledge had made rapid progress in China, and it is probable that the Chinese received much help from such Brahmanical books on arithmetic as had been

Hindu Astronomy and Mathematics.

1 G. Sakurai in Hansei Zasshi, vol. xiii, p. 12, quoted by Lloyd in his *Creed of Half Japan*, p. 203.

2 Pp. 156-157, Shanghai, 1914.

translated by the Hindu priests. These books are now hopelessly lost, although their names remain recorded in the Catalogue of the Sui dynasty without any remark concerning them."

During the three hundred years of T'ang rule in China, Buddhism flourished inspite of some reactionary attitude and prosecution of certain Emperors. One of the principal activities in the line of literature was the cataloguing of Buddhist Canons.

Catalogues of Buddhist Tripiṭaka.

We have seen already that four collections existed during the Sui Dynasty, the last of which had been done in 605-616 A.D. and has been lost. In the T'ang dynasty six catalogues were compiled, some by individuals living in a monastery, others by the imperial order.

Ta-T'ang-mu-tien-lu or a Catalogue of the Buddhist books was compiled under the Great T'ang Dynasty in 16 fasciculi, by Tao-Suen in A.D. 664. This catalogue contains a list of works, whether translation or original treatises in Chinese with a biographical note of each author, and sums up the total number of works as 2487 in 8476 fasciculi. In the same year (664 A.D.) Tsing Mai compiled a catalogue which contains all the titles of translated works from the time of Kāśyapa Mātaṅga to the time of Hiuen-Tsang (617 A.D.). The number of translators was one hundred and twenty, and that of their works is 1620 (5552 fasc.) with the exception of 298 works whose translators are unknown. But these two were not done under royal orders. About thirty years later Ming-Chuen was ordered by the Empress Wu Tso-Thien (684-705) to compile a catalogue in collaboration with others (695 A.D.). This is the sixth collection made by a sovereign of China. The total number of books either translated from Sanskrit or Prākṛt or written on Buddhist or Indian subjects, was 3616 in 8521 fasciculi. Of these the number of works belonging to the Tripiṭaka of the Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna was 1470 in 2406 fasciculi. Besides these, 859 works in 3882 fasciculi were admitted into Chinese Buddhist Canon by the imperial order. There is a list of 228 books which were considered spurious by the learned monks at the end of this catalogue.

T'ang Catalogues.

For a generation no more catalogues were compiled till 730 A.D., when one of the best catalogues of the Chinese Tripiṭaka was compiled by Chi-Shang. This catalogue is known as *Khai-Yuen-lu* and has been referred to in many places. It enumerates 2278 works ascribed to 176 translators, Indian and Chinese, with the exception

Khai-yuen-lu Catalogue, 730 A.D.

of 741 books by unknown translators. The titles of these works are given chronologically and a short account of each translator or writer is added, preceded by a list of his works and various miscellaneous items of information, such as the number into which each work is divided, variations in the title, when and where the translation was made, etc. Chi-Shang, the editor-in-chief, says, "Thus under 19 dynasties, from the Eastern Han (25-220) to T'ang (618-907), there were produced translations of the Sūtra, Vinaya, and Abhidharma or Śāstra of the Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna, as well as the works of the sages and wise men, altogether 2278 works in 7046 fasciculi. Of these, 1124 works are now (730 A.D.) admitted into the Canon. The number of missing works is 1148 (Nanjio). We must remember that books written by non-Buddhists were freely translated into Chinese, and sixty-six books are mentioned as still extant in 730 A. D., which were written by Indian sages, and the total number of spurious and heterodox books translated up to that date was 382. *Khai-yuen-lu* was followed by a smaller catalogue, which gives a briefer treatment of the description and an index. This may be called the Seventh Collection, made by the order of the Emperor Huen-Tsung (713-755), under whose reign this index was made (see Nanjio, Introduction).

## Chinese Pilgrims in India

Chinese Pilgrims in India—7th century.

In our ordinary history we are told that three Chinese pilgrims Fa-hsien, Hiuen-Tsang, and I-tsing came to India; but from other Chinese sources we know that since Fa-hsien's return to China in 414 A.D., Chinese youths began to pour into India by scores and sometimes by hundreds.

Down to the period of missionary activities of Kumārajīva (344-413 A.D.), Buddhism and Indian culture penetrated into China mainly through the Central Asian routes. Most of the early Sino-Buddhist texts coming down from the Lo-yang school were from the pen of Yüeh-chih, Parthians and Sogdian converts to Buddhism, working in collaboration with Chinese Buddhists. In some of the Mahāyāna texts, we find a curious mixture of Indian, Khotanese, Iranian and Chinese spirit. Linguistic test also demonstrates that most of the

earlier translations were not done directly from Indian classical language like Sanskrit and Pāli, but from popular dialects Prākṛt of various parts in which many important Buddhist books were written.

With the appearance of Fa-hsien (399-414 A.D.), the great period of direct Sino-Indian collaboration and communication commences. Classical Buddhist books were imported from India by Fa-hsien and they were translated into Chinese directly. Fa-hsien visited the great intellectual centres of Takṣaśilā (Taxila) and Puruṣapura, studied for three years at Pāṭaliputra, and two years at Tāmralipti, returned to China having stopped for sometime in the Indian colonies of Ceylon and Java on his way home.[1]

Fa-hsien and direct Sino-Indo communication.

Fa-hsien was followed by many Chinese monks, who came to India by the N.-W. passage. The Chinese youths were fired with enthusiasm and they felt almost a romantic attraction for a journey to India. This pilgrimage continued for centuries, only occasionally stopped by political disturbance.

Hiuen Tsang was only one of the many who had been to India, but as he had a literary gift he left a travel-diary of India, for which he is known to many of us; but there were others who preceded or immediately after followed the great traveller to India who were not gifted with the talent of Hiuen Tsang and have therefore been forgotten. We find in Chinese brilliant records of such monks coming to India during the earlier part of the T'ang period.

Hiuen Tsang came out to India in 629 A.D., went back to China in 645 A.D., and died in 664 A.D. About half-a-century later I-tsing, another great Chinese traveller, came out in 671 A.D. returning to China in 695; he died in 713 A.D. These dates are important for our study of this period. I-tsing, who came back in 695, wrote a book called *Ch'iu-fa-ko-sang-chuan*, which contains lives of Chinese Buddhist priests, who visited India, during the early period of the T'ang dynasty in the latter half of the seventh century. M. Chavannes in the introduction to his French translation of that work calls attention to the remarkable fact that in a single generation sixty persons were found willing to undertake such a perilous journey. Moreover, M. Chavannes shows good reason for assuming that there were many more pilgrims of whose wanderings

Hiuen Tsang and I-tsing.

1 Dr. K. D. Nag, Greater India, *Calcutta Review*, 1926, January.

no record has been preserved and that the actual number of those pious palmers must have amounted to several hundreds.

I-tsing in his preface to his *Ch'iu-fa-ko-sang-chuan* (Nanjio, No. 1491) have alluded to the journeys of Fa-hsien and Hiuen Tsang, who proceeded to the Western countries to procure Buddhist books and pay reverence to the sacred relics. He briefly describes the hardships and dangers of the route, and the difficulty of finding shelter and entertainment in the different countries visited by the Chinese pilgrims to the same spots, and that in consequence of there being no temples set apart for Chinese priests. He then goes on to enumerate the names of the pilgrims referred to in his memoirs.[1]

Hiuen-Chiu.

Hiuen-Chiu was a Śramaṇa of Sin-Chang in Tai-chau province. As was the custom with many, this Chinese monk took the Indian name of Prakāśamati. He came of a distinguished family and forsook the world when a youth. He made preparations to visit the sacred places of India, and for that purpose studied Buddhism through Chinese and in 638 A.D. came to a famous monastery where he applied himself to the study of Sanskrit literature. From there he proceeded towards South for India, crossed Tibet and came to Jalandhara. He spent four years in that town where the king of the Mung caused him to be detained and gave him all necessary entertainment; during that period he studied Sanskrit literature with him. After this he came to Magadha, where he spent four years; there he studied various books and went to the Nalanda monastery where he passed three years. Thence he went back to the Mung capital Amaravata but the king detained him in the monastery of his capital Sin-che, for three years. In the meantime, the Chinese ambassador Wang-hiuen-tse, who was staying in the court of some great king in the North-Western Province, urged his return and consequently he returned to Lo-yang through Nepal and Tibet.

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1 Indian Antiquary, 1881; S. Beal, *Indian Travels of Chinese Buddhists*, pp. 109, 192, 246.

2 Beal's *Life of Hiouen Tsiang by Hwui Li*, Introduction, pp. xxvii-xli. Trübner, 1914.

3 Voyages des pèlerins bouddhistes. Les religieux eminents qui allèrent chercher la loi dans les pays d'occident. Memoire composé a l'epoque de la grande dynastie T'ang par I-tsing, traduit par Ed. Chavannes, Paris, 1894.

The name of Wang-hiuen-tse is connected with the international politics of India, China and Tibet. After Hiuen Tsang's return to China, Harṣavardhana, the great king of Northern India wanted to open diplomatic relations with the Chinese Empire. He sent a Brahmin envoy to China in 641 A.D., who returned in 643, accompanied by a Chinese mission bearing reply to Harṣa's despatch. The mission remained till 645 A.D., when it returned home. The next year, Wang-hiuen-tse, who had been the second in command of the earlier mission, was sent by the Chinese emperor as head of a new mission. When the envoy reached India Harṣa had died (647 A.D.) and Arjuna or Aruṇāśva (O-lo-na-shuen), a minister of the late king, usurped the throne.

Wang-hiuen-tse and Indian politics.

The Chinese party was greatly maltreated by the tyrant and Wang-hiuen-tse and his colleagues escaped to Nepal by night. From Tibet and Nepal he got military aid and with its help the usurper was taken prisoner and carried to China. Tibet was then under Sron-gub-tsan-gampo, the mighty king, who for some time remained master of Tirhoot, which his rival had conquered.

Wang-hiuen-tse once more visited the scene of his adventures, being sent by imperial order in 657 A.D., to offer robes at the Buddhist holy places.[1]

In 665 A.D. Hiuen-Chiu returned to Kashmir where he met a Brahmin Lokāyata (Lokāyata is popularly synonymous with an athiest) (Lo-kia-yih-to) and others with whom he returned to China; they were asked by the Chinese ambassador of Kashmir to go to a country called Lo-tu. The party traversed much and tried to go back through Nepal and Kapisa, but could not reach China this time. Hiuen Chiu died in the country of Amaravata in Central India aged 60 and odd years.

Hwui Lun was a native of Corea; his Indian name was Prajñāvarman. He quitted his country inflamed with a desire to perform a pilgrimage to the holy places of Buddhism. From Corea he came to Lo-yang, the capital of China; there he was commissioned by the Emperor to follow the steps of Hiuen Chiu, who had gone to the Western countries, and to attend him as servant. Having undertaken this,

Hwui Lun, the Corean in India.

1 Sylvain Lévi, *Les missions de Wang-hiuen-tsi dans inde*—J. A., 1900. Translated in the Indian Antiquary, 1911, pp. 111; V. A. Smith, *Early History of India* (4th ed.), pp. 366-67.

he went from place to place, paying homage to the sacred spots of his religion. He dwelt in the monastery of Amaravata in Central India. He visited many places, one of which was the monastery of Tou-ho-la-sse, built by the Tukhara (?) people for the accommodation of their fellow countrymen. Here Hwui-Lun remained for the purpose of learning Sanskrit language. The monk visited many holy places including Nalanda. Near about it there was an old temple, the foundations of which even then remained; it was called 'China Temple'. The old story was that the temple was built by Śrīgupta Mahārāja for the priests from China. During Śrīgupta's reign about twenty Chinese monks, having wandered away from Szu-chuen, came out near the Mahābodhi and offered their worship. The king moved with their piety, gave them a large village for their maintenance and settlement. Hwui-Lun says that this happened 500 years ago, which is not probable; but we may believe the kernel of the story as true. He further gives some traditional history of Nalanda and says that there were three thousand and five hundred priests in the monastery of Nalanda, which was supported by revenues derived from villages given by a succession of kings to the monastery.

The China temple near Nalanda.

Fa-hsien and a group of twenty-four youngmen, who came to India after him, Hiuen Tsang and some of his contemporaries all came to India either by the North-Western passage or crossing the Himalayas. But there was another route through which communication had been established between India and China; it was the sea route, which was taken by Fa-hsien in the early fourth century A.D. We have a record of about a score of Chinese monks who came to India proper or her colonies in the South Seas, by the sea route.

Of these I-tsing is the best known to us; his travels and his contributions to the diffusion of knowledge about India and Indian literature have already been described in details.

Next we hear of two Korean monks who came as far as Śrīvijaya, formerly transliterated as Śrībhoja (in Sumatra, modern Palembong), which was a Hindu colony and a great seat of Sanskrit culture; they died there without coming to Indian mainland. Another Chinese monk named Hui-Ning left China in 665 A.D., and passed three years in Ho-ling, or Kalinga, a name applied to the coastal country of Pegu; but the identification is not final. Wan-K'i of Kiau-Chau spent ten years in the Southern Seas, and was very proficient in the language of *Kiu-lun* (of Sumatra) and

Two Korean monks.

was partly acquainted with Sanskrit. He afterwards retired to a lay life and resided at Śrīvijaya.

Mochadeva. Mochadeva, a young Cochin-Chinese, (but as his name sounds, it seems that he was an emigrant living in further India), came to India. He visited all the countries of the Southern Seas and came to India, but died young. Another priest of Cochin-China was Kwei-Chung, who went by the Southern Seas to Ceylon. Afterwards in company with a priest called Hün-Chiu, he proceeded to the Bodhi tree and afterwards to Rājagṛha. He also died young at 30. A priest of the Mahāyāna school called Tang or the 'Lamp' (dīpa) went with his parents when young to the land of Dvāravatī, as part of Burma was called and there became a priest. He afterwards went with the Chinese envoy to Chang-an in China. Afterwards he came to India, having visited the Southern Seas and Ceylon. He lived in Tāmralipti for twelve years where he applied himself diligently to Sanskrit, acquired great proficiency in the language and then proceeded to Nalanda, Gaya and other places.

Mahāyāna Dīpa.

Eastern Turkestan was a Buddhist country; there was an Indian settlement too, of which we shall hear in our study on Central Asia. Two priests of Turfan going in company with a Chinese envoy through the Southern Seas died on board the ship. The books belonging to these monks, the Yoga-śāstra and others, I-tsing remarks, are still at Śrīvijaya. These priests might be Indians of Turfan and these books might be original Sanskrit texts, but we are not sure.

Indian priests from Turfan.

Tao-Lun, a Chinese priest was called Śīlaprabha by his Indian name, resided in many places in the South Seas and came to Tāmralipti, where he passed three years in the study of Sanskrit language. After visiting Buddha-Gaya, he came to Nalanda, where he studied *Kośa* for a year or two. After visting several holy places he proceeded to South India, and going through the Maratha country in Western India, he studied a work entitled *Ta-ming-chan*, in Sanskrit the *Vedi-dharapiṭaka*. The current tradition is that this work was in 100,000 ślokas, which in Chinese translation would represent 300 chapters; that a great portion of it is lost and that after the death of the Buddha, the spirit of the verses was preserved by Ārya Nāgārjuna. Tao-Lun after this proceeded to Kashmir and the country of Udyana. After some further travels he died at the age of fifty.

Tao-Lun

Another priest called Tan-Kuang came to India by the Southern route, and having arrived at A-li-ki-lu (Arakan ?) he was reported to have found favour with the king and to have got a temple built, and books and images made ; finally he is said to have died there.

Tan-Kuang

Hwui-ming set out for India but could not reach it owing to the ship being stopped by a contrary wind.

Hwui-Ta, a priest of Kun-chow came of a high Chinese family. He appears to have accompanied an envoy in a Persian ship to the Southern seas. Having arrived at Śrīvijaya he remained there for six months studying the *Śabda-vidyā* or the science of grammar. After visiting several places he came to Tāmralipti where he met Mahāyāna Dīpa or Tang mentioned above. In this place, they remained together one year learning Sanskrit and practising *Śabda Śāstra*. After some further vicissitudes he reached Nalanda where he lived for ten years, and then going back to Tāmralipti he returned to Quedah with all his books and translations, amounting in all to 500,000 ślokas, enough to fill 1000 volumes ; he remained at Śrīvijaya.

A priest named Lingwan took the route through Annam and came to India and erected under the Bodhi-tree, a figure of Maitreya Bodhisattva, one cubit in height and of exquisite beauty. Lingwan had a companion named Seng-chi who came to India by the Southern Sea route. Having arrived at Samataṭa he found the King of that country, Harṣavardhana by name, a upāsaka, who greatly reverenced the three objects of worship. Another Chinese priest Chi-'Sze went to the south and resided at Shang-King near Cochin China ; he then went south to Śrīvijaya, and afterwards proceeded to India. Chi-'Sze was accompanied by a priest named Wou-Lung. He visited Ceylon, Burma and many other places till he arrived in India. He studied at Nalanda the *Yoga*, *Kośa* and other works. Moved with a desire to obtain copies of the Vinaya, he went to Khardah (Kie-lo-ch'a) temple near the Mahābodhi. In the end he died at Nalanda. Fa-chin never reached India proper although he visited many places of Greater India. Ta-tsing of Lai-chow visited India and returned to the Southern Seas in 682 A. D., and after sending his books and images to China, he himself resided at Śrīvijaya, where he acted as an interpreter of the Kiu-lun language. He returned to Chang-an in 693 A. D.

Lingwan and other Monks.

I-tsing mentions twenty-one Chinese monks, who came to India by the Northern land route, of whom the following are noteworthy.

Tao-Hi.

Tao-Hi, a man of noble descent, who took his Indian name as Śrīdeva, visited India during the T'ang period. He resided at Mahābodhi for several years and lived in Nalanda as well for sometime ; while remaining at Nalanda he studiously applied himself to the study of Mahāyāna. He also resided at Chu-po-pun-na and studied the *Vinaya Piṭaka* and *Śabda-vidyā*. Whilst in the Mahābodhi he engraved a memorial tablet in the Chinese language. He left more than 400 volumes, new and old, of Chinese sūtras and śāstras, at Nalanda. I-tsing did not meet this monk, for he had gone to Amaravati where he died at the age of fifty, but he saw his chamber at Nalanda.

Another young Chinese Doctor of Dharma, Sse-Pin came to India by the Northern route ; he was well-versed in the Sanskrit Tantras. He met Tao-Hi in Amarakuva. He died after remaining one summer in India.

Korean Monks in India.

A Korean monk named Ārya-varma left Chang-an about 638 A. D., and came to Nalanda, where he engaged himself in copying many sūtras. He was deeply versed in the Vinaya and Abhidharma. He died at Nalanda at about seventy. During this time another Korean monk Hwui-Nieh came to India, lived in the Mahābodhi Temple and then went to Nalanda, where he dwelt for a long time, reading and studying. I-tsing when arranging some Chinese books in the Nalanda Monastery Library saw some records of Hwui-Nieh. On enquiry at the temple, the priests said that the Korean priest who lived there died the same year at the age of sixty. The Sanskrit books copied by him were preserved at Nalanda Vihāra.

The third Korean monk Hiuen-T'ai called by the Sanskrit name of Sarvajñānadeva went in 650 A. D. to Middle India by the Tibetan road through Nepal ; he visited Mahābodhi and other places in India and returned to China. He was a contemporary of Tao-Hi, whom he met in the Tukhara country, by which Eastern Turkestan is meant. Another Korean monk came to India, only to die at Mahābodhi, without accomplishing any work worth remembering.

A Hindu of Turkestan.

A Hindu colonist of Tukhāra country (Kucha or Turfan) named Bodhidharma, a man of great bodily size and strength, came to China and became a priest. He came to India and I-tsing met him at Nalanda. The priest died in North India at fifty or so.

I-tsing speaks of another Chinese monk of Ping-Chau, who came to Nepal and was living there while he wrote the book. Tao-Sing, a Doctor of the Dharma, called in Sanskrit Candradeva, came by the Turfan road to Middle India in 649 A.D. He was greatly honoured at Nalanda. Twelve stages east to Nalanda, there was a monastery of the Hīnayāna, where Tao-Sing remained for many years learning the books of Tripiṭaka according to the Hīnayāna. He returned to China through Nepal.

Tao-Sing or Candradeva.

Shang-Tih was a priest of the Dhyāna School founded by Bodhidharma. He was very ardent and wanted to come to India, but on the way the ship which was bringing them to India sank and the brave monk was drowned praying on board the ship. He had vowed to write out the whole of the Prajñā Sūtras in 10,000 chapters. He only finished part of his vow in China.

Shang-Tih.

Matisiṃha, a man of the Capital whose common name was Wong-po, accompanied the priest Sse-Pin and, arriving at the Madhyadeśa, began to learn Sanskrit. But he made little progress in the sacred language and he went to Nepal and died on the way there.

Matisiṃha or Wong-po.

I-tsing mentions several other monks who either came to India or lived in Tukhāra, which is Eastern Turkestan. These monks learned Sanskrit and two of them, coming from Turfan, lived in Nepal; they spoke Sanskrit well. A Doctor of Dharma named Lung got a copy of Sanskrit *Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka*. He died at Gandhāra.

Ming Yuen, a Chinese monk, whose Sanskrit name was Cintādeva, came to Ceylon by the sea-route; and so much was his enthusiasm for religion and greed for relics, that he tried to steal the famous tooth-relic of Ceylon, but was detected and disgraced.

I-long, a priest of Yih-chau, well-versed in the Vinaya-Piṭaka, and the interpretation of Yogācāra, set forth from Chang-an with two other persons; one having died on the way, two came to Ceylon, where they worshipped the tooth-relic and having obtained various books returned through Western India. I-tsing says that he never heard of him in Middle India. It would be interesting to know what books from Ceylon were taken by the monk in the middle of the seventh century, when Pāli Buddhism was predominant there. Ceylon had been visited by Chinese monks. It is a common mistake that in China Mahāyāna alone was preached. We have proofs of the existence of Sanskrit Hīnayāna books in the Chinese Tripiṭaka, but we have not definitely come across any Pāli book in translation, nor of any book belonging to the Theravāda.

I-long in Ceylon.

Sin-Chin, whose Sanskrit name was Caritavarman came by the Northern route and died young.

Saṅghavarman was a native of Samarkhand or Central Asia. He first went to China, and then came to India to the Mahābodhi. He went back to China and died at Cochin China while relieving an epidemic there. Besides these there were a few travellers whom we can pass over.

Saṅghavarman of Samarkhand.

These monks came to India to study Buddhism in the soil where it originated. The number of Chinese and other non-Indian monks, who came to visit India, in comparison with the great difficulty of the route, was indeed very great. These fifty-four monks we have already pointed out came to India a little before I-tsing, and some were his contemporaries. The enthusiasm and activity on the part of Chinese people can thus easily be gauged. From the perusal of the above the readers will form the idea that it is not only the Indians who had gone out to preach but that other peoples also had enthusiasm. We shall however see again that in the tenth century there is again such an outburst of holy pilgrimage to India.

Religious enthusiasm.

( *To be continued* )

PROBHAT KUMAR MUKHERJEE

# Siege of Bednore, 1783

## *Tipu Sultan's own story—translated from his Memoirs (India Office MS.)—and accounts of two English eye-witnesses*

A full and detailed story of the siege of Bednore cannot fail to be of interest to students of Indian History.

Tipu was much elated at the complete success of his army over the English force under General Matthews during this famous siege. He has given a vivid story of his much-vaunted victory in the *Memoirs* written by himself.

The Persian manuscript of the *Memoirs*, which had been in the possession of Col. Kirkpatrick, is now preserved in the India office Library, London (No. 3565, Glass case). A photographic copy from this India Office MS. is in the possession of Prof. Jadu Nath Sarkar.[1] Col. Kirkpatrick has given a short introduction to the *Memoirs* in his *Select Letters of Tipu Sultan*, published in 1811. He says that this Persian work, written by the Sultan himself, was designated *Tārīkh-i-Khudādādī*,' i.e. History of the *Khudā-dād Sarkār* (*lit.* God-given government). He found an imperfect copy of the work, the narrative being brought down only as far as 1787. The first three pages of the India Office MS. are missing. These were "accidentally destroyed", as has been mentioned by Col. Kirkpatrick, after the MS. had come into his possession. On the first page of the MS. in hand, we find ourselves in the middle of the account of the earliest stage of the siege of Bednore; and in the succeeding few pages, we have a vivid description of the event.

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1 I must take the opportunity of expressing my deep sense of gratitude to Prof. Sarkar, who kindly allowed me to use this photographic copy, while I worked at Patna under his guidance to have a thorough training for conducting original research work in History. My best thanks are also due to my teacher, Maulavi P. D. Zafar, B. A. (of Patna), with whose help I translated a large portion of the *Memoirs*.

Wilks, in his History of Mysore, has given an account of this famous incident.[1] He read Tipu's *Memoirs*, but he appears to have put little or no faith in the story as related therein. We have no doubt that there are exaggerations and inaccuracies in the Sultan's own account, but we are not in any way warranted in disbelieving the whole of it. Wilks had no access, as he has himself admitted, to accounts of this event written by any of the besieged.[2] But fortunately there are two such reliable English accounts—one by CAPT. HENRY OAKES, Adjutant General to the Army under the command of Gen. Matthews; and the other by LT. JOHN CHARLES SHEEN, who was in the same force.[3]

We shall give here first the detailed account of the event as narrated in the Memoirs of the Sultan, and, secondly, the English version, as found in the Narrative of Capt. Oakes and the letter of Lt. Sheen.

Before the actual siege is described, we may begin with a short account of the events preceding it.

The English occupation of Bednore.

A short time after Hyder's death (7th Dec., 1782), the Bombay Government sent an order, dated 31st Dec., 1782, to Brigadier General Matthews to "make an immediate push to take possession of Bednore."[4] The advance of Gen. Matthews and his movements till he took possession of the fort and town of Bednore, have been described by Wilks and Beveridge. The so-called easy capture of Bednore by the English general may be told in a few words. Ayāzkhān, a great favourite of Hyder Ali, had been appointed by the latter to govern the country of *Nuggur* (Bednore), *Kuriāl Bandar* (Mangalore), etc. This Ayāzkhān,

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1 Wilks, *Historical Sketches of the South of India* (Second ed., 1869), vol. II, pp. 59 ff.

2 Wilks, vol. II, p. 60.

3 An Authentic Narrative of the treatment of the English who were taken prisoners on the reduction of Bednore by Tippoo Saib, from April 1783 to April 1784. By Capt. Henry Oakes, Adjutant General to the Army under the command of Gen. Matthews on that expedition. With an appendix relative to the conduct of the British forces upon their first becoming masters of that place, by Lt. John Charles Sheen, of the First Battalion of Sepoys. Published in London, 1785.

4 Quoted in Wilks' *Mysore*, vol. II, p. 53; in H. Beveridge's *Comprehensive History of India*, vol. II, p. 516.

on the approach of the English army, treacherously delivered up the fort and town of Bednore to Gen. Matthews. Such was the English general's conquest of Bednore, which was effected without any bloodshed[1]—it was accomplished, to quote the expression of Gen. Matthews in his official despatch, by "*the divine will.*"[2] This was followed soon by the surrender of some other places and forts, including the fort of *Kuriāl*, which passed similarly into the hands of the English general through the treachery of the same Ayāzkhān.[3]

A scramble for plunder appears to have followed the English occupation of Bednore. Both Ayāzkhān and Gen. Matthews were anxious to obtain all they could. This appears clear from the evidence of the *Tārīkh-i-Tīpū Sultān* and the letter of Lt. Sheen. The latter gives the following account: Ayāz "took care to secure his own private property"; but from the treasury of the Sultan's government, he put Gen. Matthews "in possession of 30 lakhs of pagodas,[4] with a great quantity of diamonds and other precious stones", a "part of which" was actually seen by Lt. Sheen. The English general "afterwards secreted" this treasure, and "sent" it "by his brother to Bombay."

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1 Mīr Hussain 'Ali Khān Kirmanī's *Tārīkh-i-Tīpū Sultān* (trans. by Col. Miles), p. 9; Lt. Sheen's Letter, in the Appendix to the *Narrative of Capt. Henry Oakes*, pp. 73-74.

2 Quoted in Wilks, vol. II, p. 55; Beveridge, vol. II, p. 517.

3 *Tārīkh-i-Tīpū Sultān* (Persian text), pp. 260-61. (Col. Miles' *Eng. trans.*, p. 8.)

4 30 lakhs of *pagodas* would be roughly equivalent to 120 *lakhs* of rupees current at the time. A *pagoda*, generally current in the territories of Mysore (*Sultani pagoda* coined by Tipu; or *Bahaduri pagoda*, coined by Hyder; or *Swāmi pagoda*, coined by a Mysore Raja—all of a general standard), usually passed for Rupees 4 (current at the time). A *Sultani* rupee was generally equivalent in value to 1s.—11.05d., as found current by Buchanan during the time of his visit (1800-1801). A Company rupee was nearly equal to the former in weight and value—equivalent to 1s. 10.84d., as found by Buchanan. [*Historical and Political View of the Deccan* (published annonymously in 1798—the author, as known to the contemporary English writers, was James Grant), pp. 9, 30, 45; Moor's *Narrative of the operations of Capt. Little's Detachment* (pub. in 1794), p. 471; Buchanan's *Journey through Mysore, Canara and Malabar* (pub. in 1807), vol. I, pp. 128-29, vol. III, p. 315.]

Unfortunately, however, the general's brother "fell into the hands of the Nabob [Tipu] who beheaded him." The English army was "yet uninformed", wrote Lt. Sheen, "whether the treasure" had "arrived at Bombay."[1]

March of Tipu on Bednore.

The Sultan did not lose any time after he had heard the news of the English occupation of Bednore and other places. He marched with a huge army, which according to the statement of Lt. Sheen, consisted of two hundred thousand men. This is, no doubt, a greatly exaggerated estimate, as is apparent from what we know of the approximate strength of the whole of Tipu Sultan's army, during the early part of his reign and in 1792-93.[2] A French battalion served as the "advanced guard" of the Sultan's army.[3] At the news of the Sultan's advance, Ayāzkhān, fully aware of the consequences which would follow, fled from Bednore with a vast amount of wealth, and embarked for Bombay, accompanied by his followers.[4] Several quick marches soon brought the Sultan before Bednore. He took the town immediately on his arrival, with almost as much ease as it had previously passed into the hands of the English.[5]

Wilks mentions that the English force under General Matthews consisted, at that time, of 400 Europeans and 1200 Sepoys. Beveridge has also accepted this.[6] Lt. Sheen says that "the garrison with which General Matthews occupied the fort", "did not consist of more than 12 hundred men."[7] According to some statements in the Sultan's *Memoirs*, it would appear, however, that the English force consisted of several thousands of men. Thus, it is stated in one place that on one of the siege-days, about 4 thousand soldiers came out of the fort to fight with the Sultan's force. Again, we find it definitely

1 *Narrative of Captain Oakes*, Appendix, p. 75.

2 A *Persian Account, written in 1790*, by an officer of Tipu's Government (English trans., in Asiatic Annual Register, vol. I); Sultan's *Military Rules and Regulations and Memoranda of 1793* (in Kirkpatrick's *Select Letters of Tipu Sultan*, Appendix L).

3 Lt. Sheen's Letter (*Narrative of Captain Oakes*, Appendix, p. 81).

4 *Tārīkh-i-Tīpū Sultān* (Eng. trans. by Col. Miles), p. 8.

5 Lt. Sheen's Letter (*Narrative of Captain Oakes*, Appendix, p.81).

6 Wilks, vol. II, p. 58; Beveridge, vol. II, p. 518.

7 *Narrative of Captain Oakes*, Appendix, p. 82.

mentioned that after the capitulation of the fort, twelve thousand men belonging to the English force all surrendered their arms, including two thousand European soldiers ("Nazarenes").[1] And we may further remember that according to the Sultan's account, a large number of men on the English side had been killed during the siege.[2] Lt. Sheen also has stated that "great numbers" of their men "were killed and wounded".[3] We have no doubt that these statements of the Sultan are exaggerated. One may, of course, doubt also the strict veracity of the English version.

The Siege.

After he had occupied the town, the Sultan laid siege to the fort of Bednore, into which the English force had retired. There are different versions of the duration of the siege. It is definitely stated in the Sultan's *Memoirs* that the siege lasted for 10 days, and on the 11th day, the English sued for terms.[4] Captain Oakes has stated that it lasted for 17 days. And Lt. Sheen says that the cannonading of the Sultan's army "continued for 20 days".[5] It is difficult to get the truth from these varying statements.

Capt. Oakes has not given any description of the actual siege. Lt. Sheen has also dealt with it very briefly. He says: "The plains, to the utmost distance we could see from the fort, were covered with the enemy's horse and foot; yet nothing was done till his [Sultan's] battering cannon arrived." "The Nabob quickly opened 13 batteries, which began playing upon us in every direction. The cannonading continued for 20 days, during which great numbers of our people were killed and wounded."[6]

Description of the siege, as narrated in the Sultan's Memoirs.

We get an elaborate account of the siege operations in the Sultan's *Memoirs*, which is given below. I shall try to give a free translation of the original Persian text, putting the whole thing in indirect narration, and taking the little liberties of a translator where necessary. The passages within quotation marks are, more particularly, faithful translations of those in the original.

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1 *Memoirs of Tipu Sultan* (India office MS., Prof. Sarkar's photographic copy), pp. 2*a*, 4*b*, (*passim*). 2 *Passim.*

3 See the English version, to be dealt with later on.

4 *Memoirs of Tipu Sultan* (photographic copy), p. 3b (*passim*).

5 *Narrative of Captain Oakes*, p. 1; Lt. Sheen's letter in the Appendix, p. 82.

6 *Narrative of Captain Oakes*, Appendix, p. 82.

In the first page of the India Office MS., we find that a detailed account of the first day's operations is being continued. It may be given as follows :

First day's accounts continued.

[Page 1.] "* * * And forthwith there came a volley of shots" [from the English side]. This was answered instantly by counter shots from the two wings of the Sultan's army, one of which was composed of his French soldiers. The Sultan, who was a little way behind with the main army, "at a distance of 100 yards", at once advanced and fell upon the English, and "gave hot chase to them." About 60[1] English (or European) soldiers "were sent to hell",[2] and "both of their guns" were captured. Four English officers were killed in the action. Then the English soldiers with their "unworthy chief"[3] [meaning General Matthews] all "went inside the fort and opened fire." The Sultan closes the first day's account by saying that on "the very day, about 30 English (or European) soldiers with 20 guns were captured."

Second day.

On the second day, the Sultan's army got possession of a big powder-magazine (*bārūt-khāna*) and a large store-house (*ambār-khāna*). [Page 2a.] The Sultan marched to the fort "with two thousand gallant soldiers." At this stage, "about 4 thousand sodiers" belonging to the English side marched out of the fort, "through a secret path", to "renew the struggle." A fierce fight ensued between them and the "*Asad-Ilāhī* army" [meaning the Sultan's army].[4] Both parties stopped firing and there began a hand-to-

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1 The correct reading of the word in the MS. seems to be *shast*= 60. But it may also be read as *haft*=7. [Prof. Sarkar's photographic copy, p. 1, 5th line.]

2 "*dākhil-i-jahannam shudand.*"

3 Or "worthless chief (or general)." The original Persian term "*nā-Sardār*" may be taken to signify this—a *Sardār*, or general, not worthy of that position.

4 The term *Asad-Ilāhī lit.* means, Divine Lion. *Asad*, a lion ; and *Ilāhī*, divine. *Ahmadī* is adj. from *Ahmad*, one of the names of the Prophet Muhammad. *Ahmad lit.* means, one who is praised (from *hamd*, praise).

It may be mentioned that there were two special corps in Tipu's army called the *Asad-Ilāhī* corps and the *Ahmadī* corps, both of

hand fight, "with spears and swords." In the course of this struggle, "about two hundred" "useless" (*nā-bakār*)[1] soldiers belonging to the English side "were sent to hell"; and a few persons belonging to the "*Ahmadī* force"[2] [Sultan's army] also "fell martyres."[3] The English "captured one wounded *Risāla-dār*"[4] and "carried him away."

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which were composed of converts to Islam. We may, in this connection, point out that there is no strong basis for Col. Kirkpatrick's supposition that Tipu's *Asad-Ilāhī* corps (Kirpatrick puts it as "*Usud-Ilhy*") consisted purely of Hindu converts and the *Ahmadī* corps exclusively of Christian converts. [Official correspondence and other papers of Tipu's Government (Eng. trans.), published by Kirkpatrick (in 1811), under the title '*Select Letters of Tipu Sultan*', note, p. 178; other official letters (Eng. trans.) published by Kirkpatrick in *Asiatic Annual Register*, vol. XII, note on letter 44.] It would be erroneous to draw such a distinction between the two. [*Official correspondence* (Kirkpatrick's *Select Letters*, pp. 229, 236, 243, 256-57); *Tārīkh-i-Tipū Sultān* (Eng. trans., Miles), pp. 82, 83; *Memoirs of Tipu Sultan* (*I.O.MS.*), p. 30*a* and *b*.] Here, however, these terms are used in a broad sense, with a general reference to the Sultan's army, without signifying those special corps. The terms, it may be further mentioned, were indeed used widely under Tipu's Government. They are found to be often used, in the official papers and in the Sultan's Memoirs, with reference to his Government—*e.g.*, *Asad-Ilāhī Sarkār*, and *Ahmadī Sarkār*. By *Asad-Ilāhīs* and *Ahmadīs*, sometimes, simply new converts to Islam were meant. And we notice that even a ship was named an *Asad-Ilāhī* ship. [*Official correspondence* (Kirkpatrick); *Marine Regulations* (Kirkpatrick's *Select Letters*, appendix K); *Memoirs of Tipu Sultan, etc.*]

1 *ba-kār*, useful. *Nā-bakār*, useless, not serviceable—worthless.

2 See the f.n. 4, of the previous page 802.

3 "*Sharbat-i-shahādat chashīdand*"=*lit.*, drank from the cup of martyrdom (*shahādat*).

4 *Risāla-dar*—Commander of a *Risāla*. The term *Risāla* (lit. army, troop) was applied to a particular sub-division in Tipu's army organization. A number of *Risālas* formed a *Qashūn*, which was compared by the contemporary English writers to a Brigade or Regiment of the English army. (*Col. Kirkpatrick, Lt. Moor, Maj. Dirom, etc.*). A *Risāla* was composed of a number of *Jawqs*, which were compared

On the third day, the Sultan "took out all the magazines and stores", and "placed them in a secure place."[1] The English, on that day,

Third day.

"set fire to ten or twelve splendid buildings of the *Rājah*[2] and some other buildings [near the fort], and badly injured them by heavy bombardment.

[Page 2b.] On the fourth day, "all the space" "before the *dārul-imārat*[3] and the *masjid* and near the fort" was "blocked up" (by the

Fourth day.

Sultan's artillery). After the "batteries were placed", the Sultan renewed the bombardment of the fort "with many big guns." It is next stated that the English had been able to carry to the fort "about 50 thousand shot" and plenty of stores, while the Sultan's force had captured a vast number of shot (3 *lakhs*), a huge quantity of gun-powder (*bārūt*), and plenty of other stores and provisions belonging to them. These were placed in a high and secure place, where the Sultan's guns were planted. The Sultan next proceeds thus with the fourth day's account: The English opened fire from the fort; and when they were "exhausted", the Sultan's artillery began heavy bombardment—"about 4 thousand or 5 thousand shots" were fired from the batteries[4] of the *Asad-Ilāhī* army.

[Page 3a.] The Sultan next writes that ceaseless firing from the *Asad-Ilāhīs* continued for "5 or 6 days." The "Nazarenes"[5] (the

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appropriately by Col. Kirkpatrick to the Companies of the English army. [*Official Correspondence* (Kirkpatrick); *Military Rules and Regulations and Memoranda of 1793* (Kirkpatrick's *Select letters*, App. L); *Fath-al-Mujāhidīn*, a military treatise of Tipu's Government (extracts in Kirkpatrick's *Select Letters*, App. I); *Persian account, written in 1790, by an officer of the Sultan's Government* (Eng. trans., published in *Asiatic Annual Register*, vol. I); *Tārīkh-i-Tipū Sultān*; *Memoirs of Tipū Sultān.*]

1 It appears that the Sultan's own magazines and stores were removed to a safer place for their protection against any possible danger from the enemy's attack.

2 Perhaps referring to the local *Rājah*, who had been the ruler of the place before Hyder's conquest. (?)

3 Perhaps it refers to Government House (Sultan's), where the Governor of the place resided.

4 The English word is used in the original, which is written in Persian character as *batīrī* or *baterī*.

5 *Naṣārā*—Christians, Nazarenes (plu. of *Naṣrān*).

English) "fired what they could on the first day." "On the second day", "not even one cannon was fired" from their side, "because all inside the fort" had "lost courage" owing to the continuous cannonading of the enemy. The "unworthy general", Matthews[1], "kept aloof from the battle." Within the fort, "not one place was left uninjured by the shots of the *Asad-Ilāhīs*", and there was not a space unstained "by the blood of the Nazarenes."

Continued bombardment for 5 or 6 days.

When it was raining, on the 5th day, the "Nazarenes" made a sortie on the Sultan's battery in front of the fort. The English force, as directed by General Matthews, attacked the battery. The "*Ahmadī* force" was, however, all along "on the alert"; and when the "Nazarene soldiers" "ascended" the raised ground where the guns were placed (*bar-mūrchāl*)[2] "from their hiding place", the Sultan's soldiers at once "attacked them with spears and swords." They "caught hold of" many "Nazarene" soldiers "by their legs", "dragged them and threw them down inside the entrenchment."[3] The rest of them picked up "their wounded comrades" and "fled within the fort." [Page 3b.] The Sultan now advanced his batteries very close to the fort on different sides. "So many volleys were fired" from them, that the English force within the fort had "not the courage" to "get upon the rampart (*burj*)" or "approach near" the Sultan's guns. The "Nazarene" soldiers "thrice came out in large numbers and thrice fled" inside the fort "like so many mice (*mūsh*)."

Fifth day.

"In this manner", the siege "lasted for 10 days", and "on the 11th day", the "Nazarenes sued for terms." "They sent" a draft of the peace terms (terms of capitulation), consisting of seven articles. These are next mentioned as follows[4]:

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1 Written in the MS. as *Mūtus* or *Mūtis* (*Metus* or *Metis*).

2 *Mūrchāl* (same as *Mūrcha*)—entrenchment for besieging a fortified place, a battery [*Steingass*], a raised ground for placing the guns. (Marathi form *Morchā*.)

The entrenchment system at that time was to make a raised ground for placing the guns thereupon, unlike the modern trench system.

3 *I.e.*, inside the ditch created for making the raised ground to place the guns.

4 The Sultan says that these terms were sent by the English force. Lt. Sheen has also mentioned that General Matthews was "at length

1. That "when they come out of the fort", the "*Asad-Ilāhī* army" and the "*Sarkār's* [Sultan's] subjects" "may not spit upon their face", and "may not abuse them" or commit personal violence upon them.[1]

2. That they would leave in the fort all the provisions they possessed and surrender all their guns, muskets and other weapons to the Sultan.[2]

3. That they would hand over all the "cash" and other "treasures", as also all other "stores"of the *Sarkār* [Sultan's government] which they might have with them.[3] [Page 4a.] They further made, in this connection, the following declaration : If anything could be found with them, after being searched by the *Sarkār's* people, they might be treated as "offenders" and "be punished" by the *Sarkār's* men "as deemed proper."

4. That they should be "given" [passage] money for their march to the coast.[4]

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obliged to send out a flag of truce" and "terms of capitulation", and that "the Nabob acceded to" these terms.

From a perusal of the terms as stated in the *Memoirs,* it would appear clear that the Sultan has given his own colouring to them. It is quite possible, of course, that to the original terms offered by the English, the Sultan made certain additions and alterations and put them in somewhat different form, before he finally acceded to them by attaching his seal and signature. And it appears likely that the terms as given in the *Memoirs,* have been stated in the latter form. This is perhaps the reason why we find some difference between these and the terms of capitulation as stated fully by Capt. Oakes, which we shall give later on.

1 The form in which the term has been put above, would show the Sultan's taste, or rather the taste of the time, when a vanquished army perhaps very often suffered from such barbarous insults. Compare the 1st term as stated by Capt. Oakes (see later issue).

2 See the capitulation terms as stated by Capt. Oakes, Nos. 1 and 3 (*ibid*).

3 Cf. the capitulation terms as stated by Capt. Oakes, No. 2, and Lt. Sheen's statement (*Ibid*).

4 The English force stipulated that they should be allowed to march "unmolested" "to Sadashagur", from which place they would

5. That "a few ships"[1] [of the Sultan] should be "lent to them"; and that "provisions" should be supplied to them, after fixing their "proper price", which would be sent to the Sultan "after they reached their home" [Bombay].

6. That "as many of their soldiers" as the ships "could accommodate" should be allowed to sail, and the rest be freely allowed to go by the land route with their passage money.

7. That "two chiefs of the *Sarkār*" should be present with them at the time of their embarkation and sail with them [as hostages];[2] and [similarly] "two Nazarene chiefs" would also "remain with the *Sarkār*" [as hostages]. And that when the "*Sarkār's* chiefs" [the two hostages] would "safely return", the "Nazarene chiefs" should also "be allowed to come back safely."

[Page 4b.] The Sultan "accepted" the above terms. "Two copies" of these terms were drawn up, "one in Persian and the other in English", which were "properly signed and sealed." One of them was "kept with the *Sarkār*" and the other was handed over "to the Nazarenes" [English].

"In the morning" [of the 12th day], the English began preparations to leave the fort. They "opened" "all the stores and such other things of the *Sarkār*" and "handed them over" to the latter, and "the remaining things" they "distributed among their own people."

The English "Chief" [General Matthews], after he had come out of the fort, gave up his sword and surrendered. This being done, "about 2 thousand Nazarenes" [*i.e.*, European officers and soldiers] and other "10 thousand stout (or gallant) men of the army" (or gallant soldiers)[3] "placed all their muskets" and other arms on the ground [*i.e.*, they completely surrendered all their arms to the Sultan].

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"embark for Bombay." See the Capitulation terms stated by Capt. Oakes, no. 4 ( *ibid* ).

1 "*Chand Jahāzāt.*"

2 Cf. Capitulation terms as stated by Capt. Oakes, No. 8 (see later issue).

3 "*Jawānān-i-jaish.*" *Jawānān—lit.* means youths (plu. of *jawān*). *Jaish, lit.*, means, an army, soldiery. [*Steingass.*]

By this, the Sultan certainly means those other than the European officers and soldiers—*i. e.*, the Indian soldiers belonging to the English force, including perhaps also the camp followers.

"On the second day" [after the capitulation], General Matthews and other English officers were called [by the Sultan][1] and asked whether they did abide by the terms which had been submitted (by them) on the previous day. They "all answered in one voice" in the affirmative. About 20 high officers (*'umda*) and *Sardārs* of the Sultan went afterwards to the English officers, and asked them to give answer to the following charge against them. This was put to them in the following manner: "You have secretly taken away with you the captives of this country, dressed after your own fashion. You have carried away money on the *Sarkār's* oxen; and at the time of leaving the fort, you distributed among your own men the contents of the *Sarkār's* store-house.[2] What is the meaning of this?"[3] The English officers replied that they "did not know anything" about the matter and that the Sultan's officers might "make enquiries." The officers of the Sultan, at this, warned them to require their men "not to violate" the terms, and asked them to "send to the *Sarkār*" "all the captives, money, *etc.*" which they might have carried with them. [Page 5b.] The English officers replied "again" that "they had not a single thing nor a single man" with them; and they "asked" the Sultan's officers "to make a searching enquiry" and "find out" if they could detect anything. The "*Asad-Ilāhī-Sardars*" [Sultan's officers] then took from them a written statement about the matter, after which "the cursed and unworthy"[4] English "*Sardārs*" were "allowed to go."

( *To be continued* )

SURATH CHARAN SEN GUPTA

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1 Captain Oakes has described how Gen. Matthews received a message from the Sultan to see him with some other English officers. He has mentioned the names of the officers who accompanied Gen. Matthews on this occasion and has described also what became their fate (see later issue).

2 The word in the MS. is *tūshak-khāna*, which *lit.* means, a wardrobe. [*Steingass, Johnson.*] There may be an error in the MS. The word meant here is perhaps *tūsha-khāna* (*tosha-khāna*)—meaning, store-house, treasury (also wardrobe). It appears, at any rate, clear that here store-house or treasury is meant.

3 A part of the above charges is substantially corroborated by the statement of Lt. Sheen (see later issue).

4 "*Nā-Sardārān-i-mal'ūn.*"

# The Philosophy of Dharma (Law)

## II

### *Application and Analysis*

Vijñāneśvara drew a legitimate distinction between Ethics and Law proper in his commentary on Yājñavalkya.[1] And although this is the right procedure from the technical stand-point, the whole trend of Hindu legislation is to reinforce law with moral principles and ideals. The minute technique of codified law does not naturally concern itself with the question of sanctions so long as its demands are satisfied by what is ready to hand. Its application assumes primary importance. But in analysing law into its various expressions in society, reference to ethical principles becomes necessary and unavoidable ; for law is at last the moral judgment of the race as well as of the age. "Laws are chiefly important as giving definiteness and permanence to the best traditions of a people which must be engraven on their souls before they can have much *efficacy* on the statute books".[2] To find out the constituents of law, or those expressions of it, which are usually accepted unchallenged and unquestioned, it is pre-supposed that moral intuition, whatever be its metaphysical character and social vehicle, is at the back of the whole procedure as permanent basis and constant support.[3] Its representation on the social and political planes is effected in various ways and that again according to the nature of circumstances. Thus it may be equated with custom, conduct, justice, duty and social good. These appear more or less important in proportion to their utility within the social structure and abstraction in social thought.

(a) The most common expression of law is in custom in every country of the world. Both the Mahābhārata and the Manu Saṃhitā have emphasised its usefulness. The Epic says that dharma (law) rises from and resides in custom.[4] Similarly Manu has declared :—

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1 K. L. Sircar, Rules of Interpretation in Hindu Law, Lec. X, p. 116.

2 Mackenzie, Outlines of Social Phil., p. 97.

3 See Supra, Basis of Law, p.

4 Vana Parva, 149, Mokṣadharma Parva, 259.

"Custom is the highest dharma dictated by śruti as well as smṛti. The sages having seen the way of dharma through custom have accepted it as the root of highest tapas."[1]

But it is to be noted that the Epic raises an objection here which points to a different, perhaps an idealistic, interpretation which is in keeping with its philosophy. It definitely states "that custom alone cannot be dharma"[2] for "nowhere is found that custom which does good to all"[3] or "which is not disregarded"[4] somehow or other.

(b) That law can be interpreted as good conduct is seen in the dictum of Yājñavalkya, viz. "Dharma is Sadācāra," (good conduct)[5] although Bālambhaṭṭa is inclined to accept it as merely "conduct of good men" making the compound a tat-puruṣa one instead of karma-dhāraya.[6] In such a case it is equal to the famous proverb—"Mahājano yena gataḥ sa panthāḥ," i.e., that is the way by which good men have trod.[7] The Mahābhārata has laid down that the objective of sadācāra is good to the self,[8] and "ācāra is the container of dharma which is known through it."[9] But it does not stop here ; it shows a vicious circle in the argument. It says—"In the sacred books dharma is defined as the conduct of good men and good men are said to be those who follow dharma. This indication points out that dharma and good men are reciprocally dependent, therefore who is good and what is dharma cannot be proved from this"[10] yet "what wise men establish as dharma is merely followed even today."[11] Further "what may suit a man in good conditions as dharma may not be so to one in danger."[12]

(c) Law as justice is on the whole an abstract conception and consequently involves the idea of duty. It is here, as among the Greeks, that Hindu ethical thought touches the root of the problem. Manu says in a straight way that "where righteousness is violated by unrighteousness and truth by falsehood.....there the whole (judicial) assembly is said to be destroyed" for "righteousness violated destroys (the world) but maintains it when it is itself preserved.[13] Manu

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1 Manu Saṃhitā, I, 101, 110. 2 Mokṣadharma Parva, 262.
3 Ibid., 260. 4 Ibid.
5 Yājñavalkya I, 7, S. C. Vidyāratna's ed., p. 13.
6 Bālambhaṭṭa's gloss, S. C. Vidyāratna's ed., p. 14.
7 Āpaddharma Parva, 132. 8 Anuśāsana Parva, 104.
9 Mokṣadharma Parva, 259. 10 Ibid., 260. 11 Ibid.
12 Ibid. 13 Manu Saṃhitā, VII, 14, 15.

answers the old question, what is justice, by saying that "it consists in the application of righteousness (dharma, law) to all cases arising between the members of the state."[1] Similarly the epic adds "equal consideration of all beings.....is (the) highest rule." For "that man who considers all beings like himself is sought by the gods together with his supreme position beyond the worlds."[2] "Equal protection of all who are liked or disliked constitutes dharma's self."[3] Śukra has the pithy idea that this moral virtue "is useful in all cases and is a means to the preservation of human society."[4] It is thus intimately connected with the state itself.

As usual with the Mahābhārata justice is opposed by the extreme egoism of Hobbesian and Nietzschian philosophy. This stratum of thought running parallel to the excellent idealism of the Epic mixes freely with the layer of clever sophistry like that of Greek philosophy. Says the Epic :

> "Some powerful men have concluded, that "it is wrong to appropriate by force" is the rule of the weak. The rich too designate it the rule of poverty which is due to ill luck."[5]
> "For the strong, all acts are according to dharma, all food is diet, all things are pure and personal."[6]

In an ideal of this type there can be absolutely no room for justice and fair-play. It is based on its psychological back-ground that "that appears to be good to which people are excessively attached."[7]

(d) The conception of duty (professional or otherwise) follows naturally from that of justice and hence it is equally related to society. It is justice applied particularly to personal cases that gives rise to duty. And this is "Sva-dharma" i.e. one's own duty. Consequently dharma as duty is the adverse of dharma as law."[8] The Mahābhārata, Manu and Śukra have given full recognition to the principle of Svadharma to be the irreducible minimum measure of personal responsibility.[9] The Gītā and Manu have emphasised Sva-dharma in the following lines—

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1 Ibid., VIII, 3. Cf. Pol. Theo. & Inst. of Hindus, p. 210.
2 Mokṣadharma Parva, 262, 259. 3 Śānti Parva, 121.
4 Śukra-Nīti, p. 2.
5 Mokṣadharma Parva, 259. 6 Āśramavāsika Parva, 30
7 Mokṣadharma Parva, 184.
8 Pol. Theo. and Inst. of Hindus, p. 211.
9 Śānti Parva, 67; Manu Saṃhitā, VII, 21-24; Śukra Nīti, I, 45-51.

(a) "One's own duty, however difficient, is superior to another's duty perfectly done. The duty of others is dangerous (to be performed by other); even death is preferable in performing one's duty."[1]

(b) "It is duty to do one's work though low, another's duty should not be undertaken. He is doomed (fallen) who takes to another's duty when able to discharge his own."[2]

(c) "God is never so pleased as when one's own duty is properly discharged."[3]

(d) "Another's dharma is to be renounced like the most beautiful wife of another person."[4]

The spirit of the verses quoted above is similar to Bradhy's dictum, "My own station and its duties."[5] This is organically connected with the system of Varṇāśrama of the Hindu sociologists, also called Varṇāśrama-dharma. Plato also has the idea of functional differentiation and consequent duties in his Republic.[6] Eucken speaks of a positivism of this type. "Positivism assigns to each single unit within a specified order a certain definite place and gives him a definite task to perform. While the individual man is engaged in the full development of his own personal powers, he is at the same time furthering the interests of the transcendent whole."[7] Sva-dharma being the standard, the state was empowered to enforce it according to Manu, the Mahābhārata and Śukra—

(a) "The king should not spare father, teacher, friend, mother, wife, son and priest, if any one of them does not keep to (his or her) own duty."[8]

(b) "It is the duty of the king to establish the people in their own and respective duties by putting an awe-inspiring mien."[9]

(c) "By the terrible use of the engine of sovereignty, he (the king) should maintain the subjects, each in his proper duty".

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1 Gītā, III, 35.
2 Manu Saṃhitā, X, 97.
3 Hārīta Saṃhitā, VI, 19.
4 Atri Saṃhitā I, 18.
5 Pol. Theo. & Inst. of Hindus, p. 211.
6 Sect. 415, Jowett's Trans.
7 Eucken, The Individual and Society, p. 33.
8 Manu Saṃhitā, VIII, 335.
9 Āpaddharma Parva, 143.

And "so himself being dutiful the king should appoint the subjects to their own duties".[1]

(d) "The king, who punishes them that renounce their own dharma or follow another's becomes glorified in the celestial region."[2]

But Epic sophistry raises the question that the conception of duty is very changeful. It asserts that "according to time, place, circumstances and persons, dharma becomes adharma and adharma becomes dharma.[3] Hence dharma has to be rational, since the same act may at times be righteous and unrighteous.[4] It is true, therefore, that the course of the world cannot go on by sticking to one aspect of dharma.[5] Its essence must be determined by reason[6] inasmuch as "the dharma of one in safety cannot be the dharma of one in danger".[7] It is never constant, every new age creating its new dharma".[8]

The problem of the measure of duty—how much of it should be done under what circumstances and to whom—is met with here and needs some attention, duty will be a very vague and indefinite term after the criticisms advanced by the Epic. No standard can be fixed for a thing which is itself indeterminate. The reply is suggested by Yājñavalkya, though in a different context, and may be worked out through its implication ; and then it is seen to be parallel to a certain extent to the interpertation of the ethical golden mean of Aristotle. On the basis of Yājñavalkaya,[9] Vijñāneśvara says in describing the "efficient cause of dharma" that of proper time, place, means, faith and person, "all or some of them must be taken according to occasion"[10] The point is that these go to indicate the required measure.

(e) Social good—abstract though the term is in the highest degree—is in its general and comprehensive interpretation what the Epic evidently understands as dharma or the essence of law, notwithstanding all its destructive sophistry in regard to other definitions. Yet it is not inclined to

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1 Śukra-Nīti, pp. 12, 14. 2 Atri Saṃhitā, I, 17.
3 Mokṣadharma Parva, 310 ; Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva, 88.
4 Āpaddharma Parva, 142. 5 Ibid.
6 Ibid., 141. 7 Ibid., 130.
8 Mokṣadharma Parva, 232. 9 Ibid., 6.
10 The Mitākṣarā, S. C. Vidyāratna's ed., p. 13.

narrow it down only to its social application. The main drift of its argument is that dharma is really "the good of all" and "is established for course of the world."[1] Again "it is very difficult to find out real dharma. (But it is certain) that "it has been created for the sake of the prosperity, salvation and removal of the troubles of men. Therefore that is true dharma through which people become progressive, free from difficulties and possessed of ultimate salvation."[2]

It agrees fully with the Vaiśeṣika definition that dharma is "abhyudaya-niḥśreyasa-siddhi," i.e., the realisation of both worldly and other-worldly good"[3]

Prof. Radhakrishnan says, "Dharma or righteousness is the stable condition which gives man perfect satisfaction. It helps him to gain salvation as well as happiness.....Dharma is relative and dependent on the condition of society. It has always a social implication. It is the bond which keeps society together. Dharma develops the solidarity of society. It aims at the welfare of all creation."[4] Somadeva Sūri has also defined dharma "as that which promotes the greatest good of society"[5] Its social expressions are sympathy, doing good and non-injury to all.[6]

Further idealisation led the Epic to conclude that "dharma is the highest and the only good."[7] Its character comprises all its many aspects, since after all "dharma is one."[8] It is also "constant."[9] Therefore all dharmas lead to "one state,"[8] and any one dharma may lead to the eternal dharma.[9] This is like the stoic doctrine of virtues, one virtue leading to others, and all are known when one is known. The unity of dharma, thus enunciated, connected ethics with politics and sociology in the Hindu philosophic thought of the time, and allowed religion to operate in spheres, where it is said to

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1 Mokṣadharma Parva, 262, 259.
2 Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva, 109.
3 Vaiśeṣika Sūtra, I, I, 2 ; Hinduism, p. 73.
4 Ind. Phil. pp. 505-6.
5 Nītivākyāmṛta, I, cited in Pub. Ad. in Anc. Ind., p. 275.
6 Mokṣadharma Parva, 259 ; Anuśāsana Parva, 164.
7 Prajāgara 32 ; Anuśāsana Parva, 164, 150.
8 Anuśāsana Parva, 162. 9 Mokṣadharma Parva, 293.
9 Ibid., 164. 10 Vana Parva, 149.

be out of place unfortunately according to the tendencies of the modern day infused probably by the new-born scientific spirit. In showing the nature of dharma the epic adds that "truth is naturally unqualified," i. e., it is abstract ; "it becomes dharma when it is qualified" in application.[1] "Law (proper, or political law) is that which spreads dharma."[2] For, after all "the whole world is established on dharma"[3]

### *Kinds, Proofs and Ways*

The necessary ethical implications of law bring in a number of views, such as kinds, proofs and ways of dharma. Apparently these have nothing to do with law proper or political law, but their relation to social justice and duty is evident and clear. They come along with the instruments of interpretation used above and help the understanding of the moral side or implication of law.

Dharma is said to be of three kinds—vedic, smārta and customary[4] being roughly the forms in which it was accepted generally by the legislators. Its proofs are also these—observation, the vedas, and practice.[5] It is difficult to say what is exactly meant here. The ways to dharma are eight according to the epic, viz., yajña, study, charity, tapas, truth, forgiveness, self-control, uncovetousness.[6] This compares favourably with the eight-fold path of Buddhism. It is called the Aryan eight-fold path discovered by the Tathāgata and is the first sermon on setting in motion the wheel of law, right belief, right speech, right aspiration right conduct, right mode of livelihood, right effort, right-mindedness and right rapture.[7] It is to be noted that there is a gulf of difference between the orthodox ethics of the epic and the heterodox psychology of the Buddha. He "did not declare open war against the ceremonialism of the time but tried to infuse moral significance into its forms and thus undermine it."[8] No room is allowed by him to yajña, or tapas so important in the Hindu codes of law. Manu has

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1 Anugītā Parva, 35.

2 Rājadharma Parva, 121. Nārada (I, 40) places dharma below law—"Vyavahāro hi balavān dharmas tenāvahīyate."

3 Āpaddharma Parva, 167.

4 Baudhāyana, I, 1 ; Vaśiṣṭha, I, 4-5 ; Anuśāsana Parva, 141.

5 Ibid., 162 ; Manu Saṃhitā, II, 12. 6 Āraṇyaka Parva, 2.

7 Ind. Phil., p. 420. 8 Ibid., p. 421.

ten signs of dharma—contentment, forgiveness, restraint, uncovetous ness, purity, self-control, intelligence, self-knowledge, truth, calmness.[1] Manu seems to have added two items in advance of the epic. The Mitākṣara gives six topics of dharma, viz. the dharma of Varṇa, of āśrama, of Varṇāśrama, guṇa-dharma, nimitta-dharma and sādhāraṇa dharma.[2]

The following parabolic teaching is not without its lesson and truth in illustrating the many connections and ramifications of dharma. Such stories in the Epic are meant to carry home the message which in philosophic language would perhaps be too dry and unattractive. The importance of dharma in practical every-day life cannot be better stressed for the purpose of infusing righteousness and inculcating one of the deepest and most useful truths of moral and social philosophy. Dharma, character, truth, good work, strength and prosperity are figured here, each speaking out its own mind.—

(a) Dharma—"I am dharma, I live where character is found."
(b) Truth—"I am truth, I have to accompany dharma at all times."
(c) Good Work—"I am good work, I stay wherever truth stays."
(d) Strength—"I am strength, I too have to live with good work."
(e) Prosperity—"I am prosperity, I have to follow strength."[3]

### *Dharma and Institutions.*

Dharma as "the operative criticism of all institutions" runs in an undercurrent all through beneath Hindu political philosophy. It was the great theme in the back-ground of all their social and political thought, never lost to view or allowed to be compromised amidst the difficulties of practical problems and the demands of changing times. From the Vedas down to the Śukra-Nīti, it appears again and again reminding men of action and men of thought of the truth that underlies and upholds the complex expansive and diversified structure of society. They knew "all is gone when dharma is gone" and in the absence of standards and sanctions it would be simply chaos all around. References backwards and forwards to dharma rationally thought out

1 Manu Saṃhitā, VI, 92.
2 Mitākṣarā, S. C. Vidyāratna's ed., pp. 3, 4.
3 Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva, 124.

and at times partially realised meant for them that process of evaluation which like the oscillations of the compass showed the right directions and guided society towards the highest ideals. When Yudhiṣṭhira raised the question—"How can the service of dharma and the protection of the state be possible for a man" at one and the same time? For "the two are (evidently) contradictory"[1]—he was in fact judging the state on the criterion of righteousness by bringing the two concepts together. If the great epic has "an inner chronology" of its own, according to Jhering's well-known phrase, this point ushers in the whole social, political and moral philosophy of the Śānti Parva and the following didactic portions. A critical estimate of the state in relation to and in the light of dharma was wanted by the monarch who never did wrong.

The application of the standard of dharma or righteousness to individuals, society and the state was the natural procedure. Their evaluation disclosed the object of their existence and their value itself increased or decreased with the assimilation and embodiment of dharma in them. A judgment of value was passed on them from the criterion of dharma. This ruling conception supplied permanence and value to all institutions and oriented them towards perfection. "All that raises human nature to a higher pitch, all that enables it to reach out to a fuller life, all that which produces harmony of work between the dualism of human nature yoking the horse of egoism to the car of altruism is dharma."[2] "Dharma can establish heaven on earth."[3] The question is how this can be done and hence the whole scale, from the individual to the state, needs to be attuned to dharma.

To start with the individual, it is evident that social good cannot be possible without the proper discharge of personal duties. This principle is Svadharma—one's own—and is the minimum demanded from society. The state enforced it in favour of society, since "man secures happiness in both the worlds by doing his own duty." "Man does take up good, middling and bad works through the force of time." But "he, who gives up his own duty and takes up another's, turns his whole work into adharma."[4] And "through the power of politics (Kṣātra-dharma) all can be well ordered."[5] Svadharma must also

1 See above. 2 Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva, 62.
3 Ibid. 4 Ibid., 65. 5 Ibid.

be inter-connected with other duties—everybody's duty being related to other peoples' duties within the social whole. "Dharma is nursed by the Brāhmaṇa's work" and "the world gains dharma through the help of the Śūdra, Vaiśya and Kṣatriya. If the above Varṇas do not adopt peace (orderliness) they can never have the grace of God."[1]

Speaking of people in general it was pronounced that "men advance or deteriorate—this is the law of the world."[2] The process of decay has to be arrested in order to ensure progress and such advancement depends on righteousness for "dharma is victory."[3] "Through dharma's power people become pure-hearted and free from sin."[4] "They can according to their actions reach light and truth, i.e. heaven, or darkness and untruth, i.e., hell."[5] "Through good and bad works are seen evolution (rise and fall)"[6] It is only their own choice, for every one has great possibilities. "Within the human body there are both death and immortality"[7] "as well as virtue and sin, though they are opposed to each other."[8] This finite-infinite nature of man proves that he is designed for the very highest stature and end. And there is the constant assurance that "no dharma goes in vain."[9]

For such a great assumption the problem naturally came to be the reconciliation of dharma with the social structure and its embodiment in the perfect machinery of social well-being. It practically included the whole of society together with other moral implications. The social orders are meant to help this process of spiritual culture and they are themselves said to be permeated with this noble purpose. "God is at the steps of the (four) āśramas."[10] Man can see Him as he enters in. "By climbing the stairs man can attain the region of the gods; whether a student, a householder, a dweller of the forest, an ascetic, one can reach the very highest stage by living according to Śāstras, (i.e. dharma)."[11] Indeed "all the four āśramas are established for the preservation of dharma"[12] and "the fruit of life in the āśramas is salvation itself."[13] These stages of life were instrumental to the

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1 Ibid., 63, 65.
2 Mokṣadharma Parva, 224.
3 Anuśāsana Parva, 164.
4 Ibid.
5 Mokṣadharma Parva, 191.
6 Udyoga Parva, 45.
7 Mokṣadharma Parva, 277.
8 Ibid., 201.
9 Ibid., 353.
10 Mokṣadharma Parva, 242.
11 Ibid.
12 Ibid., 194.
13 Ibid., 288.

highest human growth, step after step, towards the full realisation of dharma which "is the chief means to salvation."[1] The state as the centre of society sees that everything is all right with these orders.

The greatest of all institutions, the state, is not an exception to the criticism and rule of dharma. Anarchy was imagined to be the condition when none cared for dharma and hence "dharma disappeared completely."[2] In case of good and effective government "dharma spreads everywhere."[3] This connection between good government and dharma runs throughout the Hindu political thought. It was categorically expressed by saying that "the king and dharma are reciprocally protective"[4] and "it is dharma.....which preserves the kingdom."[5] It is further emphasised in the passages quoted below :

"The king is created for protecting dharma.....(which) takes the shelter of kings. The king is made like the very self of dharma. To advance dharma to the best of ability is the duty of the king. When dharma is increased, the people increase, and when dharma disappears, the people also go down. It is never good to let dharma down. Evils are removed through the power of dharma.....(for) dharma was created for the birth and growth of beings. Therefore for the good of the people the king ought to protect dharma. He is truly king in whom dharma is ever present."[6]

This is nothing but a judgment of the State represented by the king. But it does not end here, stretching, as it does, beyond the immediate concerns of government. Even the ages are, spoken of as politically conditioned from the point of view of general culture. Politics is the barometer of national culture, indicating its true level and pressure. How true it is even to-day in the East as well as in the West of democracy and empire, of peace and war. The ancients perhaps knew this better than the way in which it is understood in the modern time. The Epic adds,—

"If the king is misled, the sacred fire, the Vedas, the sacrificial rites, and the four social orders and the four varṇas would disappear and when the king goes wrong, elephants, horses, camels, cows, mules and asses all become weak." "The king being unrighteous, deformed, dumb and imbecile men come into being".....and

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1 Āpaddharma Parva, 147.
2 Rajadharmānuśasana Parva, 59. 3 Ibid., 69.
4 Vana Parva, 30. 5 Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva, 92.
6 Ibid., 90.

so do untimely winter and untimely summer, excessive rain, want of rain and many other dangers."[1]

Hence the king was called "the maker of the age", illustrating the close connection between politics and culture. This idea occurs in the Epic and the Śukra-nīti as well as in the Manu Saṃhitā. The Mahābhārata designates the king "the very likeness of the Yuga." The prosperity and culture of the time is determined by the king's character :

"Through the behaviour of kings, the four yugas—Satya, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali—take their birth. The king is the very likeness of the yuga."[2]

"The prince is the cause of time (i. e. the maker of his age) and of good and evil practices. It is the king who is the cause of the origin of the good and evil of the world."[3]

"The Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara, and Kali ages are merely the efforts of the king, who is therefore called yuga or age."[4]

### *Yuga Dharma*

This is a general statement of the king's position so far as the cyclic periods are concerned. His agency sets them in motion or gives birth to them. It is a figurative way of practically measuring the goodness or badness of ages which are politically caused to a good extent. The political conditions show how far righteousness has been operating in society.

Again, the four cycles or ages mentioned above had their own standards, and cyclic righteousness varied accordingly. In other words, the quality and quantity of righteousness determined the character of the ages. In the opinion of the Epic,

"The first yuga is Satya ; in this yuga dharma.....has four legs (or parts)" i.e. stands full. "In the second or the Tretā yuga dharma loses one leg," i.e., is only three-fourths. "In the Dvāpara yuga dharma loses two legs or is only half. Then in the Kali yuga dharma has only one leg," i.e., is only one-fourth.[5]

The political exposition of cyclic dharma or righteousness gives the following result. It is nothing but a typical application to politics

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1 Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva, 90, 91.
2 Ibid., 91. 3 Śukra-Nīti, pp. 11, 259.
4 Manu Saṃhitā, IX, 301. 5 Vana Parva, 158.

of the principles noted above, all the points of comparison being parallel.

"You need not be doubtful as to whether the king is the cause of time or time the cause of the king. The king is certainly the cause of time. For when he governs well and fully according to daṇḍanīti (political science), it is Satya yuga. Not even a bit of unrighteousness can come in at this time and dharma is full and complete everywhere. When the king governs with three elements of the science of politics unrighteousness sets one foot in. This is the Tretā yuga. When quite half of political ethics is left out, and the king governs only by the other half, it is called the Dvāpara yuga. Unrighteousness sets two feet in (at this time). Political ethics being giving up altogether, the king may trouble the subjects in many ways, then it is the Kali yuga. In this yuga the practice of dharma disappears altogether."[1]

The cyclic order is an old conception of the Hindus and time is divided into four ages from the creation of the world to the final destruction of it. Dharma is its substratum, since the loss of dharma means the end of time in its worldly manifestation. It is a different question with eternal time which is sometimes identified with God. Its relation to politics and society is a logical nexus, inasmuch as the expression of dharma is in social and political forms, i.e., in society and politics.

From the standpoint of the king it is stated that different rewards await him in after-life in proportion to the success and value of his government. Full heavenly bliss is for the king who gives rise to the Satya yuga.[2] This is because the king is considered to be in short "the root of dharma (righteousness)."[3] And God Himself is said to have different colours in different yugas according to the degrees of righteousness contained in them. It is a disguised suggestion of the theory of values in relation to the actions of man. Says the Epic,—

"First is the Satya yuga.....Nārāyaṇa (God) is white (in it). In the Tretā yuga Nārāyaṇa becomes red.....in Dvāpara Nārāyaṇa is yellow and in the darkness-prevailing Kali yuga Nārāyaṇa becomes black." Also—'I (Nārāyaṇa) become white in Satya yuga, yellow in Tretā, red in Dvāpara and black in Kali."[4]

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1 Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva, 70. 2 Ibid.
3 Vana Parva, 4. 4 Vana Parva, 148, 188.

Dharma as culture thus stands closely and necessarily related to politics "which keeps the whole world in order just as reins do the horses."[1] The doctrine of dharma in its entirety imparts to the state the character of an institution for the advancement of culture. Herein the Hindu theory meets Aristotle's conception of the state as means to the furtherance of the highest good of man.[2] Its relation to daṇḍa is for the purpose of coercion from this standpoint ; both the doctrines are correlated. Daṇḍa and dharma are the two poles of the state, "the two faces of the political Janus, one looking to the failures, the other to the triumphs."[3] If daṇḍa is the authority of the state, dharma is its ideal. Daṇḍa enforces duties, while dharma as duty is but the obverse of dharma as law. Therefore "the doctrine of duty is identical with that of law turned inside out."[4] Even property is designed for dharma[5] and its relation to the state is not merely that of adjustment, for the state itself expresses the spirit of dharma as it exists at the time. In reality, it is conceived of as "a vale of soul-making" in the language of Keats, a training ground for men, which in Hindu phraseology would be equal to a dharma-producing machinery or institution, securing even the ultimate salvation of all.[6]

Above politics and human laws, the Hindus saw another plane of divine perfection, authoritative and watchful, supporting the world where man plays his many parts. Dharma, expressing the total value of these parts, charges from time to time according to their nature. But when utter confusion sets in undoing the very destiny of man, divine power moves to mend it or end it. This is the conception of the Gītā in relation to the cyclic righteousness. God Himself re-establishes righteousness after it has been overwhelmed and destroyed by man. Incarnations of the deity are necessitated by such climaxes of human degradation and sin. The incarnate god of the Gīta says,—

"Whenever righteousness is overthrown and unrighteousness prevails, then I create myself. To save the righteous and to destroy the wicked and (thus) to re-establish righteousness, I am born in every

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1 Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva, 65.
2 Pol. Theo. and Inst. of the Hindus, pp. 211-212.
3 Ibid., 210. 4 Ibid., 211.
5 See Sec. on the Rise of Property.
6 See supra, Origin of the State.

age. I am above birth and death and lord over all, yet I incarnate myself with the help of my own nature and through my own māyā."[1]

*The Individual and the Four Ages*

The doctrine of the four ages is also applied to the individual on the basis of a text in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa which runs thus—

"Kaliḥ śayāno bhavati sañjihānas tu Dvāparaḥ
Uttiṣṭhaṃs Tretā bhavati Kṛtaṃ sampadyate caran."

Svami Vivekananda in his endeavour to infuse spirit into the nation drew attention to this verse. His object was to rouse the people to spiritual activity. His own comment is given below :

> "For the foolish the Kali era is constant ; his era comes from outside. He who is on the path to freedom has nothing to do with Dvāpara, Tretā and Kali, for he begins to build for himself his own era, the Satya. He who lies down lazily, has the Kali age attached to him. He who wakes and sits up has Dvāpara. He who has stood erect has Tretā. And he who starts for the journey of emancipation creates the Satya age as he goes on."[2]

It is to be noticed that the last five lines of Vivekananda's comment are the literal translation of the Sanskrit orginal quoted above. Keith's translation in the Harvard Oriental Series also yields the same meaning though verbally a little different[3] and without the positive religious turn given to it by the word "emancipation." Plainly and clearly the implication is that it is man's creative activity in private life as much in public life, which are again intimately connected together at last, that determines the character of his time. This is as true of politics as of society in general where individuals have to act and in most cases take the lead. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa further has these intoductory lines for the purpose of explaining its own meaning,—

> "The future of him who sitteth also sitteth,
> But that of him, who standeth, standeth erect,
> That of him, who reclineth, lieth down,
> The future of him, that moveth, shall move indeed.[4]

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1 Gītā, V (a free translation is given here).
2 VII, iii.
3 Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 25, p. 302.
4 Ibid.

Reading the two extracts together and joining up their imports their remains no doubt as to the importace of ethical activity on the part of the individual in respect of the civilisation of the time. It is like the power of points in an electrical field and the individual as such in social life can exercise simultaneously great and potent influence for his own good and that of society in general.

The position of the king as the individual head of the state and the maker of his age has already been dealt with in the preceding pages,[1] and that of the private individual is seen to be no less important. If society and dharma (civilisation) are to be improved the individual must be in every case the centre of moral idealism and dynamical. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa points out this dynamical personality for the regenerating activities. Schweitzer has remarked in the same strain but in modern terms that—

> "The individual personality must be looked to as the agent in a new movement .....civilisation can only revive when there shall come into being in individuals a new tone of mind (independent of the one prevalent among the crowd and even in opposition to it) a tone of mind which will gradually win influence over the collective one and in the end determine its character. It is only an ethical element.....and the ethical comes into existence only in individuals."[2]

What Schweitzer means by "the ethical element" is the dharma of the Hindu sacred books, which again is the very kernel of the golden age according to the ancients of both the East and the West. This determining factor has been thrown upon personal initiative and responsibility on the basis of pure psychological analysis and the experience of the race. It is very strikingly illustrated in the case of all great men who left their marks in the world. Emerson truly said, "God lets out a great man when He desires to move the world."[3] Here too the personal element is emphasised in order to characterise the age and the world. The ultimate problem of the progress of civilisation, indicated through the proportion of righteousness or ethical quality depending upon the individuals composing society and the nature of leadership, turns upon the fact of the contribution made by the com-

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1 See above.
2 Decay and Restoration of Civilisation, p. 73.
3 Representative Men, p. 47.

ponent parts that in the end again necessarily resolves into the character of persons going to form the whole.

The conception of dharma, whether seen from the subjective or the objective point of view, is an element in the life of the individual and the community. It is true that "from the subjective standpoint it is considered not merely as a function of the mind (Sāṃkhya school) but also as a determination of the substantive self (Nyāya school) resulting from the purity of intention; from the objective standpoint it is considered not merely as external Śāstrika prescription (Bhaṭṭa school) but also as *apūrva* which is the essence of duty as an accomplished verity of the moral order (Prabhākara school).[1] Nothing can take away its philosophical value in all Hindu systems. On the other hand its progressive realisation is the object of the normal will conceived as a rational good for all. And goodness prevails only through the fruition of impulse to harmony accomplished in the time-process. This effort is the creator of gods and men, of beautiful fictions and what is noble in fact, of law and morals, of science and art, perhaps what is beautiful in nature, certainly of the significance of that beauty to us. Its operation is intelligent and purposive and all-embracing.[2] The ideal in order to be effective must be progressive, dynamic and creative, its reality being step after step, value after value, raised to the very ultimate.

J. N. C. GANGULY

1 Maitra, Ethics of the Hindus, p. 237.
2 Hobhouse, Rational Good, p. 159.

# Artistic Interest in Post-Aśokan Sculpture

There is a good deal of controversy regarding the origin of Aśokan Art and the existence of the lithic sculpture in India before the age of Aśoka.[1] But whatever be the origin of this art, and whether stone as a plastic material did or did not exist in this country before Aśoka's accession to the throne, there can be no denying that it was to the impetus given by this monarch that the Indian plastic art owes the credit it enjoyed later on, though the school of art with which his name is associated declined with his death and finally died away. With the decline of this school another school got up in its place, which we shall call the Post-Aśokan school instead of the Śuṅga school, as some writers would have it. Our reason is that the Śuṅgas had practically nothing to do with the development of this art. It flourished under monastic patronage though lay people often contributed towards the cost of the monuments. It is our purpose here to enter into a brief discussion of this art, and to trace the gradual change of artistic interest during the two centuries preceding the Christian era during which the Post-Aśokan art flourished.

In order to trace this change we shall follow the sequential order of the different monuments established by Sir John Marshall[2] and supported by Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda.[3] These two scholars have investigated this question of sequence on independent lines and have arrived at conclusions which are substantially the same.

The earliest of these monuments is the railing of Stūpa II of Sanchi. This railing is an important monument for the study of the early history of Indian Art inasmuch as it enables us to catch the string

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1 The finds of Mohen-jo-daro have conclusively proved the existence of stone sculpture long before the advent of the Mauryas. But no connection has yet been made out between Mohen-jo-daro and Aśokan sculptures and there is no evidence to show that the Mohen-jo-daro sculpture did live up to the time of Aśoka.

2 C. H. I., vol. I, chap. xxvi.

3 Dates of Votive Inscriptions on the Stūpas of Sanchi (M.A.S.I., No. 1, 1919).

that connects the sculpture on this railing with a previously existing school about which we at the present day can only guess.

The most striking thing about this railing is the beautiful scrolls on some of the upright members of the structure. These scrolls are so beautiful and so bold in design that we cannot but admit that the artists of this railing had behind them the experience of a fairly long period of time extending over several generations. Vigorous floral creepers are the subject matter of these schools. The creeper is almost moving as in life. The flowers and sprouts shoot out of the stalk impatient with the spirit that is in them. There are the exhuberance of life, the vigour of youth, the buoyancy of spirit. In short, it is a brilliant masterpiece of floral decoration. This is one side of the picture. The other side is sadly disappointing.

As we enter into the region of the living we are taken aback at the crudeness of the figures, all the more so, because in comparison with the floral designs which represent a developed stage of art culture, these figures are more or less primitive. The heart of the artist yearns for expression. But the stone would not respond to that yearning. He produces forms. He thinks, he takes them from Nature. But they are in reality but mockery of Nature. Though he is a bit well off in the delineation of lower animals, in the case of human figures he is a failure. He cannot rise above primitiveness.

Besides these there are the Triratna, Dharmacakra and other symbols which are represented sometimes as being worshipped. No image of the Buddha is there, nor is there any attempt at representation of Jātakas or any other story, which is the characteristic of the later age. Only symbols are worshipped, and it will be interesting to study how the mentality behind such representations changes.

The next monument is that of Barhut. Here the vegetable decoration has manifestly lost much ground, though it still has an important place on the whole. The outer side of the Coping-stone is adorned with a brilliant frieze of lotuses. The inner side is divided into panels by an undulating floral stalk. There are the lotus medallions and half-medallions of the previous monuments. There are creepers with flowers on them supporting a woman or a bird or some other being. And some of these do, of course, speak of a good artistic conception on the part of the sculptor. But the naturalism of the former designs of plant life is not to be found at Barhut. It has not those brilliant scrolls ; the lotus medallions are often weaker in comparison with the specimens on the older monument ; the undulating stalk

bears most absurd things. Instead of flowers we see ladies' ornaments such as necklaces, earrings, and with them jack-fruits, mangoes, triratna symbols and various other things hanging from the stalk. Conception of the artist regarding vegetable decoration had undergone a decided change for the worse, and plant life which was so long predominant has now begun to be superseded by intruders, human, sub-human and superhuman. The attention of the artist has shifted to the new favourites and the older one has suffered in consequence. The result has been that human figures have improved, but signs of deterioration have set in upon the other side of the decoration.

There has been a change in the outlook in connection with the animate world itself. Formerly men and animals were introduced simply as supplying motifs for decoration. But at Barhut they have an additional purpose in view, namely, that of edification. The artist has begun to represent stories on stone. Naturally the whole world has to participate in it and in this participation the inanimate world, for obvious reasons, has to subordinate itself to the animate world. The latter is the chief actor. The former only supplies the field for the action.

These stories are all connected with the last as well as previous births of the Buddha. But the important thing about them is that the stories in connection with former births is vastly preponderating over those connected with the life of Siddhārtha. Another very remarkable feature is, as is well known, that the place of the main actor, Gautama, is always kept vacant. Various explanations have been put forward to explain this curious feature ; but the real explanation seems to lie in a dialogue in the Mahāparinibbāṇasutta[1] wherein the Buddha says :

"Hinder not yourselves, Ānanda, by honouring the remains of the Tathāgata. Be zealous, I beseech you, Ānanda, in your own behalf. Devote yourselves to your own good. There are wise men, Ānanda, among the nobles, among the Brahmins, among the heads of the houses, who are firm believers in the Tathâgata ; they will do due honour to the remains of the Tathâgata."

This might have led the Saṃgha not to portray and honour the figure of the Buddha, for that might "hinder" them from their "own good."

1 V, 24.

At Bodh-Gaya we find that the floral side of the decoration deteriorated further. The lotus medallions that have come down to the level of mere conventionals are puerile, and worthless immitations of Barhut and Sanchi. The brilliant frieze on the coping stone of Barhut has been immitated to some extent, but it is dull, dead and commonplace. The scroll which was the pride of Sanchi Stūpa II is altogether absent from Bodh-Gaya. But human and animal figures have improved a good deal and their claim to predominance has been practically established. In fact where a floral decoration was expected in the coping-stone, we find an animal frieze has occupied the place. Bodh-Gaya has not much of story-telling and we do not propose to draw any inference from that.

With the gateways of Sanchi the story is the same, namely, that of supersession of the inanimate by the animate. The race is decided. The latter has completely subdued the former and man has taken the supreme place. The stories represented are chiefly life-stories of Gautama, though there are some connected with his previous births as well and some connected with Aśoka.

In one respect plant life have regained much of the ground it lost in the preceding period. In the representation of the foliage the artists have begun to take lessons from Nature. But the freedom of the earlier artists is wanting and the floral scrolls which adorn the pillars of the gateways are lacking in the spontaneity of the previous scroll-works and, what is more interesting, they occupy those faces of the pillars which least attract the attention.

Thus we see the change. From plant-life the interest of the artist gradually moves towards animal life and towards man and to the Buddha. On the railing of Stūpa II of Sanchi only symbols were represented, at Barhut the Jātaka stories, i.e., those connected with previous births of the Buddha were utilised ; on the Sanchi gateways the artists were concerned with the life-stories of Gautama, nay, more than once they represented the seven Buddhas by symbols, independently of their connection with any story, and put them on the highest architraves of the *toraṇas*. The tendency at this time was then towards the realisation of the Buddha figure in art. The artist was moving towards that goal. He felt a strong inclination to exalt and lionise the Master. The inclination worked on and before long the plastic representation of the Buddha was realised in sculpture. But it was not given to the sculptors of this school to take credit of this introduction. When the time came, Sanchi had already lost her importance

as a centre of art culture probably for political reasons. As a matter of fact she ceased to produce works of art and had to meet her requirements by importations from Mathura, as later remains go to show. After Sanchi Mathura became the important centre of Indian art and it is from this place that we get the earliest indigenous image of the Buddha.

That the pictorial art was a new thing with these artists is evident from the system of continuous representation. The artist could not catch at the main action and every action had to be represented in detail. The titlings also prove the same thing. The people could not follow these stories, unless they were explained to them by means of titles. But gradually they grew acquainted with the system and when the Bodh-Gaya railings were constructed, the titlings were dropped.

It may be noted here that we have had to do only with art as it existed in the monastic circle. We are absolutely in the dark as to how it fared in the hands of the lay members of the society. The injunction against honouring the remains of Buddha was meant for the Saṃgha people. The lay people were immune from its scope. On the contrary it is distinctly stated that the latter would come to pay their homage to the holy remains and we know that they did it. This seems to be of some significance.

We now come to the problem of predominance of the floral decoration in the earlier monuments of the Post-Aśokan art. How the change of outlook interfered with this feature of the decoration will be sufficiently manifest from a comparison of a scroll of early workmanship with the one on the outer face of the right pillar of the West Gateway of Stūpa I of Sanchi. The latter is composed mainly of lions set back to back instead of creepers and flowers as before. Sir John Marshall[1] has explained this question of the predominance of the foliage by arguing that it is due to the Indian artist's "innate aptitude for the handling of ornamental and particularly of floral patterns." That this "innate aptitude" was not always equally strong we have already seen. Granting that the Indian has always possessed this aptitude, the question still remains open as to how in ornamental designs a high degree of excellence could be attained by artists who could not rise above the level of memory-images in the treatment of living forms. The explanation is to be sought elsewhere. An analysis of the earlier sculptures will bring to the surface that the sculptor there was quite proficient

1 Guide to Sanchi, p. 139.

in the art of designing, but in that of chiselling he was but a neophyte. This can be explained only in one way, namely, that the artist had a living tradition to guide him in the matter of floral designs and that his predecessors were not much accustomed to the portrayal of human figures. These predecessors were probably used to brush and pigment instead of the chisel which was a new tool in the hands of the Post-Aśokan artists. That the walls of the cells of the monastaries were decorated with floral paintings and not with human figures is proved by a passage in the Cullavagga (VI, 3, 2) in the Vinayapiṭaka in which the Buddha says :

"You are not, O Bhikkhus, to have imaginative drawings painted—figures of men and figures of women. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of dukkata. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, representations of wreaths and creepers and bone-hooks and cupboards."

The rules with respect to the Bhukkuṇis are stricter. They are forbidden by the 41st Pācittiya of the Bhikkuṇi-Vibhaṅga even to see such paintings.

Here then we get the explanations of the spirit in the earlier works of Post-Aśokan art.

N. K. TARAFDAR

# The Early Adventures of Guru Govind Singh

## II

### III. THE BATTLE OF NADAUN

As we have said before, after the victory of Bhangani the Guru did not remain at Paunta but came to Kahlur where he founded the village of Anandpur. Many days passed and the Guru 'fostered the faithful and rooted out all the wicked'.[1] Those who had kept themselves away from the field of Bhangani were driven out of the place, and the Guru thus seems to have busily engaged himself in putting his house in order. He was now apparently living on friendly terms with Raja Bhim Chand of Kahlur and the occasion soon came when the Guru was called upon to give a positive demonstration of his friendship.

1 *Vicitra Nāṭak*, viii. 38.

Dr. Narang states that the battle of Bhangani made a great impression upon the Rajas and they now began to regard the Guru's propaganda with the seriousness it deserved. The Rajas hastened to make an offensive and defensive alliance with him, and, supported by the Guru, at once took up the course of passive resistance and refused to send up their yearly tribute to the imperial exchequer. An army was sent against the Rajas by the Government to realise the arrears and 'a bloody battle was fought near Nadaun in which the Rajas, with the help of the Khalsa, inflicted a severe defeat on the imperial troops'.[1] But it must be pointed out here that there is no evidence for such a general statement. The Khalsa had not yet come into existence[2] and the battle of Nadaun was not won by the united effort of the Hill Rajas, backed up by the forces of the Guru. The account given in the Vicitra Nāṭak is rather involved, and it often becomes difficult to understand to which party a particular Raja belonged, but it is certain that at least Raja Kripal of Kangra and Raja Dayal of Bijharwal fought on the side of the Muhammadan general, and there is no suggestion anywhere that the defection of the Rajas had any connection with the Guru's victory at Bhangani.

The Guru's account begins rather abruptly. He says, "Many days passed in this way till Miyan Khan went to Jammu and sent Alif Khan to Nadaun. Immediately quarrel broke out with Bhim Chand. The Raja called me to assist him in the struggle and I joined his side.[3] Miyan Khan thus seems to have been entrusted with a specific mission, and while he himself went to Jammu to settle accounts with the trans-Ravi principalities, he sent his lieutenant Alif Khan eastwards with the object of bringing the Kangra Hill States under subjection. This is confirmed by the Gur Bilas,[4] and it thus appears that during the Emperor's continued absence in the Deccan great administrative irregularities arose in the Punjab and the Hill Rajas took advantage of the situation in withholding payment of tribute. During the so-called Pathan period these Rajas continued to maintain, more or less, practical independence of the

1 Narang, *Transformation of Sikhism*, pp. 90, 91.

2 I have sought to establish this point in my paper on the Vicitra Nāṭak (*Indian Historical Quarterly*, June, 1925).

3 *Vicitra Nāṭak*, ix. 1, 2. 4 *Gur Bilas*, vii. 30, 31.

Delhi Government, but 'with the advent of Mughal ascendancy they were compelled to bow to a foreign yoke.' Kangra was conquered by Akbar and soon afterwards the other principalities of the western hills came directly under his control. The fort of Kangra was garrisoned by imperial troops under a Mughal Faujdar. Next, Todar Mal 'annexed a large portion of the Kangra Valley and made a similar demand on each of the other States proportionate to their means.' The Emperor's Finance Minister is said to have 'taken the meat and left the bone, i.e., the fertile tracts were all annexed and the Rajas were left only the bare hills. 'To ensure the fidelity of the Hill Rajas, Akbar adopted the policy of retaining as hostages at his court a prince from each of the states, and we learn that in the beginning of Jahangir's reign there were 22 young princes from the Punjab Hills in attendance on the Emperor'. Since the conquest by Akbar the Hill chiefs were tributary to the Empire and it seems that they were liberally treated. 'They were left much to themselves in the government of their principalities and were allowed to exercise the functions and wield the power of independent sovereigns.' Inspite of one or two isolated instances of rebellion, the Hill Rajas, on the whole, seem to have continued in friendship with the Imperial Court, 'as is proved by the letters and valuable presents received from the emperors and still in the possession of many of the old royal families.' On the whole, the Mughal rule sat very lightly on the Rajas, and 'some of the chiefs, too, gained a high place in the imperial favour and were given *mansab* or military rank in the Mughal army and advanced to important offices in the administration.'[1] The inducement must have been very great for these people to rise in rebellion against the Government and it seems hardly likely that the Guru's propaganda was the only or the sole cause of it, particularly as the disaffection seems to have spread even among the states of the Dogra Circle on the western side of the Ravi. As Macauliffe suggests[2] it therefore appears more probable that a general laxity in the administration encouraged the Hill Rajas to stop payment of tribute, though there cannot be any doubt that the

1 See the admirable article on the "Mian", a superior class of Hill Rajputs, by Dr. J. Hutchison of the Chamba Mission (*Glossary of Punjab Tribes and Castes*, vol. iii).

2 Macauliffe, *Ibid.*, vol. v, p. 51.

Guru played a very important part in the later developments, as we find that the first expedition sent by Dilawar Khan and possibly also the second were directed specifically against him.

The Sikh records state that Alif Khan, in the first instance, addressed himself to Raja Kripal of Kangra. The latter submitted readily and also perhaps persuaded Raja Dayal of Bijharwal to pay tribute to Alif Khan. Kripal then suggested to Alif Khan that 'Raja Bhim Chand of Bilaspur was the greatest of all the allied Hill chiefs. Were he first to pay tribute, all the rest would follow his example, and then there would be no necessity for warfare.' Acting on this suggestion Alif Khan sent an envoy to Bhim Chand, but the latter refused to pay tribute and prepared for war.[1]

Raja Kripal possibly did not exaggerate when he said that Bhim Chand was the greatest of all the allied chiefs. Even when a mere boy of fourteen, he successfully defended his throne against a powerful pretender over whom he gained a signal victory, 'the first of a brilliant series of successes in the field of arms.' He afterwards defeated the Rajas of Bashahr, Mandi and Kotkhai,[2] and it is, therefore, just in the fitness of things that we should find him at the head of the allied combination against Alif Khan, though the crowning achievement of his life was yet to come. From the Guru's account we learn that the combination included, besides Bhim Chand and the Guru himself, Raja Sukhdev of Jassrot, Prithi Chand of Dadhwar, and two other powerful chiefs, named Ram Singh and Raj Singh.[3] Bhim Chand did not wait to be attacked but immediately advanced to give

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1 Macauliffe, *Ibid.*, vol. v, pp. 51-52 ; *Gur Bilas*, vii, 31-37.

2 *Simla Hill States Gazetteer, Bilaspore*, p. 6.

3 *Vicitra Nāṭak*, ix. 3-4. The Guru does not tell us wherefrom Raj Singh and Ram Singh came. This Ram Singh was very probably the same person whom we find in alliance with Raja Gopal of Guler on the occasion of Hussian Khan's expedition. The Gur Bilas and the Suraj Prakāś state that he was the Raja of Jaswal, while, according to Macauliffe, the Raja of Jaswal, no doubt, assisted Bhim Chand on the occasion, but his name was Keshari Chand (*Gur Bilas*, vii, 43 ; T. Banerjee, *Life of Guru Govind Singh* in Bengali p. 74 ; Macauliffe, vol. v, pp. 51-52). However, all our records tell us that Raja Gopal, in his struggle against Hussain Khan, had only one powerful chief as his ally, whose name, according to the Guru,

battle to Alif Khan, who had taken his position near Nadaun,[1] a petty town on the left bank of the Beas, 20 miles south-east of Kangra town. The Muhammadan general, together with Raja Kripal of Katoch and Raja Dayal of Bijharwal, 'was encamped on an eminence and had, therefore, superiority of position.'[2] The Guru's description of the battle is rather confused and it is not easy to understand the various phases and the developments. It seems that the action commenced with an attack on Kripal Chand but it was driven back, and then Bhim Chand organised another offensive on a bigger scale. All the allied chiefs, as well as the Guru, were called upon to participate in the attack, Bhim Chand himself leading, 'invoking the name of Hanumān in his mouth.'[3] Kripal fought with great determination and bravery and 'exhibited the true virtues of a Rajput.'[4] But the allies fought desperately and soon the troops of Katoch were surrounded on all sides. The peoples of the tribes of Nanglu, Panglu, Jaswal and Guler advanced in order, but Raja Dayal of Bijharwal defended mightily,[5] and the position was momentarily relieved. At

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was Ram Singh. The Guru also informs us that on the side of Raja Gopal of Guler, the Raja of Jaswal fought with great determination (*Vicitra Nāṭak*, xi, 33). Ram Singh, therefore, was none other than the Raja of Jaswal and it seems that Macauliffe is wrong. (See also *Gur Bilas*, vii, 90). But the accounts that we possess are so involved and confused that it is unsafe to hazard any definite opinion.

1 *Kangra District Gazetteer*, p. 258. In later days it became 'a favourite residence of Raja Sansar Chand, who built himself a palace at Amtar, on the river bank, one mile from the town, where he held his court during summer.'

2 *Vicitra Nāṭak*, ix, 2. 3 *Ibid.*, ix, 6. 4 *Ibid.*, ix, 8-14.

5 *Vicitra Nāṭak*, ix. 16. Thus it appears that Guler also supported Bhim Chand. This is confirmed by the *Gur Bilas* (vii, 41). The Nanglu is 'a sept of Rajputs, descended from Chuha Mian, son of Sangar Chand, 16th Raja of Kahlur' (*Glossary of Punjab Tribes and Castes*, vol iii. p. 156). Possibly the Panglu also is another Rajput sept of this nature. It seems to us that in this particular instance the Guru is referring to the clans of Jaswal and Guleria and not to the States of those names. Jaswal and Guleria form two of the six principal Katoch clans and gave their names to the states of those names.

this stage the Guru himself entered into the fray, and his own part in the battle he thus describes—"Then this insignificant creature took up his gun and aimed at one of the Rajas. The Raja reeled and fell upon the ground, so unerringly was the shot directed, but even then the angry chief thundered. I then threw off the gun and took up my arrows in my hand. I drew out four and discharged all of them. Then again I took three others and discharged them with my left hand, (though) whether they struck anybody or not, I do not know. Then the Almighty God hastened the end of the fight and the enemy were driven out into the river."[1] Alif Khan fled precipitately and Bhim Chand and his allies were completely victorious.

The Guru states that after the victory he encamped on the side of the river and remained there for eight days. He visited the palaces of the various Rajas and then took his leave. The Rajas proceeded in the other direction to negotiate peace. The two parties came to terms and the Guru, on his part, returned to Anandpur after having plundered the village of Alsun on his way.[2] We are thus introduced to two very interesting questions, viz., the reconciliation between the two parties and the plunder of the village of Alsun. The later Sikh records tell us nothing about the first and therefore we are left to mere guess-work. Whether Alif Khan also was a party in the negotiations or merely the Hill chiefs of the two sides came to an understanding among themselves, it is difficult to say. Very soon afterwards we find that Raja Bhim Chand of Bilaspore gave up his attitude of defiance, and it is significant that Raja Gopal of Guler and his ally Ram Singh, who subsequently distinguished themselves in their struggle against Hussain Khan, were at first willing to come to terms by the payment of tribute. It may not be improbable that inspite of their initial success at Nadaun the Rajas became convinced of the futility of prolonging the struggle and came to an understanding among themselves that they would make their submission, though, as we shall see later on, the demands of the Government proved too much for the resources of some of the Hill chiefs, and the excesses of the Muhammadan general, Hussain Khan, compelled them to continue the desperate game of defiance. In that case we would perhaps be justified in regarding the plunder of Alsun as an act of retaliation on the part of the Guru, for he might very well regard the

1 *Vicitra Nāṭak*, ix, 17-19. 2 *Ibid.*, ix, 22-24.

*understanding* referred to above as a desertion of himself. Macauliffe says that the village of Alsun was situated within the territories of Raja Bhim Chand of Bilaspore, but he gives a somewhat garbled version of the plunder. We are told that the inhabitants refused to sell supplies to the Guru's troops and at last the Guru was compelled to order his followers that supplies be forcibly taken at current rates.[1] As far as we are aware, there is no authority for this statement and the evidence of the Vicitra Nāṭak,[2] the Gur Bilas[3] and the Panth Prakāś[4] leaves little doubt that the entire village was looted.

## IV. THE EXPEDITIONS OF DILAWAR KHAN

The Guru had thus openly joined the standard of rebellion and inextricably compromised himself in the eyes of the Government. The position thus became somewhat curious. Some of the Rajas had stopped payment of tribute, and when the Government sent an army to enforce its demands, the Rajas took up arms and asked the Guru to help them, which he did. A brilliant victory for the allies followed, but still the Rajas determined to abandon their position and very probably came to an understanding among themselves that they would make their submission. This is, perhaps, the only way in which we can possibly interpret the Guru's words about the treaty, already referred to.[5] We need not be surprised, therefore, that the next expedition was sent specifically against the Guru himself and it shows clearly that the Guru had been playing a very important part in this affair, though we find it difficult to believe that his propaganda and encouragement were the sole or even the primary cause of the widespread disaffection of the Rajas, both of the Dogra and the Jullundhar Circles.[6]

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1 Macauliffe, *Ibid.*, vol. v, p. 54. 2 *Vicitra Nāṭak*, ix, 24.

3 *Gur Bilas*, vii, 70. 4 *Panth Prakāś*, xxiv, 7.

5 *Vicitra Nāṭak*, ix, 23. The Guru says, 'Then I took leave of the Rajas and returned home and they proceeded in the other direction to negotiate reconciliation. The two parties came to terms and therefore the story ends.'

6 'It is a popular saying that between the Sutlej and the Chenab there are twenty-two principalities, eleven on either side of the Ravi.' The cluster of states between the Chenab and the Ravi is termed the Dogra circle, while that between the Ravi and the Sutlej is known

The Guru informs us that after the battle of Nadaun many days passed during which he was again engaged in hunting out the apostates.[1] But he was not allowed to remain long in this manner, and Dilawar Khan sent his son against him. It is difficult to say who this Dilawar Khan was. The Guru himself gives us no hint and there is no unanimity among the other Sikh records. The Suraj Prakāś makes him the governor of Kashmir[2] while the Panth Prakāś[3] says that he was the viceroy of Lahore. Bhai Sukha Singh[4] merely states that he was a Mussalman chief and Macauliffe[5] is of opinion that he was a semi-independent local chieftain, 'who had attained power in the Punjab during the insurrections which arose while Aurangzib was employed in the Dakhan.' We do not know on what grounds Macauliffe states that Dilawar Khan was a semi-independent local chieftan. To us it seems more probable that he was a Government official. A close study of the Vicitra Nāṭak clearly reveals the fact that these expeditions form, as it were, so many links in a single chain. It has been seen that Miyan Khan had been, in the first instance, entrusted with the task of subduing the Hill Rajas and he had sent Alif Khan eastwards while he himself proceeded towards Jammu. Alif Khan failed and next came the son of Dilawar Khan. He, too, returned without achieving anything and then followed the expeditions under Hussain Khan and Jujhar Singh, two of the generals of Dilawar Khan. These also were defeated and killed and when the news of these repeated disasters reached Aurangzib, he became very angry and sent one of his own sons to the Punjab to set matters right. Thus it is clear that a regular and systematic campaign was being carried on against the Hill Rajas and it is very probable that it was

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as the Jullundhar circle (*Kangra District Gazetteer*, p. 24). We have already seen that Jasrota of the Dogra circle actually assisted Bhim Chand at the battle of Nadaun and the fact that Miyan Khan himself went towards Jammu leaves little room for doubt that the rebellion was widespread.

1 *Vicitra Nāṭak*, x, 1.

2 T. Banerjee, *Ibid.*, p. 174. 3 *Panth Prakāś*, xxiv, 8.

4 *Gur Bilas*, vii, 75.

5 Macauliffe, *Ibid.*, vol. v, p. 55. Dr. Narang, on the other hand, states that Dilawar Khan was the Governor of Kangra (Narang, *Ibid.*, p. 91.)

engineered either by the viceroy of Lahore or by the viceroy of Kashmir.

Whatever that might be, we find that the son of Dilawar Khan made an attack upon the Guru, but to no purpose. His object seems to have been to surprise Anandpur and, with that end in view, he assembled his troops at about midnight and prepared for attack.[1] When the Muhammadan army reached the bank of the river, the Guru was awakened by an attendant named Alam[2] and immediately the sound of alarm was raised. The Guru's soldiers hastily armed themselves. But, in the meantime, the Khanzadu's army gave up the struggle even before it was actually commenced. The Guru says, "The river wore a dreadful appearance and the soldiers suffered terribly from cold. From this side my heroes thundered and the bloody Khans fled with their weapons unused."[3] Dr. Narang says that it was mainly owing to rain and the consequent overflooding of a neighbouring ravine that the Khanzadu had to beat a hasty retreat and we are told that "the grateful Sikhs up to this day call the ravine by the name of *Himayati Nulla* or the helpful brook."[4] Thus the expedition of the Khanzadu signally failed and the Guru informs us that the Muhammadans then vented their wrath on the poor people of Barwa and finally established themselves at Bhallan.[5] We have not been able to indentify these places, but Bhallan seems to have been a place of some strategic importance. It appears from the Guru's account that with the disastrous end of Hussain Khan's expedition, which followed that of the Khanzadu, Bhallan slipped away into the hands of the Rajas. Jujhar Singh recaptured it on behalf of Dilawar Khan but was immediately attacked by Gaj Singh. Bhallan witnessed the battle that followed and the Muhammadan party was again driven out.[6]

This discomfiture of the Khanzadu served only to strengthen the resolution of Dilawar Khan who immediately sent his slave-general Hussain Khan with a stronger army to retrieve the disaster. The subsequent developments make the initial aim of this expedition somewhat obscure, but, as we have hinted before, it seems that in this instance, too, the objective was the Guru's stronghold at Anandpur. The Guru says that if Hussain had met Raja Gopal of Guler two

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1 *Vicitra Nāṭak*, x, 2.
2 *Ibid.*, x, 3.
3 *Ibid.*, x, 6.
4 Narang, *Ibid.*, p. 91.
5 *Vicitra Nāṭak*, x, 9.
6 *Ibid.*, xii, 2.

days later, he would certainly have advanced upon Anandpur, but fortunately Destiny 'had thrown the apple of discord amidst them'.[1] Thus it seems probable that Hussain was unexpectedly diverted from the main object of his expedition and the failure of his negotiations with Raja Gopal of Guler saved the Guru from what might very well have been a disaster for him.

At first Hussain Khan carried all before him. The Raja of Dadhwal was brought completely under control and his sons were made prisoners. Next, Hussain thoroughly looted the Dun, nobody being able to withstand him. Food grains were taken by force and then distributed among his own followers. It appears that he was soon joined by Raja Kripal of Katoch and Raja Bhim Chand of Bilaspore and his depredations continued. Soon after Raja Gopal of Guler, together with a powerful chief named Ram Singh, came to meet Hussain, 'who felt extremely flattered and became blind in his vanity. He did not even condescend to notice them and 'with the Rajas of Katoch and Kahlur at his side, he thought that he was peerless in this world'. However, Raja Gopal of Guler and Ram Singh offered him the money that they had brought with them, but the amount fell short of the expectations of Hussain Khan and the offer was rejected. Thereupon the two chiefs left Hussain's camp and retired to their own places.[2]

Hussain Khan took this as an unpardonable affront, and he became so very angry that he did not pause to consider the question of ways and means but at once ordered the beating of the drum for advance. It appears that Raja Gopal and his men were soon afterwards besieged by Hussain Khan's troops. The investment lasted for 45 hours and at last Raja Gopal had to yield to the clamour of his own men, who had been suffering terribly from want of food and drink. A messenger was sent to Hussain Khan for the purpose of making peace but the slave-general remained as obdurate as ever. 'Either give me ten thousand rupees immediately or take death upon your head', said he. The Guru had, in the meantime, sent a follower of his, named Sangatia, possibly to assist Raja Gopal in his difficulties, and it was mainly through his good offices that the Guleria chief could be persuaded to go over to the enemy's camp under solemn assurances of personal safety. But the negotiations again broke down and

1 *Vicitra Nāṭak*, xi. 5. 2 *Ibid.*, xi. 2-9.

then Raja Kripal thought within himself—"Such an opportunity will never come again ; time, in its circle, deceives everybody. Gopal must immediately be disposed of, either he must be made a prisoner or be killed." But before this evil design could be carried out Raja Gopal got scent of what was going on and fled to his own men. No other alternative was now left but open trial of strength."[1]

And the battle that followed was the bloodiest of the series. Raja Gopal and his ally fought with the courage of desperation and, as it often happens in such cases, they gained a complete victory inspite of innumerable difficulties. The extreme eagerness of Raja Gopal to come to terms with Hussain clearly shows that he did not think himself equal to the contest but when all attempts at compromise failed, he adopted the counsel of despair and prepared for the worst. The Guru's account of the battle seems hopelessly confused and it would be useless to attempt a narrative. It appears that besides the Rajas of Kangra and Kahlur, Hussain was assisted by three of his officers named Himmat, Kimmat and Jalal Khan and possibly also by a warrior named Hari Singh,[2] of whose identity we know nothing. On the side of Raja Gopal fought Sangatia, Ram Singh and the Raja of Jaswal[3] and, as we have seen before, the last two were very probably identical. Of the persons who played a prominent part in the affair, one other remains, viz., the Raja of Chandel[4] but from the Guru's account it is difficult to determine the party to which he belonged and unfortunately the other Sikh records are silent about him.

The battle seems to have raged with great vehemence and considering the scale of the operations, it must be said that the carnage, that was wrought, was appalling. Hussian Khan's defeat was decisive and complete, the leader himself being killed together with Raja Kripal of Kangra.[5] Himmat also shared the same fate. The Guru states that when the battle was over and the Muhammadan party had left the field, Raja Gopal and his ally gave their attention to the wounded and the dead. Among these they found Himmat, and Ram Singh thus spoke to Raja Gopal—"That Himmat, who has been the root of all these quarrels, has now fallen wounded in our hands." When Gopal heard this, he immediately killed Himmat and did not allow

1 *Vicitra Nāṭak*, xi, 10-15.
2 *Vicitra Nāṭak*, xi. 31, 32, 54.
3 *Ibid.*, xi, 33.
4 *Ibid.*, xi, 56.
5 *Ibid.* xi, 52, 65.

him to get up alive.[1] What happend to Kimmat and Jalal Khan is not very clear. On the side of Gopal the Guru's emissary named Sangatia was killed with his companions,[2] but the other leaders were all safe.

Thus the expedition of Hussian Khan, which had begun prosperously, ended in complete disaster, and it seems that for this the rashness of the general was primarily responsible. The Guru tells us that Hussian Khan had thrown all tactical considerations to the winds.[3] In his blind fury and vanity he became reckless and the price he had to pay was terribly high. The Guru was thus saved from a contingency which might easily prove calamitous and he had every reason to be grateful to the Lord, 'who saved him by decreeing the din of battle elsewhere.'[4] But all was not over yet. Dilwar Khan made still another attempt to retrieve the situation. It seems probable that Raja Gopal's victory had again put heart into the rebellion and the success was followed up by the capture of Bhallan, where the son of Dilawar Khan had entrenched himself after the failure of his expedition against the Guru. The first act of Jujhar Singh, who was now sent by Dilawar Khan, was to recapture Bhallan ;[5] but before he could consolidate his position, he was attacked by Gaj Singh with all his troops and again a bloody battle followed. Again the Muhammadan party was routed, both Jujhar Singh and his ally Chandan Rai being killed in the fray.[6] The rebellion of the Rajas thus seemed justified by success but the final story still remains to be told.

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1 *Ibid.*, xi, 67, 68.

2 *Vicitra Nāṭak*, xi, 57.

3 *Ibid.* xi, 10

4 *Ibid.*, xi, 69.

5 *Ibid.*, xii, 2.

6 *Ibid.*, xii, 10, 12. From the Guru's account it appears that on the side of Jujhar Singh fought the Raja of Chandel, (xii, 4,5). We are told soon afterwards that when Chandan Rai died, Jujhar alone continued the fight. It may not be improbable, therefore, as Bhai Bishan Singh thinks (*Ibid.*, p. 162), that Chandan Rai himself was the Raja of Chandel. It must be noticed, however, that Gaji Chand of Chandel had assisted Fateh Shah at the battle of Bhangani and if Chandan Rai, too, was the Raja of Chandel, Gaji Chand must have died in the meantime. But we must point out that in the names of the Hill Rajas we always find a good deal of similarity among those belonging to the same family and the names of Gaji Chand and

## V THE ADVENT OF THE SHAHZADA

When the news of these repeated disasters reached Aurangzib he clearly realised that something drastic had become absolutely necessary and accordingly sent one of his own sons to restore order in the Punjab Hills.[1] The Prince took up his position at Lahore and sent an officer named Mirza Beg Mughal to reduce the hill tracts. Now began a war of vengeance and the Guru tells us that the first to suffer were those faint-hearted disbelievers, who had been seized with a panic at the approach of the Prince and, having unceremoniously left the Guru's protection, took shelter in the hills with all their treasurers.[2] These were mercilessly plundered and those that escaped Mirza Beg Khan were more cruelly dealt with by the four other relentless officers who succeeded him. But as we have pointed out elsewhere, the Guru's main object in introducing this topic in the Vicitra Nāṭak seems to have been to read a lesson on apostasy, and we are left entirely in the dark as regards the details of the operations that were carried out under the orders of the Prince in order to bring the Hill Rajas under submission. The other Sikh records also do not help us much, but one or two facts stand out clearly enough. It seems certain that the Guru was touched very little by the operations of the Prince and that the rebellion of the Rajas was completely crushed. Dr. Narang says that "the Rajas were taught a severe lesson by Mirza Beg, the imperial general. He inflicted upon them defeat after defeat, gave up their country to plunder, set fire to villages, took hundreds of prisoners, and in order to make

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Chandan Rai are so very dissimilar that a doubt is naturally raised. It seems to us that later copyists introduced some confusion in the Guru's record. We are told that the hero of the other side was Gaj Singh and with him fought the Raja of Jaswar. Bhai Bishan Singh identifies the two but that is hardly acceptable. Whether there has been some confusion between Gaji Chand and Gaj Singh, or between Gaj Singh and Raj Singh, the powerful chief, who together with Ram Singh and others assisted Bhim Chand at Nadaun, it is difficult to say; but it may be said that the Guru's account seems confused and we are practically helpless because the other Sikh records entirely ignore the incident of Jujhar Singh.

1 *Vicitra Nāṭak*, xiii, 1. 2 *Ibid.*, xiii, 2-4.

a lesson of them had them shaved clean, and their faces blackened, seated them on donkeys and made an exhibition of them throughout the disturbed area."[1] We, however, find it difficult to accept these details, though there cannot possibly be any doubt that the Rajas were taught a severe lesson on this occasion. Dr. Narang does not quote any authority for his statements and as far as we are aware, the only record that lends him a somewhat dubious support is the Vicitra Nāṭak. The Guru describes how the deserters were ruthlessly punished by Mirza Beg and his successors,[2] but there occurs nothing in the verses in question that would entitle us to connect the Hill Rajas themselves with those deserters, though some of their subjects might have been associated with the latter. Moreover, as Dr. Narang himself points out, the Guru's object seems to have been to preach 'a homily on loyalty to one's spiritual guide,'[3] and therefore we need not take his words as historically true, especially as he adopts the traditional Indian way of describing the shame and ignominy of a merciless punishment. But with regard to the other question, viz., the escape of the Guru from the general disaster that must have overtaken the Hill Rajas, the story given in the *Gur Bilas* may perhaps be accepted.[4] We are told that a Khatri of Delhi, named Nand Chand, who possessed some influence with the Prince, successfully pleaded on the Guru's behalf and thus it was that although the Guru had played a very prominent part throughout the rebellion, he was left unmolested, while all the rigours of Mirza Beg Khan and his successors fell upon the unfortunate Hill Rajas.

This ends the story of Guru Govind Singh's earlier adventures. His career, we think, may very conveniently be divided into two distinct periods, during each of which he seems to have been guided by somewhat different motives. The convening of the great assembly at Keshgarh in 1699 and the institution of the ceremony of initiation by *pahul* may, for this purpose, be regarded as the diverging point and the two periods may thus be characterised as the pre-Khalsa and the post-Khalsa periods. The difference between the two lies mainly in the fact that during the pre-Khalsa period, which we have just discussed, the Guru's object seems to have been to enter gradually into the fraternity of the Hill Rajas and establish himself as one of their equals. He completely identified himself with the cause of these chieftains

1 Narang, *Ibid.*, p. 92.
2 *Vicitra Nāṭak*, xiii.
3 Narang, *Ibid.*, p. 96. f.n.
4 *Gur Bilas*, xvi, 171, 172.

when they rose in rebellion against the Government, and the fact that he introduced his reforms so late in his career, seems to show that he was at first disinclined to widen the breach between himself and the Rajas by advocating radical innovations, both social and religious. But, as we have seen, the differences between the Guru and the Hill Rajas were fundamental and no lasting alliance between them was possible. When the rebellion of the Rajas was finally crushed and they returned to their allegiance to the Mughal Government, the Guru had perforce to give up the policy that had hitherto guided him and his mind became finally prepared for those reforms which brought the Khalsa into existence.

INDU BHUSAN BANERJI

# MISCELLANY

## Fourth Oriental Conference

On the 5th of November 1926, precisely at noon the fourth session of the All-India Oriental Conference commenced its sittings at Allahabad in the spacious and beautiful hall of the University Senate House. There was a distinguished gathering of delegates and visitors, among the former being included not only representatives from all Indian provinces but one even from distant Ceylon. Though some disappointment was caused by the absence of the head of the province from the meeting, the scene was sufficiently impressive, not to say brilliant. The audience presented the spectacle of kaleidoscopic variety usual on such occasions ; the venerable and patriarchal figure of the president as he sat on the dais in his spotlessly white garment could not fail to attract conspicuous attention ; the smart and enthusiastic body of volunteers clad in the khaki uniform of the University training corps commanded universal approval, while a sprinkling of ladies lent a touch of colour and beauty to the scene. Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Ganganath Jha, Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University, who worthily filled the office of Chairman of the Reception Committee, opened the proceedings in a felicitous speech in the course of which he referred to the historic and sacred associations of the great city in which the conference had met. This was followed by the formal election of Shams-ul-ulema Dr. J. J. Modi to the presidential chair. Next the president rose to deliver his short address which was remarkable for the polished style in which it was clothed. Beginning with a graceful reference to his predecessors in the chair, he took a brief retrospect of the progress of Oriental studies from the times of Sir William Jones and Darmesteter ; then he passed on to envisage their future and commended in this connection the projected publication of a critical edition of the Mahābhārata to the favourable notice of his countrymen and finally he concluded by urging the need for cultivating a broad outlook in scholarship not bounded by the limits of India alone. On the second and the third days of the meeting the Conference broke up in the forenoon into different sections for the reading of papers. A happy sign of the times is that this year there were as many as eight sections, classified as, Literary (sic.), Philosophy, Philology, Anthropology and Sociology,

History and Archæology, Arabic and Persian, Hindi, and Urdu. The choice of the sectional presidents on the present occasion happily left no room for unfavourable comment. Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prasad Shastri, Mahamahopadhyaya Kuppuswamy Shastri, Rao Bahadur Dayaram Sahni, and Dr. Alfred Woolner were among those who were selected for this high honour. The organisers of the conference had made a new departure this year by asking in the interests of the economy of time for synopses of papers beforehand and distributing printed copies of the same at the actual sitting. This experiment, it must be confessed, was viewed with some misgivings by many of the delegates. But happily these doubts were dissipated by the way in which the sectional presidents freely exercised their discretion to allow the contributors of papers to speak by way of supplementing the meagre outline of their analysis. The largest number of papers naturally enough was presented to the Literary (43+13) and Archæological (31+1) sections. The discussions which followed the reading of papers at the different sections were often lively and fruitful. A notable visitor was Dr. Franklin Edgerton, Professor of Sanskrit at the Yale University of America, who read two papers on the Pañcatantra in the Literary section. In the Archæological section an animated discussion took place in connection with Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar's paper on the slow progress of the Islamic power in India, the Professor's contention that the success of the Moslem invaders was largely due to accident being received with a storm of criticism. As on previous occasions, there were presented a few papers which served as a comic relief to the rest. One gentleman undertook, for example, to prove the authenticity of the Puranic cosmography from the evidence of modern geology. Another gentleman undertook with great learning to bring the figures of the Indian Asura Maya, the Avestan Ahura Mazda and the Mayas of Yucatan into mutual relation and tried in the light of a Puranic legend to explain the diffusion of races. Apart from the reading of papers, the conference carried out a most important task in fixing the future constitution of this body, the scheme being threshed out after a series of lively and at times heated discussions during the afternoons of the three days of the meeting. The usual entertainments were not forgotten by the organisers of the conference in the midst of the hurry and the pressure of work. On the night of the 5th November an enjoyable musical performance was arranged in the beautiful Vizianagram Hall of the Muir College. On the 6th the guests were treated to a rare luxury

in the shape of a Śāstrārtha followed by a Mushaira in the orthodox style. On the 7th a garden party was arranged at the spacious quadrangle of the Muir College and on the same night the Sanskrit play of the Veṇīsaṃhāra was staged at the Senate Hall, Prof. Kṣetresh Chandra Chattopadhyaya in the role of Aśvatthāmā being universally commended for his fine display.

The conference accepted the invitation of Dr. Woolner to hold its next sessions at Lahore in 1928.

U. N. G.

## On Some Methods and Conclusions in Hindu Politics

*Dr. Ghoshal's book Re-examined*

While preparing in 1924 the manuscript for pt. II of vol. II (Political) of my *Positive Background of Hindu Sociology* (Panini Office, Allahabad) it appeared to me, living as I was then in Italy, that modern Italian investigations in ancient Indian politics were hardly known in India or abroad. This led me to the preparation of a bibliographical monograph entitled *Hindu Politics in Italian* which might serve as an appendix to the *Pos. Back. Hind. Soc.* The occasion of this appendix incidentally furnished me with an opportunity for examining the books on allied topics which, since the publication of my *Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus* (Leipzig, 1922), happened to come into my hands. One of the books thus reviewed is Dr. Ghoshal's *Hindu Political Theories* (henceforth abbreviated as *H. P. T.*).

*Hindu Politics in Italian* has appeared in four consecutive numbers of the *Indian Historical Quarterly* (vols. I and II). In vol. II, no. 2, which contains the last portion of my contribution and which besides has references to the *H. P. T.* there is a rejoinder by Dr. Ghoshal on pages 420-430.

My review of his work was based on a thorough acquaintance with its contents on every page. And I am happy that the author has furnished me with another chance to read his learned book from cover to cover. I have now reoriented myself to his standpoints and conclusions, and thus fortified shall try to meet his charges, item by item.

### *Dr. Ghoshal's Suspicion*

Dr. Ghoshal begins his contribution in the following manner: "The professed object of the writer (Sarkar)," says he, is "to summarize and review almost all that has appeared in Italian (here G. inserts a *sic*) on the subject of Hindu political theories and institutions." I cannot make out the exact item or items of his suspicion in my professed object. For certainly (i) it was my intention to summarize and review; (ii) the intention was to cover nearly the entire ground ("almost all"); (iii) the summary and review were confined to Italian language (as contrasted with German, French, British or American); and (iv) the contributions in Italian in the field of Hindu political theories and institutions to the exclusion of Hindu philology, archæology, anthropology and so forth demanded my attention. As far as can be guessed, perhaps one might reasonably suspect if no. ii can rightfully be asserted. But the writings have been mentioned in the chronological order, and the sources of my information both German and Italian, on the strength of which I ventured on saying "almost all that has appeared" have also been indicated.

### *Relevancy of my Reviews*

Dr. Ghoshal's next sentence reads as follows: "However he (Sarkar) has thought it fit with remarkable relevancy to indulge in general reviews of a number of recent Indian publications dealing with this branch of investigation."

Dr. G. makes a misleading statement here. "It is only from one standpoint that the recent Indian publications have been dealt with in my paper. And the aspect has been explicitly indicated as follows: "It is clear that Machiavelli looms large in Italian thought.* * * In *Machiavellism*, as they understand it, is of course to be included the philosophy of Hindu *arthaśāstras* and *nītiśāstras* as well.* * * By the light of these Italian contributions to the subject of Indian Machiavellis it would be interesting to inquire how Indian scholars are oriented to Machiavelli himself or to Machiavellism as a creed."

After examining two books I have made the following statement: "Let us now turn to Dr. G. who in his *History* has much to say on Machiavelli." The relevancy is self-evident. Besides, neither in regard to Dr. G's book nor in regard to the other Indian works has a single word been spent on items that have no bearing on Machiavelli or Machiavellism.

But while introducing the views on Machiavellism of these authors, care was taken to describe the merits and shortcomings of their contributions. But the whole stuff ("general reviews") has been relegated to the footnotes which have nothing to do with the text. Such "general reviews" (in foot notes) have been "indulged in" in regard to Hillebrandt's *Altindische Politik*, Monahan's *Early History of Bengal*, French studies in Hindu politics, Stein's *Megasthenes und Kautilya* and Vico's *Nuova Scienza*.

Dr. G's book, as he rightly says, has been "casually noticed" by me in one place and "subjected to a long and searching examination" in another place. It is necessary to add, moreover, that both these places are to be found in the footnotes.

### *The Limitations of Dr. Ghoshal's Scope*

Dr. Ghoshal objects to the very first statements in my footnote on his work thus: "The critic prefaces his general review of the *H. P. T.* by commenting what he fancies to be the limited scope of the work. This point is connected with the critic's highly original idea of the scope of historical investigation of political theories, and may be conveniently considered at a later place."

I have simply stated the facts as they are. There is neither any "lament" nor any "fancy." My statement is as follows: "His book has grown virtually into an examination of the theory of kingship. The problems selected by him for survey have imposed limitations on the scope. The author perhaps is not conscious of these limitations, for he does not mention them anywhere in the preface or the text."

Dr. G. does not point out what my "highly original idea of the scope, etc." is, nor does he try to dispute it or replace it by something of his own. But he claims that "other topics which properly fall within the scope etc." have "received their just share of recognition" at his hands. And he thinks that enough has been done by a student of the history of political theories when one in addition to the theory of kingship discusses "such topics as (i) the relation of politics to law, (ii) the scope and method of the *Arthaśāstra* and its relation to other sciences, (iii) the relation of politics to religion and morality, and (iv) last but not least, the theory of republics."

Now, one is at liberty to choose any scope of investigation. And certainly nobody would deny that these four or rather five items belong to the province of political theory. But our author believes

that he has thereby exhausted the whole range of political theory and declares that "where there are no 'limitations,' no occasion arises for being conscious of their existence." (But see later).

### *Virtually, the Theory of Kingship*

But on the other hand it is my duty to point out, if not to the author, at any rate, to my readers that political theory may comprise other items as well such as have been ignored in Dr. Ghoshal's book. Besides, when an author intends to write a "history" of political theories, he is not free to adumbrate his own political philosophy except as an interpreter, critic or judge has to deal with the ideas, concepts etc. of other authors. The historian is bound to describe what these other men have thought, said and written. Now if the ancient and mediæval Hindu thinkers have more things to say than are to be found in Dr. Ghoshal's *History*, a reader has right to maintain that the *History* has "limitations." Anybody who is familiar with the tables of contents in ancient and mediæval Indian political texts knows quite well that the range of political theory as conceived by the Hindus is infinitely more extensive than can be covered even by a very extensive discussion of the four or five items to which Dr. G. devotes his attention.

When, therefore, somebody says that the book is "virtually" an "examination" of the theory of 'kingship' there is absolutely no attempt made to "mis-state the facts," as the author alleges. And since Dr. G. admits that a "larger place" has been given to the theory of kingship, it appears that I have only told the literal truth. My readers will get in Dr. G's book just what I have said and will have no reasons to complain so far at least as this aspect is concerned.

### *Dr. Ghoshal confounds Theories with Institutions*

Dr. Ghoshal's description of the "standard Indian polity" is based on Gautama, Baudhāyana, Āpastamba, and other writers of *Smṛtis* (pp. 13-16). In regard to these evidences my judgment is to the effect that their "institutional value" is questionable. For, as is well known, these *Smṛti* books merely say that the king *should* do such and such things, the priest *should* do such and such things, and so on. Collections of these and allied "shoulds" may indicate the trends of thought, speculation, theory or philosophy in the social fields but not *necessarily* the actual histories of positive realities such as may

point to what is or was being done by the men and women of flesh and blood. In a description of the "standard Indian polity" one expects the *historical* constitutional facts bearing on what was and has been, and not on what ought to be or what is desirable and decent according to certain norms.

The author does not make this distinction between facts and ideas or ideals, and therefore cannot complain if somebody pointed out an imperfection. My statement is as follows : "The constitutional background ought to have been exhibited on the strength of more historical and concrete material. But he has not cared to attend to this aspect of the problem."

If it is true that there is "no well-documented institutional history," as I admit in other contexts, an author should either try to fill in the gap or gaps. Or if that be beyond his scope, he should let the question of "standard Indian polity" alone and avoid confounding "polity" with the "ideas" on polity. He should confine himself exclusively to the theory. I have no objection to the *Smṛti* texts being used in a description of theories, ideas, ideals, etc. and have therefore raised the following sceptical questions :—

"How can one and the same evidence be used indifferently for speculation as well as for facts without a word of explanation ?"

Should, however, Dr. G. believe that the *Smṛti* and similar texts,—the "theoretical data,"—are "non-idealistic" as well, he will have to begin by analyzing their contents and pointing out which elements constitute the positive registers of constitutional and political data and which the records of speculation or summaries of ideas bearing on the same. The analysis and dissection must satisfy the demands of anthropology and archæology. But this he has not done.

### *An Unsettled Question in Indology*

It may be observed *en passant*, as has been pointed out by the present writer on various "occasions, that the subtle distinction between pious wishes" and *Real politik* has invariably escaped the workers in indology. While committing the fallacy involved in ignoring this distinction, Dr. Ghoshal is thus not in bad company. But for students of science it is no longer advisable to beat about the bush. Workers in ancient Indian lore must have the courage to face the situation and ransack the available literary data from the standpoint of positive science wherever possible.

The time has come to attempt rendering unto history the truths that are history's and unto philosophy the truths that are philosophy's.

*Significance of Vedic Gods Misunderstood*

The author lays his fingers on one of my paragraphs where I am alleged "to state the reverse of truth" and make a "facile generalization" "in line with" my "characteristic manner."

This charge is directed against my judgment which was pronounced to the effect that Dr. G. "makes too much of the doctrine of the alleged divinity of the king in the Vedic texts (pp. 27-32). It is ignored that almost everything is endowed with the so-called 'divine attributes' in the *Vedas*."

The author defends himself in the rejoinder by saying that he has cared specially to point out that the status of divinity was a privilege of all persons entitled to the *Śrauta* sacrifice. Yes. But this does not meet my point which is aimed at "too much" being made of the "alleged divinity of the king." If everybody, nay, "*everything*" can become "divine" (whatever it may mean) in the Vedic literature under certain circumstances, why stress this point at all? There is nothing specifically divine in the king.

That is why it was necessary to point out further that "the significance of the fact that every sacrificer is the equal of Bṛhaspati and other gods has been lost sight of" by Dr. G. The important item here is not the fact itself but the "significance" of the fact which is quite a different thing. To state, discover or unearth a fact belongs to one science. But to "interpret" or "explain" it belongs to another. One can quite well state a fact without "understanding" its "meaning." Similarly one may quite well explain the meaning of a fact without being able to discover or explore it.

That the distinction between the fact and the significance of the fact is still obscure in Dr. G.'s eyes is clear from his attempt at self-defence in the rejoinder. He says, "To state in the face of this that the sharing of divine attributes of the king by others in the Vedic religious conceptions is ignored in the *H. P. T.* is to state the reverse of truth." Nothing at all of the kind. My criticism does not dispute that he has described the "sharing" of divinity by others. The passages cited by him certainly indicate this.

But what do the passages "mean"? The import of these passages would deprive his postulate of the divinity of the king of its very substance.

*Divinity due to Kingship. Not Kingship due to Divinity*

There are altogether 18 passages from the *Ṛg-Veda*, *Atharva-Veda*, *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, and *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* cited by the author (pp. 27-82) in regard to the king as divinity and allied topics. None of them can be so interpreted as to ascribe kingship to divine origin or base the "king's authority upon his divinity." The sole constitutional value of the passages should lead as pointed out by myself "to the doctrine, not that the king's authority is based upon divinity but exactly its contrary, namely, that divinity itself comes from kingship."

How the mere statement of a fact differs from the significance of it is, curiously enough, illustrated by another item in Dr. G.'s writing. At one point (p. 30) the author hits upon what I consider to be the correct position, viz. that "king's divinity is derived." But he does not know what use to make of this fact. Or rather instead of making a legitimate use of his *datum* he hastens to a position that is not warranted by evidence, so far at least as the passages in question are concerned.

The texts tell us in so many words (pp. 30-31) that a person becomes divine through certain actions (we need not go into the details), and that divinity is but a consequence and not the cause or antecedent. We are to understand that Trasadasyu or for that matter anybody becomes a Varuṇa or an Indra as soon as he becomes a king or rather is consecrated. But we are not told, in the passages cited, that somebody becomes king because he is divine, godlike, descended from the gods or so forth. Once you are a king you are a god. Quite Pharaonic as it is, a proposition like this is the direct antipodes to the position of a scholar who wants to establish the thesis that there is such a thing as "king's rule by virtue of his divinity" (p. 33).

*Dr. Ghoshal's Rejoinder Contradicts his Book*

The author in his rejoinder takes a position which in some respects goes directly against his data in the book. There (p. 30) he is responsible for the following statement: "The king's divinity is derived from a two-fold title,—as a member of the ruling class and as a participator in the omnipotent sacrificial ceremonies." But in the rejoinder he chastises me for holding the same view and considers "the derivation of divinity from the kingship" to be a view which is pointedly contradicted by the evidence of a *Brāhmaṇa* passage (quoted in *H. P. T.*, pp. 32-33)."

We thus find our author in a rather inconvenient position. For, if rejoinder is to possess any value, pp. 32-33 of his book contradict in their entirety pp. 30-31. In the book itself the author has merely failed to make use of a good point. But now his inconsistency compels him to disown it.

### *The King's Ceremonial Shootings*

It has been mentioned above that there are altogether 18 passages in Dr. G.'s book bearing on the different aspects of the king's divinity. In the rejoinder the author wants to single out one of these passages. In the book itself (p. 31) he has offered us three in regard to the problem of "king's rule by virtue of his divinity."

Let us then first take the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* passage (V. 1. 5. 14) singled out by the author as of "great interest in the history of Indian political thought" (p. 33). In the political sacrifice called *Rājasūya*, the king, the Kṣatriya, or Rājanya has to practise a ceremonial shooting as he is likewise called upon to do many other ceremonial things. This rite has seemingly called for a word of explanation in the *Śat. Br.*, which runs thus :—"And as to why a Rājanya shoots, he, the Rājanya, is the visible representative of Prajāpati (the lord of creatures) : hence, while being one, he rules over many."

It need be observed moreover that every explanation is not a "causational" statement. Propositions with "why" may involve nothing more than sequences of axioms.

The explanation is indeed very elementary. The question has been asked "Why does the king shoot ?" The answer is : "Because he is the king." The expressions "Rājanya," "visible representative of Prajāpati" and "rules over many" are essentially synonyms, and convey no other significance than that of identity. If there is any syllogism here, it is nothing more serious than "A is A because it is A."

### *How the King becomes identical with Prajāpati*

We have taken the above passage as given in Dr. G.'s book. The translation is Eggeling's in the *Sacred Books of the East Series*, but the author has introduced a slight modification.

It is necessary for a minute to pause over the text itself and the translation as well as the modification of the translation.

The verse begins thus :

*Tadyat rājanyaḥ pravidhyati.* Eggeling translates it as follows :

"And as to why a Rājanya shoots." The translation should be happier thus,—"Now then (concerning the fact) that *the* Rājanya (not *a* Rājanya) shoots." A "why" is not absolutely necessary.

The previous verse (no. 13) has described the shooting of seventeen arrows by the Rājanya. "For as much as is one arrow's range so much is Prajāpati crosswise, and as much as are seventeen arrows' ranges so much is Prajāpati lengthwise." (Eggeling has here neglected to translate *atha vedyantāt).*

What do we have to understand by Prajāpati in this connection? A previous verse (no. 6) in the same V. 1. 5. says that "Prajāpati is speech, and that doubtless is the supreme speech which is the outcome of seventeen drums."

In the same verse the Rājanya "wins the supreme speech the supreme Prajāpati. Seventeen these are because Prajāpti is seventeenfold, he thus wins Prajāpati."

One does not, then, have to translate Prajāpati as "lord of creatures" as Eggeling does and as Dr. Ghoshal accepts. But in any case it is clear that the Rājanya has won Prajāpati by certain feats of his own. And when therefore he comes to be desribed as "*Prajāpateḥ pratyakṣatamām*" (the original text, by the bye, is grammatically wrong) i.e. the most visible (form ?) of Prajāpati one does not at all have to attribute the Rājanya's authority to Prajāpati, whatever this latter is, "speech" or "lord of creatures."

And certainly to call the Rājanya a "representative" of Prajāpati, on the strength of Sāyaṇa's explanation (viz. *pratyakṣatamaṃ rūpam*, i.e. the most visible *form* as Dr. G. does, is utterly untenable. Eggeling has said simply, "most manifestly of Prajāpati). These textual and translational difficulties do not, however, militate against my thesis that nobody is authorized here to attribute the kingly power to something external, to some outside authority.

Besides, the unsatisfactory manner in which the equation between the Rājanya and Prajāpati is established in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* is apparent from the very next phrase cited by the author. We are told that "Because Prajāpati has four syllables and Rājanya also has four syllables therefore a Rājanya shoots." Further, "he shoots seventeen arrows' ranges because Prajāpati is seventeenfold : he thereby wins Prajāpati."

The processes by which the king grows into Prajāpati have nothing divine, esoteric or mystical about them. No external authority raises him to that level or makes him identical with Prajāpati.

### *Śatapatha and Taittirīya Passages*

Another (*Śat. Br.* XII. 13.8.) passage describes a rite of the Horse-sacrifice in which the king takes part. Among his performances we read, "One additional (oblation) he offers, whence one man is apt to thrive amongst (many) creatures (or subjects)." The thriving among creatures in this passage is identical in import with the ruling over many in the previous (V. 1.5.14).

Then there is the *Taitt. Saṃ.* passage (II. 2.11.6) where the result of certain offerings is described as follows : "So him becoming Indra his fellows recognize as superior ; he becomes the best of his fellows." In the concept of becoming the "best of his fellows" we read once more the "thriving" and the "ruling."

The passages are quite simple. There is nothing to indicate that the king's authority is based upon his divinity or that the king rules by virtue of his divinity. We have to note only the following three attributes of kingship and the king's position :—

1. The king, Rājanya or Kṣatriya is the "best" etc., "thrives" and "rules." 2. The king acquires his Indrahood (call it divinity) and becomes the most visible form of Prajāpati because of the ceremonial rites. In other words, he is divine because he rules and not *vice versa.* 3. As incidents in the ceremonies the king has to offer an additional oblation or to shoot. The shooting and the oblation he has to practise because of the ceremonies and not because of his divinity.

And the ceremonies he has to undertake, because he is a king and not because he is a god. As a matter of fact, the fellow does not become a god until and unless he has undertaken the ceremonies and offered the oblation or practised the shooting. Everything is to be traced back to kingship. Indeed we may look upon these passages as but providing us with a definition of the king.

Dr. G. has shot wide of the mark by trying to read into these passages, simple as they are, the enunciation of a "doctrine which become, the corner-stone of the theories of kingship in the later canonical works, namely, that of the king's rule by virtue of his divinity" (p. 33). Perhaps he has been misled by the uncouth character of archaic Vedic syntax.

### *The Puruṣa-Sūkta*

In regard to the oft-quoted *Puruṣa-Sūkta* (*Ṛg-Veda*, x. 90) metaphor which Dr. G. suspects is "new" to me but is "familiar to every student of Indian antiquities", the following remark is to be

found in my criticism :—"There is no logic in the haphazard manner in which the Sun and the Moon, the Brāhmaṇa and the Śūdra are described as having been born." My remark has to be understood with reference to the "dogma of precedence" which the author tries to establish.

At one place the *Sūkta* says that the Puruṣa's mouth became the Brāhmaṇa and at another point we read that Indra and Agni sprang from his mouth. In the one case the mouth is mentioned first ; but in the other instance the mouth is mentioned third, the first place being given to the mind and the second to the eye.

According to this latter arrangement, then, the Moon that springs from the mind is perhaps superior to the Sun that springs from the item mentioned next, namely, the eye. And therefore, Indra and Agni are inferior to the Moon and the Sun.

Further the *Sūkta* mentions the mouth twice but in two different positions. Similarly the feet are mentioned twice, and this again in two different orders. In the first instance the feet occupy the fourth place and the Śūdra is supposed to have sprung from them. In the second instance the feet have the seventh place and from there arose the earth. In the first instance the feet are the last to mention, but in the second instance the feet have "precedence" before the ear which is the eighth in order.

In the *Sūkta*, at one point, again, the breath of the Puruṣa gives rise to the god of wind. But at another point the air arose from the the navel. In other words, the gods of wind and air are two different categories with two independent origins, and these are as different as the breath and navel.

On the face of it the enumeration should be treated as nonsense. If the authors of the *Puruṣa-sūkta* are to be credited with a certain amount of coherent thinking, logical order or sense of system we shall have to understand them as having propounded a "dogma of precedence" or "pre-eminence" in which the navel (and correspondigly, the air) is superior to the head (and correspondingly, the sky), the head (sky) as superior to the feet (earth), and feet (earth) as superior to the ear (four quarters). And, again, as already indicated above, the mind (Moon) should be superior to the eye (Sun), the eye (Sun) superior to the mouth (Indra and Agni), and mouth (Indra and Agni) superior to the breath (god of wind).

Unless the navel be conceded to be superior to the head and the feet superior to the ear,—simply because the authors have cared

to mention these items in their order,—the Brāhmaṇa cannot be superior to the Rājanya and the Vaiṣya to the Śūdra. One is not at liberty to have two or three different logics in one and the same *Sūkta*. Let me reiterate that the items have been mentioned by the authors in a "haphazard manner" and without any logic.

It appears that Indra and Agni have had no very staunch advocates among the mundanes. That is perhaps why we hear of no complaint against their being accorded the third place in a "social (?) system" which accords the place of honour to the Moon. Nor do we happen to hear of any controversies in regard to the claims of air, the sky, the earth and the four quarters as to which of these elements deserves "precedence" or "prominence" in the system of the universe. Neither the students of astronomy nor of physics are fighting over the "value" for the "significance" to be attached to the place assigned to these natural agencies in the *Sūkta* schedule.

No value can, therefore, be reasonably attached to the order in which the Brāhmaṇa, Rājanya, etc. are mentioned. But of course those who do not care to follow any logic and are prepared to consider any string of names as constituting a "system" simply because it is to be found in a Sanskrit book, forsooth, in the *Ṛgveda* itself, are likely to see in it the things which do not exist there.

Coming back to Dr. Ghoshal's book, my conclusion, therefore, has been as follows :—

"The explanation of the theory of 'class origins' is not happy (pp. 44-45). The oft-quoted *Puruṣa-sūkta* cannot involve the dogma of the 'precedence' of some in regard to the others."

*Everybody is somebody in his own place*

It need be observed that nothing has been said by myself against the doctrine of social inequality or what is the same thing, the dogma of precedence, as such. Nor does my contribution say that this dogma cannot be substantiated by evidences from the Sanskrit texts. The *Puruṣa-sūkta* was singled out simply to show that Dr. Ghoshal's treatment of this evidence is not happy, for it does not logically involve the dogma that is sought to be established.

There is another evidence by Dr. Ghoshal and in that connection my remarks are the following :—"Nor do the statements in the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* to the effect that one is chief, another is strong and so forth point to anything more than the fact that each one is somebody in his own field (cf. also H. P. T., p. 6.)"

The author believes that I have here conveniently suppressed the statements that "the Vaiśyas are to be eaten and that the Sūdras are dependent upon others."

No, all these statements have been included in my remark that "each one is somebody in his own field,—even the Śūdra, although he was not created after any gods." But the chief thing here is the question of precedence.

In regard to the Śūdra the texts leave no doubt about his inferiority. We are told that he is "not fit for sacrifice" and is "dependent on others."

*The Vaiśya in Social Economy*

But what about the Vaiśya? There is nothing to indicate that he is inferior to or dependent on the Brāhmaṇa and the Rājanya. He is as *great* a "somebody in his own field" as the Brāhmaṇa, the chief, and the Rājanya, the strong. But he is not as *low* a "somebody in his own field" as the Śūdra,—for the Vaiśya is not dependent and not unfit for the sacrifice. Nay as sacrificer the Vaiśya is as *pucca* "divine" as the Kṣatriya and the Brāhmaṇa. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (III. 2. 1. 39-40) can be cited in favour of the view that the Vaiśya is on a par with the Brāhmaṇa.

The equality of the Vaiśya with the Brāhmaṇa and the Kṣatriya robs the dogma of social precedence of any substantial significance. We need emphasise here the item mentioned in the *Tait. Saṃ.* (VII, 1.1.), viz., that the Vaiśyas are "more numerous than others for they were created after the most numerous of the Gods." The dogma, if it is to be maintained at all, implies therefore (1) that the Vaiśyas do not have to *kowtow* to the "others" and (2) that the Brāhmaṇa and the Kṣatriya, who likewise do not *kowtow* to others, have numerically to yield the palm to the Vaiśyas.

But, then, there remains the item that the Vaiśyas "are to be eaten." In the first place, "to be eaten" is a "function" which is quite in order in a system where "everybody is somebody in his own field." In the second place, what do the authors of the *Tait. Saṃ.* really mean by this phrase? They have mentioned altogether six things in one breath and all "are to be eaten." Those six things are the Saptadaśa Stoma, the All-gods as deities, the Jagati metre, the Vairūpa Saman, the Vaiśya and Cows. It is clear, of course, that the items other than the cows cannot be eaten in the literal sense.

In the third place, whatever be the meaning attached to eating in

regard to the other items, there may not be much difficulty in trying to eat the Vaiśyas for they can be taken to be equivalent to the producing class and of course whatever is "produced" can also be "consumed" (although not exactly "eaten"). But still it is not possible to attach the idea of inferiority to the Vaiśyas simply because they are "to be eaten." If the persons who are to eat them are to be regarded as superior, then not only the Brāhmaṇas and the Rājanyas would be superior to the Vaiśyas, but the Śūdras too. For there is no injunction against the Śūdras eating the Vaiśyas as there is no special privilege of the Brāhmaṇas and Rājanyas mentioned in regard to this eating business.

Now if by being eaten by the Śūdras the Vaiśyas become inferior to the latter, then the *Tait. Saṃ's* verdict that the Śūdras are "dependent on others, etc." loses all its sting, because it raises them to the status of the Brāhmaṇas and the Rājanyas in the function of eating. Or, if we are to maintain that the *Tait. Saṃ.* does not intend to withdraw its ideas about the inferiority of the Śūdra we must have to admit that the function of being eaten carries with it no inferiority of the Vaiśyas in relation with the Brāhmaṇa and Rājanyas who are to eat.

Either the *Tait. Saṃ.* does not genuinely mean the inferiority of the Śūdras in the social system or it attaches no inferiority complex to the Vaiśyas because they are to be eaten. Here is a dilemma that compels the dogma of social precedence to look for other evidences stronger than the ones discussed by Dr. Ghoshal.

### *The Perspectives of Vedic Politics*

On the subject of Vedic politics Dr. Ghoshal considers me to be an ignoramus. Says he :—"Criticism of this kind shows, if anything, the critic's ignorance of the subject which he professes to treat."

I suspect I am not perhaps as profound a Vedic scholar as the learned author. But I am not obstinate enough to persist in my ignorance and I attempt to remain always teachable. I do not therefore understand what leads Dr. G. to indulge in a joke on what he describes as a "precious advice" offered by me "to the investigator of Vedic politics."

My ideas on "the right place of Vedic thought in the history of political speculations" which, I believe, "has not been appropriately grasped by the author" are as follows :—

"Neither the polity nor the political thoughts of the Vedic *Ṛṣis, should there be any*, can be adequately explained if one approaches the subject from the angle of mythology and religion or from that of

the life-history of the chief or the sacrificial minister. This is why Dr. Ghoshal has failed to visualize the genuine problems of the fire-sages, harnessed as they are to colonizing, conquest and inter-tribal war and peace, and altogether to the evocation and development of the aggressive personality of the *viś* group."

And what do I think Dr. Ghoshal has done in his book? "While the war-chief and the fire-craftsman have been accorded much of the canvas, the real centre of political as well as social and economic interest has been virtually ignored."

In regard to the "real centre" of Vedic politics my position has been briefly stated in the following terms :—

"The two paramount factors of that public life are furnished by (1) wars of the tribal *viś* with the Dasyus and (2) wars among the tribal *viśas* themselves. External or foreign politics constitute the backbone of *viś*-activities. * * * It is the *viś* that is abroad conquering and to conquer."

These ideas undoubtedly exhibit my colossal ignorance and shall surely form the fit butt of ridicule from learned Vedic scholars like Dr. Ghoshal. And I am grateful to him that after administering a few rebukes he has cared to give me some solid lessons. First, he wants me to learn that "Vedic thought consists of successive strands and that the "Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra periods witnessed a progressive" transformation of the polity. Let me, however, submit that the lesson would have been appropriate had I attempted an independent treatise on the subject and failed to indicate the different strands without at the same time mentioning in the preface the reasons for that failure.

But my business in that footnote to *Hindu Politics in Italian* so far as this item is concerned has been exhausted in some twenty lines. And it has consisted only in pointing out the imperfections of Dr. Ghoshal's book on the question of the general orientation to the problems of Vedic politics. No matter what be the strand of Vedic thought he touches—including of course the Ṛg-Veda—he virtually ignores, let me repeat, "the real centre of political as well as social and economic interest."

We have noticed on several occasions that our author has failed to notice the limitations—whether in commission or omission,—even when pointed out in a genuinely scientific and thoroughly friendly spirit. In regard to the perspectives of Vedic politics we find him, again, in his usual mood. For he has cared to give me another lesson.

He says : "Even if we admit for the earlier period that the genuine

problems of the fire-sages were those concerned with colonizing, etc. * * * their consideration would properly fall within the scope of the historian of political institutions. Failure to visualize these in a work dealing exclusively with the history of political ideas cannot and ought not to be regarded as an omission."

The author tries here to escape in quite a learned manner. But it is not easy to escape. First, it is not true that his book has nothing to do with "political institutions." We have not forgotten having met him while discussing the "standard Indian polity" (pp. 13-16). He cannot therefore plead that there is no omission or that the omission is intentional. The omission is due to the fact already discussed, namely, that the "right place of Vedic thought in the history of political speculation has not been appropriately grasped by the author."

In the second place, it is not correct to say that I have been talking all this while of Vedic "political institutions." No. I am always speaking of "thought," "speculation," the "political thoughts of the Vedic *Ṛṣis, should there be any*." If, therefore, a reader finds that Dr. G. has been talking exclusively of the speculations bearing on the king and the priest, or the priest and the king ignoring the ideas on war, inter-tribal conflicts, the struggle of groups or races, or the ideas on the group-activities of the *viś*, the people, even while discussing the Ṛg-Vedic strand, there can be but one explanation. And that is the author's absence of adequate orientation to the proper perspectives of Vedic political speculation.

(*To be continued*)

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

## Evidence of Pāṇini on Vāsudeva Worship

Our thanks are due to Mr. U. C. Bhattacharjee for having given us an opportunity to explain our arguments in defence of Pāṇini and his commentators on the one hand and Sir. R. G. Bhandarkar on the other, who is accused of blindly following them.

He demands my answer to a certain absurdity that would result. This question has already been answered, and if I remember aright it has even been pointed out which way the absurdity lies ; and so I do not propose to reiterate my arguments.

He finds fault with me for having overlooked the significance of the phrase 'atha vā' in the passage quoted. I have to admit it in the sense that I have failed to write a short dissertation on the meaning of the phrase as understood by our Śāstrakāras, which I thought unnecessary. However I shall do it briefly here.

As I do not feel myself competent enough to enter into a discussion on the relative superiority of first and second thoughts from the point of view of psychology, I shall try briefly to indicate the significance of the phrase 'atha vā' that is generally accepted by our Śāstrakāras. In the course of argumentation, when the Siddhānta is to be established as against the Pūrvapakṣa, it is usual for the Śāstrakāras to advance alternative arguments or reasons and in this connection, the phrase 'atha vā' would serve as an introduction to each of the arguments so adduced. As a general rule, the last of such arguments happens to be the accepted one as irrefutable in establishing the Siddhānta, and that especially with Patañjali who takes delight in enticing his opponents into pitfalls by adopting a zig-zag course in reaching his goal like that of a snake. Dialectics is the region in which he reigns supreme, with the consequence that he has got two hundred thoughts on one and the same subject, of which the two hundredth may be the accepted one. It is not necessary to point out that the phrase 'atha vā' is not only frequently used, but also prefixed as introduction to the last of such alternative arguments. I would leave it for the readers to imagine the absurdity that would result, if we are to interpret it in the manner our friend would like us to do.

Further we are asked to cite our authority for the bisection of the meaning of the word 'bhaktiḥ.' Before proceeding with the answer, we have to thank him for having deferred the reply with regard to the interpretation of the rule IV-2-24. Any reader of our previous

note (I.H.Q., March, 1926) could at once understand that our authority is no other than Pāṇini and his Aṣṭādhyāyī, not to speak of the commentators; and the dilemma is nothing but a phantom.

K. G. SUBRAHMANYAM

My friend contends that Pāṇini himself has said that 'bhakti' must mean one thing with reference to *Vāsudeva* and quite another with reference to *Arjjuna* and perhaps a third with reference to *Apūpa*, and so on. But where does Pāṇini say this? He should have pointed it out to me.

As to '*atha vā*' his arguments are quite amusing. I never knew that an alternative argument is the strongest argument.

I can only say that I have found nothing as yet to change my views.*

U. C. BHATTACHARJI

## The Greater India Society

An institution called the Greater India Society has been recently inaugurated in Calcutta with a view to study, and renew the spiritual and cultural relationship of India with Greater India, i.e., (1) *Serindia* or Central Asia, (2) *India Minor* (Afghanistan etc.), (3) *Indo-China* or Burma, Siam, Laos, Cambodia and Champa, (4) *Insulindia* or Sumatra, Java, Bali, Madura and the islands of the Malay archipelago, (5) China, Korea, Japan, and (6) other countries of Asia, e.g., Iran and Western Asia. The Society will investigate into the cultural history of India, and trace its development in and outside the country publishing regularly the results of the researches. It will also undertake such activities as may help to establish relations of fellowship and amity between the people of India and the outside world. Books, periodicals, donations and letters are to be sent to the Hony. Secretary, Dr. Kalidas Nag at 91, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.

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* The controversy is closed.—Ed.

## Manuscript Collection of the Sanskrit Sahitya Parishat

A description of rare and important manuscripts collected by some Research Society or Association would surely be useful to scholars particularly in view of the fact that it may take a long time before Descriptive Catalogues of them are published or at all undertaken. And hence it was with the greatest interest that I read such a description, published just recently, of the Manuscript collection of the Dacca University.[1]

I propose to give here a brief description of the activities of the Sanskrit Sahitya Parishat—a young oriental society of Calcutta—in the direction of the collection of Sanskrit Manuscripts. The number of manuscripts, already collected, of course, is not very great. The number of those already listed is 1854 and more than 500 still await to be listed. The largest number of these belongs to Navya Nyāya, the most favourite subject of study of the Pandits of Bengal, numbering 580 and next comes Navya Smṛti which claims 366 Mss. To the Tantras which were also assiduously studied and rites whereof were practised with equal assiduity and zeal by the people of Bengal, even not long ago, belongs a fairly good number of manuscripts, 171 in all. This comparative smallness of this number is probably due to the fact that the manuscripts were mostly collected from the Western parts of Bengal and not from the Eastern or Northern parts which were the strongholds of Tantrikism.

A few words as regards the places from which the Mss. were obtained will not be out of place here. The Parishat authorities made it a point to confine their attention first to villages which were still recently dominated by orthodox pandits of deep erudition—a class, which to our utter misfortune, is fast dwindling unable to fight with the economic conditions of these days and eke out a livelihood for themselves and their pupils whom they invariably maintained. Thus Mss. were collected from different places renowned for orthodox learning such as Bansbaria and Ilsoba (in the district of Hughly), Memari (Burdwan), Brahmandanga (Jessore), Satkhira (Khulna), Dhānukā and Kotwalipārā (Faridpur). Most of the Mss. were acquired through free gifts made by the descendants of the Pandits referred to, and some were also purchased. It should be noted here that the Parishat was fortunate in being able to acquire two splendid

1 *Indian Antiquary*, July, 1926, pp. 121-2.

collections—one of Maharaja Bahadur Kamal Krishna Deva of Sobhabazar, Calcutta and the other of Maharaja Jayanārāyaṇa of Bhukailasa—which were kindly presented to the Parishat by the descendants of the owners.

Now, I shall have to say a few words about the more important Mss. contained in this collection. Vedic Mss. of the Saṃhitā, Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra classes are conspicuous by their absence. It is well-known that few such Vedic Mss. are to be found in Bengal. But here is a good number of Upaniṣads and their commentaries in Bengali character of the first quarter of the 18th century. As regards exegetical works, besides the celebrated works of Śaṅkara and Ānandagiri, here are to be found sub-commentaries by Jñānagopālendra and Abhinava Nārāyaṇendra—all in Bengali character. There are some books again which though classed under Smṛti works may rightly be dealt with here. These are *Chandogamantrabhāṣya* of Guṇaviṣṇu, *Mantrakaumudī* of Rāmakṛṣṇa, *Pratiṣṭhā-mantravyākhyā* of Kaṃsāri Miśra, *Sāmaga-mantra-vyākhyā* of Ramānātha Vidyāvācaspati—works furnishing instances as to how Vedic ritualistic *mantras* were interpreted in pre- and post-Sāyaṇic times.

Among grammatical works the most important is a copy of a gloss on the aphorisms of *Kātantra-vyākaraṇa* by Vararuci. This is a very rare manuscript and it was first described by Mm. Haraprasāda Śāstrī in his *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts* (Second Series, vol. I, p. 47). It should be noted that the Parishat has secured the very Ms. noticed by Mm. Śāstri. No other Ms. of this book is reported to exist anywhere else. There is a Ms. of the *Siddhāntakaumudī* in Bengali character, not very old, showing that works of the Pāṇini school were studied in Bengal in days not long past. Mention should be made of a fragmentary copy of *Prākṛtaprakāśa* of Vararuci with a gloss of one Deveśvara, son of Bhaṭṭa who does not seem to be identical with Deveśvara, author of *Kavikalpalatā*, as the latter represents himself as the *Mahāmātya* (prime minister) of the king of Mālava and as the son of Vāgbhaṭa. Of other works in this section reference should be made to copies of interesting works like books on spelling, on the determination of *n* and *ṇ*, of *ś*, *ṣ* and *s*, and of *v* and *b*.

Among Kāvya Mss. there is an old Ms. of Kālidāsa's *Kumārasambhava*, copied in ś. E. 1328 (1406 A. D.) which runs up to the eighth canto. There are two copies of a commentary by Bhavadatta on *Naiṣadhacarita* and one copy of a commentary by Gadasiṃha on *Kirātārjunīya*. The Parishat has a manuscript copy of a new kāvya

called *Citrakāvya* by Bāṇeśvara Vidyālaṅkāra of the court of king Kṛṣṇacandra of Nadia (Bengal). This poet was so long well-known among Sanskrit scholars as a great poet only through his exquisite stray verses.

In philosophy, the largest number of Mss. belongs, as already noted, to Nyāya. A very important work in this section is a copy of a *Cintāmaṇi-dīdhiti-ṭippaṇi* of Bhavānanda Vidyāsāgāra copied in ś. E. 1515 (1593 A. D.). In the face of this acquisition the view expressed by the late Dr. S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa that Bhavānanda flourished in the first quarter of the 17th century is no longer tenable without modification.[1] It is just possible that he flourished in the middle of of the sixteenth century.

Of other old manuscripts of Nyāya works we have a copy of *Cintāmaṇidīdhiti* of Raghunath Śiromoṇi (copied in 1600 ś. E.), *Apūrva-vādarahasya* of Mathurānātha (copied in 1701 ś. E.), *Bhāṣāpariccheda* (copied in 1717 ś. E).

Other philosophical schools cannot be said to be well-represented, undoubtedly because of their comparative neglect in Bengal. In the Vedānta section the most important work that we have is a fragmentary copy of Śaṅkara's *bhāṣya* on the Vedāntasūtras in old Bengali character copied so long ago as ś. E. 1361 (A. D. 1439). There are two copies of a gloss on these Sūtras by Anūpanārayaṇa Śiromaṇi. This work has been undertaken for publication by the Parishat.

Smṛti Mss. include works of renowned writers like Raghunandana, Halāyudha, Śūlapāṇī, Vācaspati Miśra, Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa and others as also those of less reputed authors, among whom there are found many new names. One very important work in this section is a copy of *Pitṛdayitā*, a very rare manuscript of Aniruddha Bhaṭṭa, *guru* (preceptor) of Ballālasena showing how *Śrāddhas* were performed during the Sena period in Bengal. This work has been published in the Parishat series. Another work of this author *Hāralatā* has already appeared in the *Bibliotheca Indica* Series. A very correct Ms. of *Vyāvahāramātṛkā* of Jīmūtavāhana has of late been secured by the Parishat, only three not very correct copies of which important book were known when the late Sir Asutosh Mukherji edited it in the Memoirs of the Asaitic Society of Bengal. There is an interesting work in this section the *Vivādārṇava* which is ascribed to the Pandits of *one* province though no particular place is mentioned.

1 *History of Indian Logic*, p. 479.

In Tantras there is quite a good collection of both original *Tantras* and later *Nibandhas* or compilations, the latter including many new and hitherto unknown works. The oldest tantra Ms. is *Kaulikārcanāpaddhati* copied in ś. E. 1400 (1478 A D.). Mention must be made of one copy of *Kulārṇava tantra* in twelve paṭalas which is different from the one already published. We have a copy of *Tantrasāra-pariśiṣṭa* by Rāmānanda Yati whose another work we have is *Bṛhat-tantrasāra*.

The collection of Purāṇa Mss. cannot be said to be satisfactory. There is no very old Ms. in this section the oldest being a copy of *Kriyāyogasāra* of Padmapurāṇa copied in ś. E. 1640 (1718 A. D.). Of the commentaries on the Mahābhārata we have *Bhāratārthadīpikā* of Arjuna Miśra, *Virodhabhañjanaṭīkā* of Rāmakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭācārya, *Mahābhāratatīkā* of Ānandapūrṇa Vidyāsāgara, and a *Bhāratadīpikāvyākhyā* which comments only on the difficult points. There is a copy of the *Purāṇasarvasva* of Kuladhara, composed in ś. E. 1396 (1474 A. D.).

Of the few Bengali Mss. reference should be made to a fragmentary metrical Bengali summary of the *Yuktikalpataru* of Bhoja which runs up to the *Rājagṛhayukti* in our Ms. There is no mention of the name of the translator. We have also a copy of a *Rogaprayoga*, a medical work in Bengali and a *Bhāṣāsaṃkṣepāśaucaprakaraṇa* which in Bengali gives the rules of *aśauca*.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

# REVIEWS

DAŚABHŪMIKA-SŪTRAM—Seventh Stage (reprint from Acta Orientalia, vol. iv). Edited by J. Rahder.

This work was sufficiently popular among the Mahāyānists and was considered as a text-book of the Bhūmiśāstra sect which was flourishing in China specially during the Liang Dynasty. The editor of this book says at page 218 that we already knew some facts of it, as Prof. L. de la Vallée Poussin had the opportunity of publishing large abstracts of the first six bhūmis (Muséon, 1907,1910,1911, Theorie des douzes causes, Louvain, 1913). Therefore *M.* Rahder began its edition with the seventh *bhūmi*, the most important indeed, because, as already stated in the Mahāvastu, that a Bodhisattva in the first six bhūmis can fall back, but from the seventh onwards he becomes *anivartanīya*. As to the date of composition of the Sūtra, *M.* Rahder refers to the Mahāvastu and the Lalitavistara and to Nāgārjuna's commentary to the first two bhūmis (Nanjio, 1110). We know that the Mahāsaṅghikas were the first to elaborate a theory of the bhūmis (Wassiljew, *Buddhismus*, p. 202). We find the doctrine already expounded in the Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra of Nāgārjuna. In fact we can see that this theory can not be dissociated from the Prajñāpāramitā literature although from the comparison of the various texts it is evident that the Buddhists did not arrive immediately at a uniformity of schemes, at least regarding the classification and the characteristics of the various *bhūmis*. The double classification to be met with already in the Mahāvastu is the best proof of this.[1]

The edition by *M.* Rahder is a very accurate one ; he has compared a large number of texts and has added abstracts from the Tibetan translation of the text. He has paid attention also to the Mongolian translation of our work. His philosophical *acribeia* deserves therefore every praise. Some observations of detail : (p. 217) (shi-hwei-hsiang) 10 returns, cannot be rendered by daśa pariṇāmāni, the term for 'return' or 'falling

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1 I have pointed out this fact in my *Storia del Buddhism in India*. In the English edition of it I have taken the question again with new materials, trying to trace out the history and the evolution of the doctrine.

back' is *vinivartana* (Ibid.); *upāyajñānaṃ* cannot be rendered by 'knowing all sciences and arts': *upāya* has a very particular meaning in *Mahāyāna* works. I think that, although it corresponds to the Chinese character used for rendering the Sanskrit word, it is not advisable to translate *anuśaya* by "messengers" (p. 239). To the literature on the Daśabhūmika can be added the Shi-ti-king-lung-i-ki by Hwei-Yüan of the Sui dynasty.

P. TUCCI

STUDIES IN INDIAN PAINTING—a survey of some new material ranging from the commencement of the VIIth century to circa 1870 A.D. by Nānālāl Chamanlāl Mehta, I.C.S. Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay, 1926, (pp. 127, plates—17 colour & 44 half-tone).

The work is not only a sumptuously produced volume but is a real contribution to our knowledge of Indian art charmingly written by an enthusiastic scholar. The first chapter of the book on the Sittanavāsal frescoes is of absorbing interest though we wonder whether the coloured reproductions of the wall-paintings are at all true to their originals either in draughtsmanship or in colouring. By far the most interesting chapters are those on secular painting in Guzarat and the painted epistle of Śālivāhana; the latter is a document of considerable value in the history of Indian art and its publication by Mr. Mehta increases the measure of gratitude of students of Indian art to him already great owing to his having first called attention to the Vasanta Vilāsa in a contribution to "Rūpam". We are glad to note that Mr. Mehta now considers that it is "very probable that the art, as exemplified in the pictures of Vasanta Vilāsa and the Jaina manuscripts, was a popular form of pictorial expression." We ourselves recognised this long ago and have said elsewhere that those are "in reality survivals of the early art expression of the people of Rajputana."

While Mr. Mehta is entitled to praise the "Rāsmaṇḍala" and "Govardhandhāraṇa" reproduced by him, we must say that he does less than justice to the immense painting on cloth of Kṛṣṇa and the Gopikās dancing in the Jaipur Pothikhana, wonderful in the freshness of its colouring and the charm of its drawing, when he speaks of it as a masterpiece worthy to rank with the pictures of the "Rāsmaṇḍala" and "Govardhandhāraṇa." We share Mr. Mehta's regret that

the small reproductions of these two last named paintings are wholly inadequate and unimpressive. Our author is rather hard on Dr. Coomaraswamy for having published a "bazar version" of the dance of the Gopikās. We, on the other hand, cannot but express our regret for Mr. Mehta's having selected two of the minor portraits in the Jaipur Pothikhana for his encomium on Rajput portraiture and for reproduction, omitting all reference to the great full size portraits, among which is the striking full length portrait of the founder of Jaipur undoubtedly the finest Rajput portrait in the Jaipur Palace.

Of great importance is the chapter on the Bundela School, though there are older and infinitely finer specimens than Mr. Mehta's plates which await reproduction.

Molārām was the only painter of Garhwāl, whose name had hitherto been known to us. Mr. Mehta has introduced us to two others, but interesting as their work is, Molārām is decidedly their superior and we would have liked to have Mr. Mehta's opinion on him. We are sorry to see him endorse the supercilious criticism that a "fictitious importance" has been attained by Molārām owing to the fact that he is almost the only Pāhāri painter known by name. The art of Garhwāl is distinctive and should be more thoroughly studied instead of being vaguely confused with Kāngra art as has hitherto been done.

In chapter vi and viii Mr. Mehta deals with examples of Moghul art. We do not agree with the author's sweeping criticism that "Moghul painting under Akbar remained an art of servile imitation and petty illustration." The art of Akbar's court is Indo-Persian art; the really distinctive Moghul art which excelled in portraiture principally begins, so far as available examples show, with Jahangir, though here again we must not forget the great album of portraits of which Abul Fazl speaks. We do not understand the force of "remained.' Does Mr. Mehta imply that there was any Moghul art as such under either Humayun or Babar? Again, neither the Hamzah nor the Razmnamah, though ostensibly inspired by Persian art, were in any sense servile imitations nor is there any pettiness in the work of those who conceived and executed their magnificent paintings. But for the similarity of technique with the older Persian masters they are extremely original and their brilliant perfection of technique does not make them mere imitations. We are convinced that Abul Fazl was referring with large-hearted enthusiasm to them when he wrote of "masterpieces worthy of Bihzad," and he was not anticipating, as

Mr. Mehta naively suggests, the achievements of a subsequent reign. Those who have examined the Razmnamah and not derived their knowledge of it solely from reproductions cannot but be amazed at the surprising beauty of an art which Mr. Mehta calls "arid examples of the illuminator's skill." But our admiration for the Razmnamah does not blind us to the excellence of the court art of Jahangir and we are in thorough agreement with Mr. Mehta's eloquent tribute to it. Abul Hassan's trotting bullocks magnificently reproduced by Mr. Mehta is a little gem but it was the Razmnamah and similar works executed by Akbar's court-painters which made it possible for Jahangir to possess an Abul Hassan and we need not scour China and Persia for the sources of Abul Hassan's inspiration. There are in fact very spirited representations of the same subject by Basawan, Dharma Das and others in the South Kensington manuscript of the Akbarnamah. However, Mr. Mehta is in general a very fair critic, as witness his observation when discussing the floral paintings of Mansur that his work "cannot bear comparison with the creations of the Far Eastern artists." We certainly prefer Mansur's superb paintings of bird life.

Mr. Mehta's studies really end with p. 84 and had he put "Finis" to it there his book would have been well worth its full value. But he has presented us in the second portion of his book headed "Notes on Plates" with an album of pictures. Among the specimens of Moghul art plates 38, 39 and 40 are good examples. The illustrations of the Hindu schools are, except plates. 51 and 54, common-place and do not add much to the value of the book.

There are several small imperfections which should be corrected in a future edition. An unfortunate misprint in the chapter "Some Jaipur Pictures" makes the renaissance in Hindu art date from the 'eighteenth century'. The reference to a picture of a game of polo as having been painted by Mehr Chand (by the way, we do not like the spelling; the son of Ganga Ram was probably called Mihir Chand) on p. 105 is wrong. Kühnel has not described this picture as being that artist's work but the painting of the worship of the liṅga, which Mr. Mehta has omitted to mention. We do not know where he got the information regarding the Durgā Pāṭha pictures in the Ghose Collection or who described them as scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa, but no reliance should have been placed on information acquired second-hand. Again on p. 75 footnote he has been content to obtain second-hand information though he could readily have obtained the quotation, which is in verse in the original, from the book publish-

ed by Dr. Coomaraswami: "Burning and Melting, being the Suz-u-Gudaz of Muhammad Riza Nau'i." The names of owners of all the paintings reproduced have not been given; the proper place for such information is below the plate and not in a footnote to the list of illustrations. A fuller index would have enhanced the usefulness of the book.

We congratulate Mr. Mehta on his beautiful production. The reproductions are excellent and we give our unstinted praise to the colour plates. The format is delightful. The printing by the Times of India Press demonstrates that work of equal merit to the best produced in England can be done out here, and that so cheaply that it has been possible to price this very handsome volume at Rs. 56/- only. We only wish there were more such books on the fascinating subject of Indian art.

AJIT GHOSE

KANĀRAKER VIVARAN or A Descriptive Account of Kanārak. By Nirmal Kumar Basu. Published by Priyaranjan Sen Gupta. 69B, Townsend Road, Calcutta.

This book does not belong to the class of popular books on travel which generally are a hopeless conglomeration of historical, mythological and legendary matters of very little use to those who have a mind to gather any critical and scientific information on any of these points. It is the result of a prolonged study on the spot of the important ruins of Kanārak (Orissa) undertaken by the author especially from the standpoint of architecture and iconography. True, the subject has already received a good deal of attention at the hands of various scholars at various times. But this fact does not, in any way, diminish the value of this new publication. The author has, for long, been engaged in the study of Oriya Architecture from local text books and architectural ruins. The first fruit of his diligent study was published in the form of a paper in Bengali—*Uḍiyā Śilpaśāstra* in vol. XIII of the Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University. In the present publication our author makes an attempt to apply his theoretical knowledge of Oriya architecture to the description of the temples at Kanārak. In doing that he has had to make use of terms found in local books on architecture and (in the

words of the author) still used by Oriya artisans. These terms with their meanings have been given in the form of an index at the end of the book, thus supplying food for thought and study to the student of Philology. Such terms of common use among every class of artisans in the different provinces of India are fast going out of use and it is high time that they were collected and preserved. The author has therefore done a real service by putting them together in one place. Of course a book like this, full of uncouth terms and confusing details cannot expect to have any claim to popularity but we can confidently commend it to the notice of scholars who can derive much help from this book for further study. One thing we should say to the author in conclusion. It is that the book stands in need of improvement in language in some places. We have every hope that he will make such improvement before he brings out a second edition.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

L' INDE ET LE MONDE by Sylvain Lévi, Paris, Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1926, pp. 175).

*M.* Sylvain Lévi is well-known in India personally as well as in the capacity of a writer. But not much of his ideas have filtered down to us. In the first place, like those of other western scholars the results of his investigations are published as a rule in the journals. And these hardly reach us. In the second place, the language barrier was up till now a prohibitive hindrance. And although of late, French has been annexed to the scholarship of Young India, the results are as yet but meagre and almost unmentionable.

Finally, antiquarians and philologists fight generally shy of larger issues,—the elucidation of sociological, cultural and allied historical perspectives. And *M.* Lèvi, although quite a humanist even in his archæological researches, is not an exception to the run of traditional orientalists.

It is, therefore, as a great service to the students of Indian history, both cultural and otherwise, that the author's small book of essays on India in relation to the World entitled *L' Inde et le Monde* is to be appreciated by scholars. The volume is made up of the following chapters: (1) India and the World, (2) Buddhist humanism, (3) Brāhmaṇic

civilization, (4) Buddhist civilization, (5) Orient and Occident : essay on humanism and (6) Eastern humanism. The last paper is in English and was an address delivered in the University of Dacca in February 1922.

The papers are historical no doubt, but we may approach them as "literary essays". Lévi's style is embodiment of "French lucidity" and is a fine specimen of contemporary prose such as one is familiar with in the leading dailies or monthlies and lectures or sermons of France.

Professor Lévi emphasizes what is now getting more and more adequately recognized on all hands that like all other ancient civilizations, Indian civilization also was greatly a "collective work" of the entire world and that "spontaneous generation" is unknown to history. It is curious, however, to remember what the author does not make it a point to mention that the "puerile conception" of India having grown up in an alleged "splendid isolation" originated in the West and not in the East. And, therefore, if some of the Indians of today are sicklied over with the chauvinistic conceptions of ancient Indian "originality," "spontaneity," "superiority" and so forth, it is the Western masters who are to blame for having furnished the unscientific cue.

Lévi's analysis of "national genius" as functioning essentially in a critical manner in regard to the international influences is happy. But he seems to be a little bit too mystical, although in spite of himself, when he uses expressions like a "nation being similar to the individuals in possessing a heart and a brain." This is not likely to be swallowed in toto by the representatives of neo-positive and pluralistic sociology.

The author asks the question at one place as follows: "Où faut-il chercher le centre de l'Inde ?" (Where should one seek the centre of India ?) and he finds the answer nowhere. One might retort by asking the same question about the centre of Europe, America, or for that matter, of any vast territory. The fallacy consists in postulating India to be a country like France, England, nay, like Normandy, Wales, etc. and then not finding the things—an ethnical unity, a linguistic unity, and a geographical unity,—that one finds, for instance, in one or other of the *onzes regions economiques* (eleven economic regions) of France such as modern French geographers are wont to describe.

The facts of India's intercourse with the world from the Mediterra-

nean to the Pacific are now well-known. But Lévi's message to the effect that it is only by exposing themselves to tremendous perils that Indians can afford today to isolate themselves from the "movements of universal civilization" has need to be reiterated even today. For consciously or unconsciously, there is a class of scholars as well as publicists, and some of them pretend even to be philosophers,—who find nothing in the civilization of the modern West to be worth imbibing for India and of course who propagate among their clientele the notion, false as it is, that Indian civilization of yore was an autochthonous, *sui generis*, "typical," "peculiar" and "characteristic" phenomenon of the East with hardly any affinities to the world-forces. These hyper-nationalists forget that India owes quite a deal to the world, not less than the world owes to her.

Lévi's message is to this extent not only scientific but liberalizing as well. It is good to be taught in season and out of season that India has played her part in world-history like the rest of mankind and in co-operation with the rest of mankind, and that every group, race, or nation is in its actions as in its thoughts, in its knowledge as in its instincts but an integral part of entire humanity. This aspect of Lévi's essays should possess a dynamic significance for the scholars and patriots of our country.

But Lévi discusses the achievements of Europe since the Renaissance and remarks that "no Champollion has yet even been met with outside the countries of the Renaissance." He therefore takes a very energetic stand against "the error which today weighs heavy upon the world." The alleged error is committed by those who believe that it is "possible to borrow of the Occident its technical processes in order to imitate it, be its equal, and finally to compete with it." Against this notion Lévi believes that neither Chinese empiricism, nor Hindu reverie nor Musalman fatalism is conducive to the spirit of faith in observation and experiment which sustains a Galileo and a Pasteur (p. 131).

The reader, however, is sure to be puzzled by this conclusion of Lévi's. For, the author has stated at pp. 134-135 that until the Renaissance, the Orient and the Occident possessed common characteristics and exhibited the "same mysticism, the mysticism of salvation." Both in the East and the West mankind sought and followed during entire historic epochs "the path which leads after death to the eternity of bliss, paradise of the elect, absorption in God, total extinction."

If there was no distinction in spirit between the East and the West for centuries, naturally it would not be scientific to postulate a typical Occidental world-view or claim that the spirit of the Renaissance which has been displaying its results in recent times in the Western World should fail to make its appearance even among the Chinese, Hindus and Musalmans. And as a matter of actual history, the objective facts of modern and contemporary Asia tell their own tale in regard to the identity between the East and the West, down to the latest items of labour-psychology, factory legislation and proletarian democracy, things which were unknown in France, Germany, America and England previous to 1815-75.

*M.* Lévi's interpretation of world-culture is in this respect but a chip of the traditional *orientalisme*, which it has been the function of modern anthropology and social science to challenge and discard inch by inch. And his contribution to contemporary world-politics is likewise quite in keeping with orthodox colonialism. He advises the "white race that it must, to speak in the manner of Kipling, accept the burden in a virile manner." (p. 147).

It is not possible to translate or summarize all the essays. But some of the leading ideas of the author will have been clear in the above presentation.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

PAVANADŪTAM of Dhoyī edited by Chintaharan Chakravarti, M.A., Kāvyatirtha, Sanskrit Sahitya Parisat, Calcutta, 1926 (pp. 38+36).

During the Sena period in Bengal there was a remarkable growth of Sanskrit culture and specially in the reign of her last king, Lakṣmaṇa Sena (1200 A. D.) in whose court there were some great poets one of them being Dhoyī, the author of the *Pavanadūta*. Besides some verses found in different anthologies he seems to have composed other work or works, of which we know nothing excepting the present volume, the *Pavanadūta*. That he is a poet of uncommon power is quite evident from his writings. Some of his verses are exceptionally excellent. Yet, we are afraid, his epithet of *Kavirāja* is not fully justifiable. The nature of the present work is implied by the name itself and can easily be imagined by one familiar with Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* on the imitation of which a great number of such poems have sprung up in Sanskrit

literature. The editor has told us elsewhere[1] that the number has come to not less than thirty five.

Speaking briefly, the *Pavanadūta* 'Wind-messenger' describes how Kuvalayavatī, a Gandhara damsel "on the Malaya hills fell in love with king Lakṣmaṇasena of Gauḍa," "and how the girl unable to bear the pangs of love" "made a messenger of the spring wind" "to relate to the Bengal King the miserable condition to which she was reduced."

The work was edited for the first time by the late Mr. Manmohan Chakravarti in *JASB.*, 1905, and now we have a new edition before us. The present editor has not only given us a far better edition but also has tired to make it useful in every respect. He has added an ably written critical and historical introduction discussing various questions regarding the author and his work, and short notes in Sanskrit which are undoubtedly helpful though not quite satisfactory attempting more to quote synomyms from lexicons than to explain difficult points. He has really given us much for which we must remain thankful to him, but we had naturally the right of demanding a little more. We have not the least doubt in saying that he has spared no pains to make the edition quite satisfactory, but, we are afraid, he could not pay adequate attention to his entire work. The Supplementary Note (pp. 27-32) giving the verses attributed to Dhoyī which are found in anthologies and not in the *Pavanadūta* and collected in a paper (*JASB.*, 1905, pp. 18ff.) by Manmohan Chakravarti (=M) from which they are now culled here, is edited very badly. For instance, we may note the following :

On p. [30] we read :

प्रियायाः प्रत्यूषे गलितकबरीबन्धनविधा-
वुदञ्चद्दोर्व्वल्लीदरचलितलोलाञ्चलमुरः।
वनाद्दूते पश्यत्यथ मयि समन्दाञ्चहसितं
नमन्त्यास्तद्रूपं यदि लिखितुमीशो मनसिजः॥

What is the meaning of *lola* used after *calita* in the second line? And what does the whole line mean? We think, the reading *lola* can in no way be accepted, as it does not give here any suitable sense. The true reading appears to us to be either *cola* 'bodice' or *cela* cloth, preferably the latter. Accordingly the thought here is that the bodice or the 'cloth' (*cola* or *cela*) moved a little (*daracalita*) from the bosom (*uras*) of the lady, and thus it was uncoverd. We are glad

1 *Saṃskṛta-sāhitya-pariṣat-patrikā*, 1925.

to note that the reading *uraḥ* suggested by the editor for which the variants are *mbaruḥ* and *mvaraḥ* is the true reading. Now, the question is regarding *vanadrūte* in the third line which has no meaning whatever. The other readings are *ghanādyūte*, *ghanādrūte*, and *vanādrute*. The reading *vanādrūte* is suggested by the editor evidently following the last reading given above only to make the third syllable long for the sake of the metre, though he himself knows that "the reading is hopelessly corrupt here." What reading then can be suggested? When the bosom of the beloved lady (*priyā*) was uncovered what could the man possibly see? Evidently it is her breast (*stana*) or something related to it. Accordingly the reading must be one that can express the idea, and we may suggest two words, *stanādyotaṃ* 'brilliance of the breast,' or *stanābhogaṃ* 'extension of the breast.'

On p. [31] occurs the following śloka :

पश्चात् खुरद्वितयखण्डितभूमिभाग-
मूर्द्धीकृताग्रचरणद्वयसुग्रहेषम् ।
मूर्धावगाहनविहस्तनिजाश्वरावम्
आराज्जनः परिजहार खलन्तुरङ्गम् ॥

In *b* between the two readings *heṣam* and *hreṣam* we see no reason for giving preference to the latter, though somehow or other it can be metrically defended. The main question here is with regard to the meaning of *c* and *khalan turaṅgam* in *d*. What are we to understand by them? As the description is of a running horse we should like to read *calan* (=*calaṃ*) or *calat turaṅgam* in *d*. There is a root, *khal* (Nir., III., 10) 'to move, or shake,' the present participle of which is *khalan* 'shaking, and this can be taken with *janaḥ*. In that case we shall have to read *khalaṃ sturaṅgam*. At any rate *khalan* cannot be admitted. Nor give the words *mūrdha*, and *aśvarāva* any appropriate sense here in *c*. As regards *aśvarāva* it may mean 'neighing,' but we have it already in the word *ugraheṣa* (*or* °*hreṣa* in *b*. It cannot therefore, be repeated here. In fact the word *aśvarāva* is a misreading for *aśvavāra* which means 'a horse man' (see *Māgha's Śiśupālavadha*, III. 66 with the Ṭīkā of Mallinātha : "aśvān vārayanti ye te 'śvavārā aśvārohāḥ). For *mūrdha* we are inclined to red *ūrdhva*. Thus the whole line reads : ऊर्ध्वावगाहनविहस्तनिगाश्ववारम्, meaning that the rider was confounded when the animal was trying to move upwards.

On the same page we read :

निद्राजिह्मदृशः सखिष्वपि सवैलक्ष्या नखाङ्कव्रण-
व्यादष्टां शुकलेखया प्रतिपद शीत्कारिवक्त्रेन्दवः

Here as well as in M. from which it is taken, *vyādaṣṭāṃ śukalekhayā* is a misreading giving no sense whatever. These two words must be joined together reading *vyādaṣṭāṃśukalekhayā*. In this connection we may say that Dhoyī has partly taken the thought of the present śloka from Māgha's *Śiśupālavadha*, XI. 54 which runs :

सरसनखपदान्तर्दृष्टकेशप्रमोकं
प्रणयिनि विदधाने योषितामुल्लसन्त्यः ।
विदधति दशनानां सीत्कृतावित्कृतानाम-
भिनवरविभासः पद्मरागानुकारम् ॥

On pp. [27-28] we have :

तस्याःस्वदेकमनसः स्मरबाणवर्षैः
कार्श्यं वपुः शठ बिभर्त्ति यथा यथैव
स्तोकायितश्रेयतयैव तथा तथैव
कान्तिर्घनीभवति दीर्घविलोचनायाः ॥

Here in *c* the reading *stokāyitaśreyatayeva* is wrong not only metrically but also grammatically. It does not, however, appear to be "hopelessly corrupt" as the editor thinks. Undoubtedly the actual reading is *stokāyitāśrayatayeva*.

One of the most excellent ślokas of Dhoyī given on p. [28] is :

संरुद्धाः कथमप्यमङ्गलभयात् पक्ष्मान्तरव्यापिनोऽ
प्युत्तालीकृतलोचनं निपुणया वाष्पाम्भसां विन्दवः ।
त्वत्सख्याः सहकारपल्लवमथ व्यानम्य पत्र्यः पुरो
धारावाहिभिरेव लोचनजलैर्यावाघटः पूरितः ॥

In the second line what is the meaning of the word *uttālīkṛta* which is found also in M ? It has no meaning here. The fact is that one should read here *uttanī*° for *uttālī*.°

Here we want to note one thing. In the above śloka (see also ślokas 62, 63, 74, 88, 89) the editor writes *vāṣpa* and *vindu* not *bāṣpa* and *bindu* respectively. On p. [32] and in the śloka 74 he has also *vimba* and not *bimba*. Though both the forms may be found in Mss. or printed books, the form with *b* and not with *v* at the beginning is preferable being used by authoritative writers. In the word *trivali* three folds of skin over a woman's navel (regarded as a beauty) it is actually *v* and so it is rightly used in the śloka, *tāsāṃ pīna*,° p. [29] ; but on the same page in the ślokas *ahan tanīyān*,° and *romāvalī*,° as well as in the main work in the śloka 11 the word is with *b* and not *v* as it should have been.

As regards the second śloka in the Supplementary Note, p. [27], *jātā latāvad dhanuḥ* seems to be a doubtful reading. May one read *na tāvad* for *latāvad* ? Cf. the śloka 66 of the *Pavanadūta*.

In the text the following śloka (28) occurs after the description of the *Suhma-deśa* :

तस्मिन् सेनान्वयनृपतिना देवराज्याभिषिक्तो
देवः सुह्मे वसति कमलाकेलिकारी मुरारिः ।

Here in the second line for *suhme* there are three readings in three Mss, viz. *sākṣād* (M), *sukṣād* (R), and *suhmād* (A). "But in the last" *suhmād* "is corrected into *suhme*" "in the margin." And the editor has accepted it. But we cannot agree with him. The actual reading seems to be nothing but *sākṣād* on three grounds. First, the word *tasmin* is quite sufficient to refer to the *Suhmadeśa* and so to write *Suhma* again is mere superfluous. Secondly, we think, by using the word *sākṣād*, the poet wanted to lay emphasis that Deva Murāri was living there *personally*, as he has actually done in the śloka 55 with reference to Deva Manasija. Thirdly, this expression like a good many others of Dhoyī is evidently based on the *Meghadūta*, the passage there being as follows (II. 10) :

देवं मत्वा धनपतिसखं यत्र साक्षाद् वसन्तम् ।

One should read *ratiś* for *rateś* (śl. 26) and *sāraṅgākṣyā* for *śāraṅgyākṣyāḥ* (śl. 65).

VIDHUSEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

BHĀRATĪYA ITIHĀS KĀ BHAUGALIK ĀDHĀR. By Jay Candra Vidyālaṅkāra. Publishers : Hindi Bhavan, Lahore. 104 pages.

The book is written in simple Hindi about the geographical position of India, ancient and modern. The author's treatment of some of the sections is not exhaustive, e. g., his sections on 'Vindhyamekhalā' and 'Himālaya aur paścimottara kī parbatamālā.' He ought to have discussed the correctness of the geographical information contained in the Mahāgovinda-sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya of the Sutta Piṭaka. The plan of the whole work should be altered and the discussions ought to be fuller. He has written a section on 'Uttarabhāratīya Maidān' which aims at no definite conclusion nor does he assert the geographical value, if any, of ancient Indian traditions although he has not failed to utilise them in his work.

B. C. LAW

SAṄKṢIPTA JAINA ITIHĀSA—This booklet is written in simple Hindi. It consists of six chapters of which the following are interesting :—The Life of Ṛṣabhadeva and other Jaina greatmen ; Sayings or Precepts recorded in the 12 Aṅgas and some principles of Jainism. The book is useful to the beginners. It would have been useful to scholars if the author had given full quotations of the passages to which he refers. Mr. Jain has written a big Prastāvanā which is not so interesting.

B. C. LAW

## Select Contents of Oriental Journals

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PRALHAD C. DIVANJI.—Madhusūdana Sarasvatī ; his life and works. The date of Madhusūdana has been assigned to the sixteenth century A.C. and his place of nativity sought in Koṭālipāḍā in Bengal.

BIMALA CHURN LAW.—Magadha and Rājagṛha in the Pāli Literature.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTY.—The original Site of Mehrauli Pillar. The Viṣṇupada hill mentioned in the inscription itself as the place of erection of the Pillar has been located at Hardwar in U.P. and the person who removed the Pillar from its original site to Delhi where it is at present is suggested to be Firozshah.

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B. M. BARUA.—Ājīvaka—what it means. The writer of this article is of opinion that originally the term *ājīvika* used to be applied only to the followers of Makkhali Gosāla, who distinguished his order from *Achelakas* in general by this new designation originating from the idea of *sammā ājīva*, 'the right means of livelihood'.

D. R. BHANDARKAR.—Can we fix the date of Kālidāsa more accurately? From a discussion of the political condition of India referred to in the sixth canto of the *Raghuvaṃśa*, the author of this note has come to the conclusion that Kālidāsa could not have lived during the reign of either Candragupta II or Skandagupta and must have flourished about the middle of the sixth century A.C.

### Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, vol. iv, pt. ii.

SUSIL KUMAR DE.—Notes on some Sanskrit Mss. on Alaṃkāra.

LIONEL D. BARNETT.—Jānakīharaṇa, XVI. This is the sixteenth canto of the *Jānakīharaṇa* of which the first 15 cantos have already been edited.

V. VENKTARĀMA ŚARMĀ ŚĀSTRĪ.—Ajāmila-mokṣa-prabandha of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa. This little campū work of the sixteenth century has been edited here.

**Indian Antiquary,** October, 1926.

HANNES SKÖLD.—The Relative Chronology of Pāṇini and the Prātiśākhyas. The author maintains that there is no conclusive evidence to support Max Müller's view that the *Ṛk-Prātiśākhya* is older than Pāṇini nor are proofs available to contradict the opinion of Goldstücker, Westergaard, and Pischel holding that the Prātiśākhyas in general are posterior to that grammarian.

**Ibid.,** November and December, 1926.

A. VENKATASUBBIAH.—Vedic Studies. Evidently the purpose of this continued article is to discuss the interpretations of some particular words, showing their uses in the texts.

**Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,** vol. xxi, No. 1.

SUKUMAR SEN.—Notes on the Use of the Cases in the Kāṭhaka-saṃhitā.

BIMALA CHURN LAW.—(1) Data from the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī.

(2) Aṅga and Campā in the Pāli Literature.

AMARESWAR THAKUR.—Jail Administration in Ancient India.

BRAJA LAL MUKHERJI.—(1) The Vrātyas and their Sacrifices. The writer of this paper is of opinion that in the vedic society, men neglecting or defying Vaidik precepts were called Vrātyas or disorderly people, who only after the performance of certain sacrifices could be allowed to enjoy the rights of the vedic community.

(2) The word "Vrā" in the Ṛg-veda.

(3) Atharva Veda, Kāṇḍa, xv.

HARIT KRISHNA DEB.—(1) Mede and Madra. This is an attempt to identify the Medes mentioned in the Assyrian and Greek records with the Madras of the Brāhmaṇa Literature.

(2) When Kurus fought the Pāṇḍavas. Inference has been drawn that the Kurus fought the Pāṇḍavas about 1400 B.C.

(3) The Five-yearly Yuga and the Saptarṣi Cycle.

**The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society,** Sept., 1926.

A. BANERJI-SASTRI.—Asura Expansion by Sea. The courses along which the expansion of the Asura settlements took place in India in the south and by and beyond the seas, and the process of

Aryanisation of the tribe has been discussed in this article. Sanskrit extracts from the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* relating to the war between the Devas and the Asuras have been appended to it.

NALINI NATH DAS GUPTA.—The Successive Events in the Reign of Dharmapāladeva.

KALIPADA MITRA.—The Story of a Fool and its Sanskrit and Buddhist Parallel. From a comparison of a particular story found in the Chinese *Po-yu-king* with that in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, and from a table of comparisons illustrating similarities occurring in other stories, it has been shown that the "Indian originals of the apologues found in the *Po-yu-king*, composed by Saṃghasena (450 A.D.) and translated by K' ieou-na-p'i-ti (Guṇavṛddhi), floated down the stream of time and reached Somadeva who treasured them" in the *Kathāsaritsāgara.*

MANOMOHAN GANGULY.—Indian Architecture.

## **Journal of Oriental Research**, January, 1927.

S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI.—(1) Problems of Identity in the Cultural History of Ancient India. The portion of the article appearing in this issue discusses the identity of Ācārya Sundara the reputed author of verses quoted by Kumārila aud Śaṅkara.

(2) Bhadanta. The word *Bhadanta* referring to Buddhist mendicants has been derived from the root *bhad* "to be auspicious or happy."

K. G. SUBRAHMANYAM.—The Authorship of the Uṇādi Sūtras. The authorship of the Uṇādi Sūtras has been attributed to Śākaṭāyana belonging to the pre-Pāṇinian period, but new sūtras are believed to have been added to the original by grammatical writers after Pāṇini.

T. R. CHINTAMANI.—The Date of Śrīkaṇṭha and his Brahma-mīmāṃsā. Śrīkaṇṭha, the author of the *Sivārkamaṇidīpikā* on the *Brahmasūtra* has been assigned a date posterior to Rāmānuja.

## **Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society**, October, 1926

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.—The Later Śātavāhanas and the Śakas. The writer after weighing the various evidences and arguments put forward by various well-known writers on the topic concludes that "Nahapāna was in possession of all N. Mahārāṣtra, Konkan, Gujarat,

and Malwa at the end of the first century B. C. and retained it up to the end of the first century A. D. or very early in the second when Gautamīputra Śatakarṇa uprooted the race of the Khakarātas and restored the glory of the Śātavāhanakula. The territories so recovered continued to belong to the Śātavāhanas under Gautamīputra and Pulumavi. It may be noted that Kachcha, where we find the earliest evidence of Castana's rule, is not among the territories mentioned in the conquests of Gautamīputra. But there is no doubt that the advance of Śātavāhana power received a check and the ebb tide commenced probably late in the reign of Pulumavi, during the rule of Castana as Mahākṣatrapa. Castana was followed by a vigorous grandson, and Pulumavi's successors were unable to hold their own against Rudradāman, and they lost considerable territories in N. Mahārāṣtra, Konkan, Gujarat, etc., to him (c. A. D. 150). Henceforth, but for some slight recovery under Yajña Śatakarṇi, the Śātavāhana power collapses in the west of the Dekkan, abandoning the northern districts to the Kṣatrapas and the southern parts to the feudatories of the Cūtu dynasty, who now become prominent and find their power confined to the east for some time before its extinction by the rise of other powers like the Ikṣvākus and the Pallavas."

Printed and published by Mr. Raghunath Seal, B. A., at the Calcutta Oriental Press, 107, Mechuabazar Street, Calcutta.

sampāditabhojanaṃ paribhuttam pi sammā paripākaṃ gacchati. Tena sattā arogā dīghāyukā honti. Evam utubhojanavasena āyu vaḍḍhati.

Tattha Vipassī bhagavā asītivassasahassāyukakāle nibbatto. Sikhī bhagavā[1] sattativassasahassāyukakāle ti. Idam anupubbena parihīnasadisaṃ kataṃ, na pana evaṃ parihīnaṃ, vaḍḍhitvā vaḍḍhitvā parihīnan ti veditabbaṃ. Katham? Imasmiṃ tāva [2]bhaddakappe Kakusandho bhagavā cattālīsavassasahassāyukakāle nibbatto, āyuppamāṇaṃ pañcakoṭṭhāse katvā cattāri ṭhatvā pañcame vijjamāne yeva parinibbuto. Tam āyuparihāyamānaṃ dasavassakālaṃ patvā puna vaḍḍhamānam asaṃkheyyaṃ hutvā tato parihāyamānaṃ tiṃsavassasahassakāle ṭhitaṃ. Tadā Konāgamano bhagavā nibbatto. Tasmim pi tath' eva parinibbute tam āyu dasavassakālaṃ patvā puna vaḍḍhamānam asaṃkheyyaṃ hutvā parihāyitvā visativassasahassakāle ṭhitaṃ. Tadā Kassapo bhagavā nibbatto. Tasmim pi tath' eva parinibbute tam āyu dasavassakālaṃ patvā puna vaḍḍhamānam asaṃkheyyaṃ hutvā parihāyitvā vassasatakālaṃ pattaṃ. Atha amhākaṃ Sambuddho nibbatto. Evam anupubbena parihāyitvā parihāyitvā vaḍḍhitvā vaḍḍhitvā parihīnanti veditabbaṃ. Tattha yaṃ yam āyuparimāṇesu[3] manussesu Buddhā nibbattanti tesam pi taṃ tad eva āyuparimāṇaṃ hotī ti veditabbaṃ. Āyuparicchedo niṭṭhito.

8. Bodhiparicchede pana *Pāṭaliyā mūle* ti Pāṭalirukkhassa heṭṭhā. Tassā pana Pāṭaliyā khandho taṃ divasaṃ paṇṇāsaratano hutvā abbhuggato sākhā paṇṇāsaratanā ti ubbedhena ratanasatam ahosi. Taṃ divasaṃ ca sā Pāṭalī kaṇṇikāvaddhehi viya pupphehi mūlato paṭṭhāya ekacchannā ahosi. Dibbagandhaṃ vāyati. Na kevalañ ca tadā ayam eva pupphitā; dasasahassacakkavāḷe sabbapāṭaliyo pupphitā; na kevalañ ca Pāṭaliyo; dasasahassacakkavāḷe sabbarukkhānaṃ khandhesu khandha-padumāni, sākhāsu sākhā-padumāni, latāsu latā-padumāni, ākāsesu ākāsa-padumāni pupphitāni. Paṭhavītalaṃ bhinditvā pi mahāpadumāni uṭṭhitāni. Mahāsamuddo pi pañcavaṇṇehi padumehi nīluppala-rattuppalehi ca sañchanno ahosi. Sakaladasasahassacakkavāḷaṃ dhajamālākulaṃ tattha tattha nibaddha-puppha-dāma-visaṭṭhamālā-[4]guṇavippakiṇṇaṃ nānāvaṇṇa-kusuma samujjalaṃ Nandanavana-Cittalatāvana-Missakavana-Phārusakavana-sadisam ahosi. Puratthima-cakkavāḷe mukhavaṭṭiyam ussitadhajā pacchimacakkavāḷa-

1 B. omits it
2 Si. & B. omit it
3 S. āyuvuḍḍhippamāṇesu
B. -gulam

mukhavaṭṭiyam abhihananti. Pacchima-dakkhiṇa-uttara-cakkavāḷa-mukhavaṭṭiyam ussitadhajā dakkhiṇacakkavāḷa-mukhavaṭṭiyam abhihananti. Evam aññamaññaṃ sirisampannāni[1] cakkavāḷāni ahesuṃ.

*Abhisambuddho* ti sakalaṃ buddhaguṇavibhavasiriṃ paṭivijjhamāno cattāri saccāni abhisambuddho. Sikhī, bhikkhave, bhagavā arahaṃ sammāsambuddho Puṇḍarīkassa mūle abhisambuddho ti ādīsu pi iminā va nayena [2]vaṇṇanā veditabbā.

Ettha pana *Puṇḍarīko* ti Setambarukkho. Tassā pi tad eva parimāṇam. Taṃ divasañ ca so pi dibbagandhehi pupphehi susañchanno ahosi. Na kevalañ ca pupphehi. Phalehi pi sañchanno ahosi. Tassa ekato taruṇāni phalāni ekato majjhimāni phalāni ekato nātipakkāni ekato supakkāni pakkhittadibbojāni viya surasāni ojavantāni[3] olambanti. Yathā so evaṃ sakaladasasahassacakkavāḷe pupphūpagā rukkhā pupphehi, phalūpagā rukkhā phalehi paṭimaṇḍitā ahesuṃ.

*Sālo* ti Sālarukkho. Tassā pi tad eva parimāṇam. Tath' eva pupphasirivibhavo veditabbo. Sirisarukkhe pi es' eva nayo. Udumbara-rukkhe pupphāni nāhesuṃ. Phalavibhūti pan' ettha ambe vutta-nayā va. Tathā Nigrodh' eva tathā Assatth' evā ti.

Iti sabbabuddhānam eko va pallaṅko. Rukkhā pana aññe pi honti. Tesu yassa yassa rukkhassa mūle catumaggañāṇasaṃkhātaṃ bodhiṃ buddhā paṭivijjhanti so so Bodhī ti vuccati. Ayaṃ Bodhiparicchedo nāma.

9. Sāvakaparicchede pana. *Khaṇḍatissan* ti Khaṇḍo ca Tisso ca. Tesu Khaṇḍo ekapitiko kaniṭṭhabhātā, Tisso purohitaputto. Khaṇḍo paññāpāramiyā matthakaṃ patto, Tisso samādhipāramiyā[4]. *Aggan* ti ṭhapetvā Vipassiṃ bhagavantam avasesehi saddhim asadisaguṇatāya uttamaṃ. *Bhaddayugan* ti aggatāy' eva bhaddayugaṃ.

*Abhibhūsambhavan* ti Abhibhū ca Sambhavo ca. Tesu Abhibhū paññā pāramiyā matthakaṃ patto. Sikhinā bhagavatā saddhim Aruṇavatito Brahmalokaṃ gantvā Brahmaparisāya vividhāni pāṭihāriyāni dassento dhammaṃ desetvā [5]dasasahasssiloka-dhātum andhakārena pharitvā kim idan ti sañjātasaṃvegānam obhāsaṃ pharitvā sabbe me rūpañ ca passantu saddañ ca suṇantū ti adhiṭṭhahitvā 'ārabhathā' ti gāthādvayaṃ bhaṇanto saddaṃ sāveti. Sambhavo samādhi-pāramiyā matthakaṃ patto ahosi.

*Soṇuttaran* ti Soṇo ca Uttaro ca. Tesu Soṇo paññā-pāramiṃ patto. Uttaro samādhi-pāramiṃ patto.[6]

1 B. -sampattāni 2 B. pada- 3 Si. & B. omit it
4 B. adds matthakaṃ patto 5 Si. omits dasa 6 S. omits it

*Vidhūrasañjīvam* ti Vidhūro ca Sanjīvo ca. Tesu Vidhūro paññāpāramiṃ patto.[1] Sañjīvo samādhi-pāramiṃ patto samāpajjanabahulo rattiṭṭhāna-divāṭṭhāna-kuṭī-leṇa-maṇḍapādīsu samāpattibalena vāyamanto[2] ekadivasam araññe nirodhaṃ samāpajji. Atha naṃ vanakammikādayo mato ti sallakkhetvā jhāpesuṃ. So yathāparicchedena samāpattito vuṭṭhāya cīvarāni papphoṭetvā gāmaṃ piṇḍāya pāvisi. Tad' upādāy' eva ca[3] naṃ Sañjīvo ti sañjāniṃsu.

*Bhiyyosuttaran* ti Bhiyyoso ca Uttaro ca. Tesu Bhiyyoso paññāya, Uttaro samādhinā aggo ahosi.

*Tissabhāradvājan* ti Tisso ca Bhāradvājo ca. Tesu Tisso paññāpāramiṃ patto. Bhāradvājo samādhi-pāramiṃ patto ahosi.

*Sāriputtamoggallānan* ti Sāriputto ca Moggallāno ca. Tesu Sāriputto paññāvisaye, Moggallāno samādhivisaye aggo ahosi. Ayam [4]Aggasāvakayugaparicchedo nāma.

10. Sāvaka-sannipāta-paricchede Vipassissa bhagavato paṭhamasannipāto caturaṅgiko ahosi. Sabbe ehi bhikkhū. Sabbe iddhiyā nibbatta-pattacīvarā. Sabbe anāmantitā va āgatā. Iti[5] te ca kho paṇṇarase uposathadivase. Atha satthā vījaniṃ gahetvā nisinno uposatham osāresi. Dutiye tatiye ca es' eva nayo. Tathā sesānaṃ buddhānaṃ sabbasannipātesu. Yasmā pana amhākaṃ bhagavato paṭhama-bodhiyā va sannipāto ahosi idañ ca suttam aparabhāge vuttaṃ tasmā mayhaṃ bhikkhave etarahi eko sāvakānaṃ sannipāto ti aniṭṭhapetvā ahosī ti vuttaṃ.

Tattha *aḍḍhateḷasāni bhikkhusatānī* ti purāṇajaṭilānaṃ sahassaṃ dvinnam aggasāvakānaṃ parivārāni aḍḍhateyyasatānī ti aḍḍhateḷasasatāni.[6] Tattha dvinnam aggasāvakānam abhinīhārato paṭṭhāya vatthuṃ kathetvā pabbajjā dīpetabbā. Pabbajitānaṃ pana tesaṃ Mahāmoggallāno sattame divase arahattaṃ patto. Dhammasenāpati paṇṇarasame divase Gijjhakūṭapabbatamajjhe Sūkarakhata[7]-lenapabbhāre bhāgineyyassa Dīghanakhaparibbājakassa sajjite dhammayāge Vedanāpariggahasuttante desiyamāne desanānusārena[8] anubujjhamānañāṇaṃ pesetvā sāvakapāramiñāṇaṃ patto. Bhagavā therassa arahattappattiṃ ñatvā vehāsam abbhuggantvā Veḷuvane va[9] paccuṭṭhāsi.[10] Thero kuhiṃ nu kho Bhagavā gato ti āvajjento Veḷuvane patiṭṭhitabhāvaṃ ñatvā sayam pi vehāsam abbhuggantvā Veḷuvane yeva paccuṭṭhāsi. Atha Bhagavā

1 Si. & B. add ahosi
2 B. jhāyanto ; Si. yāpento
3 S. omits it
4 B. & Si. omit it
5 Si. omits it
6 B. & Si. aḍḍhatelasāni bhikkhusatāni
7 S. -jāta-
8 B. & Si. desanaṃ
9 Si. & S. omit it
10 Si. paṭiṭṭhāsi

Pātimokkham osāresi. Taṃ sannipātaṃ sandhāya Bhagavā 'aḍḍhateḷa sāni bhikkhusatānī' ti āha. Ayaṃ Sāvakasannipāta-paricchedo nāma.

11. Upaṭṭhākaparicchede pana *Ānando* ti nibaddhupaṭṭhāka-bhāvaṃ sandhāya vuttaṃ. Bhagavato hi paṭhamabodhiyam anibaddhā[1] upaṭṭhākā ahesuṃ. Ekadā Nāgasamālo pattacīvaraṃ gahetvā vicari. Ekadā Nāgito. Ekadā Upavāṇo. Ekadā Sunakkhatto. Ekadā Cundo samanuddeso. Ekadā Sāgato. Ekadā Meghiyo.

Tattha ekadā Bhagavā Nāgasamālattherena saddhim addhāna-maggapaṭipanno dvedhāpathaṃ patto. Thero maggā okkamma 'Bhagavā aham iminā maggena gacchamī' ti āha. Atha naṃ Bhagavā 'ehi bhikkhu, iminā maggena gacchāmā' ti āha. So 'handa Bhagavā tumhā-kaṃ pattacīvaraṃ gaṇhatha, aham iminā maggena gacchāmī' ti vatvā pattacīvaraṃ bhūmiyaṃ[2] ṭhapetum āraddho. Atha naṃ Bhagavā 'āhara bhikkhū' ti vatvā pattacīvaraṃ gahetvā gato. Tassa pi bhikkhuno itarena maggena gacchato corā pattacīvarañ ceva hariṃsu sīsaṃ ca bhindiṃsu. So 'Bhagavā idāni me paṭisaraṇaṃ na añño' ti cintetvā lohitena galitena Bhagavato santikam āgami.[3] 'Kim idaṃ bhikkhū' ti ca vutte taṃ pavattim ārocesi. Atha naṃ Bhagavā 'mā cintayi, bhikkhu, etaṃ kāraṇaṃ yeva taṃ[4] nivārayimhā' ti vatvā taṃ samassāsesi.

Ekadā pana Bhagavā Meghiyattherena saddhiṃ Pācīnavaṃsa-migā-yāye Jantugāmam agamāsi. Tatrā pi Meghiyo Jantugāme piṇḍāya caritvā nadītīre pāsādikam ambavanaṃ disvā 'Bhagavā,tumhākaṃ patta-cīvaraṃ gaṇhatha, ahaṃ tasmim ambavane samaṇadhammaṃ karomī' ti vatvā Bhagavatā tikkhattuṃ nivāriyamāno pi gantvā akusalavitakkehi ajjhāpanno[5] paccāgantvā taṃ pavattim ārocesi. Tam pi Bhagavā 'idam na te kāraṇaṃ sallakkhetvā nivārayimhā' ti vatvā anupubbena sāvatthim agamāsi.

Tattha Gandhakuṭiparivene paññattapavarabuddhāsane nisinno bhikkhusaṃghaparivuto bhikkhū āmantesi,'bhikkhave, idāni'mhi mahal-ko, ekacce bhikkhu iminā maggena gacchāmā ti vutte aññena gacchanti ekacce mayhaṃ pattacīvaraṃ bhūmiyaṃ nikkhipanti, mayhaṃ nibaddhūpaṭṭhākam ekaṃ bhikkhuṃ jānāthā' ti. Bhikkhu-ṃ dhammasaṃvego udapādi. Atha āyasmā Sāriputto uṭṭhā-sanā Bhagavantaṃ vanditvā 'ahaṃ bhante tumhe yeva patthayamāno asahassakappādhikam asaṃkheyyaṃ pāramiyo pūrayiṃ nanu mādiso bhāpañño uppaṭṭhāko nāma vaṭṭati, aham upaṭṭhahissāmī' ti āha.

1 Si. nibaddhā 2 B. & Si. chamāyaṃ 3 B. agamāsi
4 Si. te ; B. etaṃ yeva kāraṇaṃ sallakkhetvā 5 B. upadduto anvāyanto ; Si. āsaṭṭo

Taṃ Bhagavā 'alaṃ Sāriputta yassaṃ disāyaṃ tvaṃ na viharasi asuññā yeva[1] sā disā, tava ovādo buddhānam ovāda-sadiso, na me tayā upaṭṭhāka-kiccam atthī' ti paṭikkhipi. Eten ev' upāyena Mahāmoggallānam ādiṃ katvā asītimahāsāvakā uṭṭhahiṃsu. Te sabbe pi Bhagavā paṭikkhipi. Ānandatthero pana tuṇhī yeva nisīdi.

Atha naṃ bhikkhū evam āhaṃsu, 'āvuso Ānanda bhikkhusaṃgho upaṭṭhākaṭṭhānaṃ yācati, tvam pi yācāhī' ti. So āha 'yācitvā laddhupaṭṭhānaṃ nāma āvuso kidisaṃ hoti, kiṃ maṃ satthā na passati, sace rocessati Ānando mam upaṭṭhātū ti vakkhatī' ti. Atha Bhagavā 'na bhikkhave Ānando aññena ussāhetabbo, sayam eva jānitvā mam upāṭṭhahissatī' ti āha. Tato bhikkhū 'uṭṭhehi āvuso Ānanda,[2] Dasabalam upaṭṭhākaṭṭhānaṃ yācāhī' ti āhaṃsu. [3]Thero uṭṭhahitvā cattāro paṭikkhepe catasso ca āyācanā ti aṭṭha vare yāci.

Cattāro paṭikkhepā nāma. Sace me[4] bhante Bhagavā attanā laddhaṃ paṇītaṃ cīvaraṃ na mayhaṃ dassati, piṇḍapātaṃ na dassati, ekagandhakūṭiyaṃ vasituṃ na dassati, nimantanaṃ gahetvā na gamissati, evāhaṃ Bhagavantam upaṭṭhahissāmī'ti vatvā kiṃ[5] pan' ettha Ānanda ādīnavam addasā[6]ti vutte sac' āhaṃ bhante imāni vatthūni labhissāmi bhavissanti me[7] vattāro. Ānando Dasabalena laddhaṃ panīta-cīvaraṃ paribhuñjati piṇḍapātaṃ paribhuñjati ekagandhakūṭiyaṃ vasati ekato va nimantanaṃ gacchati etam lābhaṃ labhanto Tathāgatam upaṭṭhāti, ko evam upaṭṭhahato bhāro ti. Ime cattāro paṭikkhepe yāci.

Catasso āyācanā nāma. Sace bhante Bhagavā mayā gahitaṃ nimantanaṃ gamissati, sacāhaṃ tiroraṭṭhā tirojanapadā Bhagavantaṃ daṭṭhum āgataparisāya āgatakkhaṇe yeva Bhagavantaṃ dassetuṃ lacchāmi, yadā me kaṅkhā uppajjati tasmiṃ yeva khaṇe Bhagavantam upasaṅkamituṃ lacchāmi, yaṃ Bhagavā mayhaṃ parammukhā dhammaṃ deseti tam āgantvā mayhaṃ kathessati, evāhaṃ Bhagavantam upatthahissāmī ti vatvā kiṃ[5] pan' ettha Ānanda ānisaṃsaṃ passasī ti vutte idha bhante saddhā kulaputtā Bhagavato okāsam alabhantā mam evaṃ vadanti 'sve bhante Ānando Bhagavatā saddhim amhākaṃ ghare bhikkhaṃ gaṇheyyāthā' ti sace bhante Bhagavā tattha na gamissati, icchitakkhaṇe yeva parisaṃ dassetuṃ kaṅkhañ ca vinodetum okāsaṃ[8] na lacchāmi bhavissanti vattāro, kim Ānando Dasabalaṃ upaṭṭhāti ettakam pi'ssa anuggahaṃ Bhagavā na karotī ti Bhagavato ca parammukhā maṃ pucchissanti 'ayam āvuso Ānanda gāthā idaṃ suttaṃ idaṃ jātakaṃ kattha desitan' ti sac'

1 B. adds me 2 Si. & B. repeat these three words. 3 B. adds So
4 S. omits it 5 S. & B. kaṃ 6 B. passasi
7 Si. ca ; B. omits it 8 B. & Si. add vā

āhaṃ taṃ na sampādayissāmi bhavissanti vattāro, ettakaṃ pi āvuso na jānāsi kasmā tvaṃ chāyā viya Bhagavantam avijahanto dīgharattaṃ vicarasī ti ten' āhaṃ parammukhā desitassā pi dhammassa puna kathanaṃ icchāmī ti. Imā catasso āyācanā yāci.

Bhagavā pi tassa adāsi. Evam ime aṭṭha-vare gahetvā nibaddhupaṭṭhāko ahosi. Tass' eva ṭhānantarassatthāya kappasatasahassaṃ pūritānaṃ pāramīnaṃ phalaṃ pāpuṇī ti. Tam imassa nibaddhupaṭṭhākabhāvaṃ sandhāya 'mayhaṃ bhikkhave etarahi Ānando bhikkhu upaṭṭhāko aggupaṭṭhāko' ti āha. Ayam Upaṭṭhākaparicchedo nāma.

13. Pīti paricchedo uttānattho yeva. *Vihāraṃ pāvisī* ti kasmā vihāraṃ[1] pāvisi. Bhagavā kira ettakaṃ kathetvā cintesi 'na tāva mayā sattannaṃ buddhānaṃ vaṃso nirantaraṃ matthakaṃ pāpetvā kathito, ajja[2] mayi pana vihāraṃ paviṭṭhe ime bhikkhū bhiyyosomattāya pubbenivāsañāṇam ārabbha vaṇṇaṃ kathayissanti, athāham āgantvā nirantaraṃ buddhavaṃsaṃ kathetvā matthakaṃ pāpetvā dassāmī' ti bhikkhunaṃ kathāvārassa okāsaṃ datvā uṭṭhāyāsanā vihāraṃ pāvisi. Yañ cetaṃ Bhagavā tantiṃ kathesi tattha kappaparicchedo jātiparicchedo gottaparicchedo āyuparicchedo bodhiparicchedo sāvakayugaparicchedo sāvakasannipātaparicchedo upaṭṭhākaparicchedo pītiparicchedo ti nav' ime vārā āgatā. Sambahulavāro na āgato, ānetvā pana dīpetabbo.

Sabbabodhisattānaṃ hi ekasmiṃ kulavaṃsānurūpe putte jāte nikkhamitvā pabbajitabban ti ayam eva vaṃso ayaṃ paveṇī. Kasmā? Sabbaññubodhisattānaṃ hi mātukucchim okkamaṇato paṭṭhāya pubbe vuttappakārāni anekāni pāṭihāriyāni honti. Tatra nesaṃ yadi neva jātanagaraṃ na pitā na mātā[3] na putto paññāyeyya imassa neva jātanagaraṃ na pitā[4] na putto paññāyati devo vā sakko vā māro vā brahmā vā esa maññe devānañ ca īdisaṃ pāṭihāriyam anacchariyan ti maññamāno jano[5] neva sotabbaṃ na saddahitabbaṃ maññeyya. Tato abhisamayo na bhaveyya, abhisamaye asati niratthako buddhuppāda aniyyāṇikaṃ sāsanaṃ hoti tasmā sabbabodhisattānam ekasmiṃ kulavaṃsānurūpe putte jāte nikkhamitvā pabbajitabban ti ayam eva vaṃso ayaṃ paveṇī. Tasmā puttādīnaṃ vasena sambahulavāro ānetvā dīpetabbo. Tattha

Samavattakkhandho Atulo Suppabudho ca Uttaro |
Satthavāho Vijitaseno Rāhulo bhavati sattamo ti. ||

Ete tāva sattannam pi buddhānam[6] anukkamen' eva satta puttā veditabbā. Tattha Rāhulabhadde tāva jāte paṇṇam āharitvā mahā-

1 B. & Si. omit it 2 S. omits it 3 Si. & B. bhariyā
4 B. & Si. add na bhariyā 5 S. omits it 6 B. bodhisattānaṃ

purisassa hatthe ṭhapayiṃsu. Athassa tāvad eva sakalasarīraṃ khobhetvā puttasineho aṭṭhāsi. So cintesi ekasmiṃ tāva jāte evarūpo puttasineho parosahassam kira me puttā bhavissanti tesu eke[1] ekasmiṃ jāte imaṃ sinehabandhanam evaṃ vaḍḍhantaṃ dubbhijjaṃ bhavissatī ti Rāhulo jāto bandhanaṃ jātan ti āha. Taṃ divasam eva rajjaṃ pahāya nikkhanto. Esa nayo sabbesaṃ puttuppattiyan ti. Ayaṃ Puttapariccheḍo.

Sutanā Sabbakāmā ca Sucittā atha Rocanī[2]
Ruccatinī[3] Sunandā ca Bimbā bhavati sattamā ti ||

Etā tesaṃ sattannam pi puttānaṃ mātaro ahesuṃ. Bimbā-devī pana Rāhulakumāre jāte Rāhulamātā ti paññāyittha. Ayaṃ Bhariyā-pariccheḍo.

Vipassī Kakusandho ti ime pana dve bodhisattā [4]payutta-ājaññaratham āruyha mahābhinikkhamanaṃ nikkhamiṃsu. Sikhī Konāgamano ti ime dve hatthikkhandhavaragatā hutvā nikkhamiṃsu. Vessabhū-bodhisatto[5] suvaṇṇasivikāya nisīditvā nikkhami. Kassapo upari-pāsāda-mahātale nisinno va ānāpānacatutthajjhānaṃ nibbattetvā jhānā vuṭṭhāya taṃ jhānaṃ pādakaṃ katvā pāsādo gantvā[6] bodhimaṇḍe otaratū ti adhiṭṭhāsi. Pāsādo ākāsena gantvā bodhimaṇḍe otari. Mahāpuriso pi tato otaritvā bhūmiyaṃ ṭhatvā pāsādo yathāṭhāne yeva patiṭṭhātū ti cintesi. So yathāṭhāne patiṭṭhāsi. Mahāpuriso pi sattadivasāni padhānam anuyuñjitvā bodhipallaṅke nisīditvā sabbaññuta-ñāṇaṃ[7] paṭivijjhi. Amhākaṃ pana bodhisatto Kaṇṭhakam[8] āruyha nikkhanto ti. Ayaṃ Yānapariccheḍo.

Vipassissa bhagavato yojanappamāṇe padese vihāro patiṭṭhito.[9] Sikhissa ti-gāvute Vessabhussa aḍḍhayojane Kakusandhassa gāvute Konāgamanassa aḍḍhagāvute Kassapassa visati-usabhe amhākaṃ Bhagavato pakatimānena soḷasa karīse rājamānena aṭṭha-karīse padese vihāro patiṭṭhito ti. Ayaṃ Vihārapariccheḍo nāma.

Vipassissa pana[10] bhagavato ekaratanāyāmā vidatthivitthārā aṭṭhaṅgulubbedhā suvaṇṇiṭṭhakā kāretvā cūḷaṃsena chādetvā vihāraṭṭhānaṃ kiṇiṃsu. Sikhissa suvaṇṇayaṭṭhiphālehi chādetvā kiniṃsu. Vessabhussa suvaṇṇahatthipādāni kāretvā tesaṃ cūḷaṃsena chādetvā kiniṃsu. Kakusandhassa vuttanayen' eva suvaṇṇiṭṭhakāhi chādetvā kiṇiṃsu. Koṇāgamanassa vuttanayen' eva suvaṇṇakacchapehi chādetvā kiṇiṃsu. Kassapassa suvaṇṇakaḷihi[11] yeva chādetvā kiṇiṃsu. Amhākañ ca Bhaga-

1 S. omits it
2 B. Rocinī
3 Si. & B. Rucaggatī
4 B. & Si. cha-yuttaṃ
5 B. & Si. omit it
6 B. uggantvā
7 B. & Si. omit it
8 B. adds asravaraṃ ; Si. adds hayavaraṃ
9 B. & Si. patiṭṭhāsi
10 S. omits it
11 B. -kaṭṭhi ; Si. -iṭṭhakāhi

vato salakkhaṇānaṃ kahāpanānaṃ cūḷaṃsena chādetvā kiṇiṃsu. Ayaṃ Vihārabhūmigahaṇe paricchedo.

Tattha Vipassissa bhagavato tathā bhūmiṃ kiṇitvā vihāraṃ katvā dinnupaṭṭhāko Punabbasumitto nāma ahosi. Sikhissa bhagavato[1] Sirivaḍḍho nāma. Vessabhussa Sotthiyo nāma. Kakusandhassa Accuto nāma. Konāgamanassa Uggo nāma. Kassapassa Sumano nāma. Amhākaṃ pana Bhagavato Sudatto nāma. Sabbe c' ete gahapatimahāsālā seṭṭhino ahesun ti. Ayam Upaṭṭhāka-paricchedo nāma.

Aparāni cattāri avijahitaṭṭhānāni nāma honti. Sabbabuddhānaṃ hi bodhipallaṅko avijahito ekasmiṃ yeva ṭhāne hoti. Dhammacakkappavattanaṃ Isipatane migadāye avijahitam eva hoti. Devorohaṇakāle Saṃkassanagaradvāre paṭhamapādagaṇḍikā[2] avijahitā va hoti. Jetavane Gandhakuṭiyā cattāri mañcapādaṭṭhānāni avijahitān' eva honti. Vihāro pana khuddako pi mahanto pi hoti. Vihāro pi na vijahati yeva. Nagaraṃ pana vijahati. Yadā nagaraṃ pācīnato hoti tadā vihāro pacchimato. Yadā nagaraṃ dakkhiṇato tadā vihāro uttarato. Yadā nagaraṃ pacchimato tadā vihāro pācīnato. Yadā nagaram uttarato tadā vihāro dakkhiṇato ti. Idāni pana nagaram uttarato vihāro dakkhiṇato.

Sabbabuddhānaṃ ca āyuvemattaṃ pamāṇavemattaṃ kulavemattaṃ padhānavemattaṃ rasmivemattan ti pañca vemattāni honti. Āyuvemattaṃ nāma keci dīghāyukā honti keci appāyukā. Tathā hi Dīpaṅkarassa vassasatasahassam āyuppamāṇam ahosi. 'Amhākaṃ Bhagavato vassasataṃ.'[3] Pamāṇavemattaṃ nāma keci dīghā honti keci rassā. Tathā hi Dīpaṅkaro asītihattho ahosi. Sumano navutihattho, amhākaṃ pana Bhagavā aṭṭhārasahattho. Kulavemattaṃ nāma keci khattiyakule nibbattanti, keci brāhmaṇakule. Padhānavemattaṃ nāma kesañ ci padhānam[4] uttarakālam eva hoti yathā Kassapassa bhagavato. Kesañ ci addhaniyaṃ yathā amhākaṃ bhagavato. Rasmivemattaṃ nāma Sumaṅgalassa[5] bhagavato sarīra-rasmiṃ dasasahassīlokadhātuppamāṇā ahosi. Amhākaṃ bhagavato samantā byāmanattā. Tatra rasmivemattaṃ ajjhāsayapaṭibaddhaṃ. Yo yattakam icchati tassa tattakaṃ sarīrappabhā pharati. Sumaṅgalassa[6] pana niccaṃ pi dasasahassīlokadhātuṃ pharatū ti ajjhāsayo ahosi. Paṭividdhaguṇesu pana katthaci[7] vemattaṃ nāma natthi.

Aparam amhākaṃ yeva bhagavato sahajātaparicchedañ ca nakkhattaparicchedañ ca dīpesuṃ. Sabbaññu-bodhisattena kira saddhiṃ Rāhula-

1 B. & Si. omit it 2 B. -pada-gaṇḍikā 3 B. adds āyuppamāṇaṃ
4 B. & Si. iṭṭara- 5 B. & Si. Maṅgalassa 6 B. & Si. kassaci
7 Si. -kumbhī; B. -kumbho

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